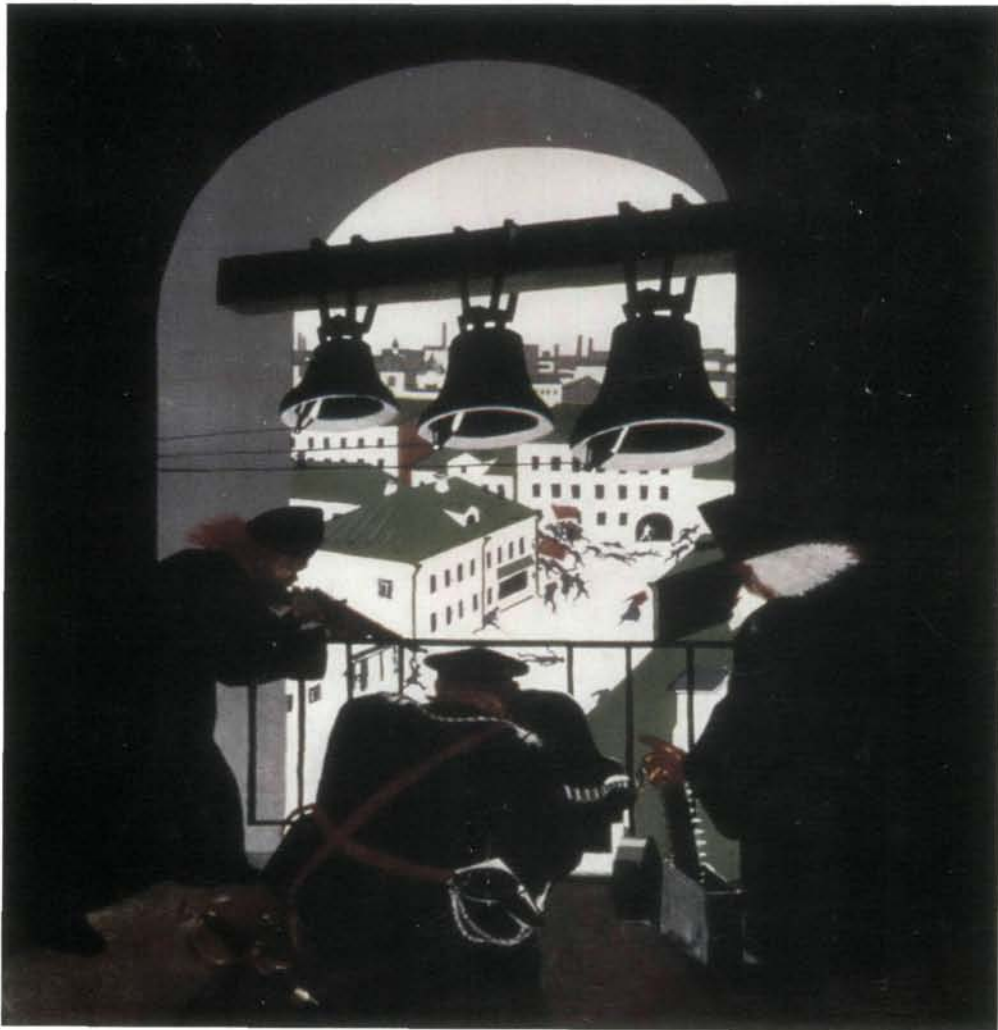


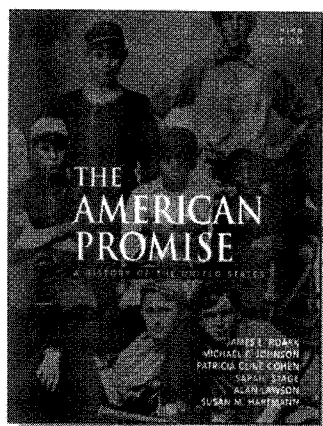
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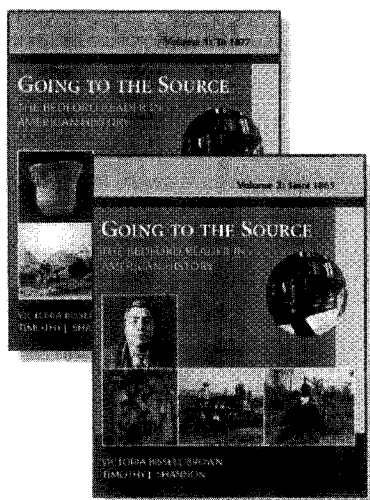
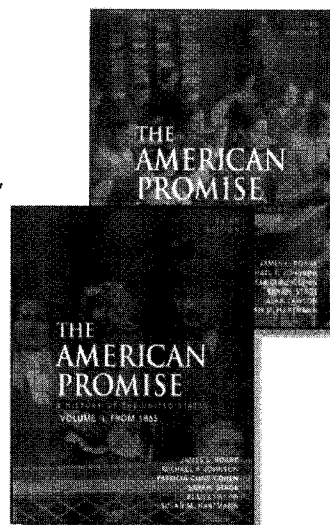
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In This Issue

This issue contains four articles and a review essay. The articles examine the creation of sensationalist crime reporting, the impact of the United States Civil War on the global cotton industry, the role of public ceremonies in modern European culture, and the significance of the auditory history of the Soviet Union. The review essay assesses the scholarly and professional significance of the Gutenberg-e project that has led to the publication of a series of electronic history monographs. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews. Sadly, this issue also marks the end of Assistant Editor Allyn Faye Roberts's eighteen-year tenure at the *AHR*. She died in October 2004 as a result of complications from cancer surgery. Allyn edited articles for the *AHR* with verve, skill, and insight. Her impact on the journal was profound; she will be missed by colleagues, authors, and readers.

Articles

Joy Wiltenburg explores historical meanings of the often-derided phenomenon of sensationalist crime reporting. Tracing the genre to its beginnings in sixteenth-century Germany, she argues that modern scholarly distaste has hampered understanding of its cultural significance. Although the term sensationalism has traditionally been associated with low-class commercialism, early forms addressed a respectable audience and a range of social, religious, and political agendas. Authors of early sensationalism used purposeful techniques to heighten the emotional impact of their works, including graphic descriptions of violence, direct dialogue, and a primary focus on the shattering of familial bonds. This emotional resonance, Wiltenburg argues, creates a distinctive rhetorical mode that constructs its own messages as natural, akin to the visceral horror aroused by bloody crimes. In early modern Germany, the genre was used to promote governmental authority, confessional allegiance, and familial hierarchy. In other times and places, from seventeenth-century England to the modern United

States, it has operated in the same way to both reflect and affect issues of cultural and political contestation.

Sven Beckert examines the reshaping of the global cotton industry in the wake of the American Civil War. Cotton was central to the first industrial revolution, and between 1780 and 1861, most of this cotton was grown and harvested by slaves in the southern United States and worked up in Great Britain. The American Civil War destroyed this nexus and with it one of the central pillars of nineteenth-century capitalism. Beckert investigates how powerful capitalists and state bureaucrats responded to what was in effect the world's first sustained raw materials crisis. In constant negotiation with rural cultivators all over the world, merchants and manufacturers built a new global "empire of cotton." This worldwide web of cotton production was characterized by the incorporation of new territories into the global economy, by the emergence of new systems of labor replacing slavery, and by an increasing reliance of capitalists on ever more powerful states. By adopting a transnational approach, the article opens fresh vistas on the American Civil War. More generally, by investigating the politics of securing a core raw material for the industrialized world, Beckert helps to further our understanding of the dramatic changes that occurred within the global political economy during the nineteenth century.

David Pomfret argues that through the "festival of the people's muse," the republican government of France produced a new national icon around the turn of the twentieth century. He explains that perceptions of national crisis encouraged the state to stage mass spectacles of young women as paragons of beauty and health designed to overcome damaging class divisions and to win the support of the working class. Pomfret highlights the importance of age in the representation of the nation at these festivals. Political elites used the iconic power of "young womanhood" or female "adolescence" to undermine feminist challenges to male authority, and to defuse male resistance to the state's encroachment upon a man's role as paterfamilias. The festivals demonstrate, he contends, the analytical importance of understanding the intersection of age with other key social variables such as gender, class, and race. Pomfret concludes by arguing that although male anxieties impelled the sponsorship of this icon, the festival of the people's muse opened up opportunities for young women to appropriate new subjectivities and to overcome, albeit in a limited way, their social marginality.

Richard L. Hernandez analyzes the auditory components of the Bolshevik Great Turn of 1928–1932, during which a comprehensive revolution of the senses transpired in Soviet Russia. Like conflicts elsewhere between traditional societies and modernizing regimes, political struggles between Russian villagers and Bolshevik agents during these crucial years coalesced around religious beliefs and practices. He contends that while other, more obvious religious institutions or symbols were drawn into these conflicts, church bells had a distinctive role to play because they were physical and aural linchpins in the cultural sensibilities that the Bolsheviks wanted desperately to reconfigure. Hernandez focuses on the bells as both weapons of resistance and targets of destruction. He demonstrates that the regime produced sights and sounds more in tune with modern sensibilities, thereby supplanting the social authority of bells in the new Soviet society. While expanding our understanding of the Bolshevik Revolution's consolidation under Stalin, he also presents a case study of the vicissitudes of religious beliefs and practices in modern society by complicating the typical story of "secularization" in two ways. First, he shows that, instead of serving merely as an irrational foil to modern life, religious tradition helped believers form sophisticated views of the world and equipped them to respond to dramatic social upheavals. Second, and conversely, he explains that atheistic regimes like the Bolsheviks fostered cultures rooted in peculiarly "modern" sacred texts, symbols, and ritual practices.

Review Essay

Patrick Manning reviews the first eleven electronic books published by the Gutenberg-e project, in which Columbia University Press and the American Historical Association have combined to select and publish monographs based on award-winning dissertations in several fields of history. He explains the genesis and development of the program, which began as an attempt to protect the historical monograph in the electronic age; and he also identifies the distinctive place of Gutenberg-e in the context of other campaigns of electronic publication in history, because of its emphasis on the first book. Manning places the books in three categories: social histories linked with cultural analysis, studies of state policy and community response, and institutional histories. He notes that the books cover a wide enough range of regions, times, and topics that a narrative of modern history can be read through them. The books are well produced and the online format is easily navigable, but he argues they remain firmly within the established limits of their fields: in sum, Manning argues, these electronic books appear as very

strong monographs, but not as breakthroughs in either format or interpretation. The Gutenberg-e books reveal, he contends, that graduate study continues to be narrowly focused in preparation of historical monographs, and they confirm the argument of the AHA's recent report on graduate education that the needs of "generational succession" in the discipline of history are not being met. While the Gutenberg-e initiative is a valuable step, Manning concludes that historians need to make further changes to address critical issues such the synthesis of research results, interdisciplinary communication, defining research agendas, competing for research funding, and developing the next generation of leadership for the discipline.

True Crime: The Origins of Modern Sensationalism

JOY WILTENBURG

A FEW YEARS AGO, an article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported on a study finding that “heavy watchers” of television news reports greatly overestimated the incidence of crime in their communities, as compared with “light watchers.” In the newspaper’s survey of local residents, none of the respondents had an accurate idea of the incidence of crime or their own statistical likelihood of becoming a victim of crime. But while all overestimated these figures, those exposed to the fewest reports were closest to the truth. In other words, increased consumption of true news reports actually decreased people’s objective knowledge about the prevalence of crime. Despite their low or even negative informational value, such reports have substantial emotional impact. The fears sparked by perceptions of crime influence decisions about where to live, how to raise children, where to invest social wealth, what punitive governmental actions to support, how to view groups perceived as likely criminals—a broad range of choices and attitudes that affect the quality of a society and its political life.¹ This story forcefully underlines the impact of sensationalist crime reporting. Irrespective of the intent of their originators, who may see themselves as neutrally conveying factual material, the crime reports exert substantial political and cultural power. Representations of crime influence people’s conceptions of their lives and communities far out of proportion to the actual incidence of criminal activity.

This modern example points to a number of considerations that inform this study of the historical roots of “sensationalism”—the purveyance of emotionally charged content, mainly focused on violent crime, to a broad public. First, the representation of crime operates semi-independently of crime itself. In all periods, discourses and rituals of crime, rather than direct experience of criminal acts, are the key determinants of crime’s cultural impact.² Not specific events, but varying

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¹ Stephen Seplov, “Heavy TV Viewing Found to Deepen Fears,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 2, 1994, sec. A,1; see also N. Signorielli, G. Gerbner, and M. Morgan, “Violence on Television—The Cultural Indicators Project,” *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 39, no. 2 (1995): 278–83; Leo Barrile, “Television and Attitudes about Crime: Do Heavy Viewers Distort Criminality and Support Retributive Justice?” *Justice and the Media: Issues and Research*, Ray Surette, ed. (Springfield, Ill., 1984), 141–58.

² Julius R. Ruff makes a similar observation in *Violence in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*

cultural uses of them, bring deviant actions from the margins of experience into the mainstream. Second, the social effects of such representations do not necessarily mirror the goals of their creators and purveyors. This will surprise no one but is worth pointing out, because the obvious commercial aims of sensationalism have often led to its dismissal as culturally insignificant. Third, and most important for this essay, emotion plays a central role in the reception of crime reports, in this case even ones that aimed at objectivity. If one sees the mind as divided into emotional and rational components—a dubious though time-honored division—these cultural products operate much more powerfully on the emotional side. This feature of sensationalism, like its commercialism, has downgraded its status among modern rationalists. However, just as psychology has been uncovering cognitive aspects of emotions that undermine the attempt to segregate them from the fields of knowledge and culture, scholars are beginning to overcome their traditional squeamishness about emotional appeals in order to understand their effects.³

Sensationalism has often been decried, but the full history of the phenomenon has yet to be written. Scholars have tended to dismiss sensationalism as unworthy of serious study, based on two pervasive though somewhat incompatible assumptions: first, that sensationalism is essentially a commercial product, built on the exploitation of modern mass media; and second, that it appeals to a basic though depraved human taste for gore, and thus has little history apart from the changing technological means for spreading it.⁴ An exploration of sensationalism's early history, however, challenges both assumptions and suggests that they have tended to obscure the complexity and historicity of the genre. Its dependence on emotional response—the factor that most tends to arouse scholarly disdain—emerges as central to the genre's functioning, in particular its ability to mold common responses to extreme violations of social norms. Its growth and development in the modern era reflect not merely the growth of commercialism but the success of sensationalism in employing the discourse of violent crime to address changing cultural needs and sociopolitical agendas.

The word "sensationalism" was invented in the nineteenth century as a pejorative term, to denounce works of literature or journalism that aimed to arouse strong emotional reactions in the public. Focusing on the senses as the key site of stimulation, the word emphasizes bodily and nonrational reactions.⁵ In modern Western culture these nonrational elements have been rated low—in the hierarchy

(Cambridge, 2001), 40; see also Uwe Danker, *Räuberbanden im Alten Reich um 1700: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Herrschaft und Kriminalität in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), 1: 15.

³ Many studies could be cited but see, for example, Julie Ellison, *Cato's Tears and the Making of Anglo-American Emotion* (Chicago, 1999); Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (New York, 1998); see also Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *AHR* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 821–45; Carol Z. Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, eds., *Emotion and Social Change: Toward a New Psychology* (New York, 1988).

⁴ Dismissive comments about sensationalism are too numerous to list, but some scholars have begun to study crime literature seriously, especially in recent years. See, for example, in addition to those cited below, Frances E. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550–1700* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994); Lincoln B. Faller, *Turned to Account: The Forms and Functions of Criminal Biography in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1987); Lisa Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (Durham, N.C., 2000).

⁵ A simultaneous coinage by historians of philosophy used the same term for "materialist"

of human capacities, in social value, and in social location.⁶ One of the first uses of the term, cited in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, speaks of “the vicious sensationalism which renders so objectionable a large portion of the cheap periodical literature of the day.”⁷ As this quotation suggests, the contempt of critics has been based partly on an objection to the effects of sensationalism—associating it with vice and depravity—and partly on a perception of it as appealing to the low instincts of uneducated masses. More recent usage has retained the negative appraisal of the term’s originators and has intensified its connotations of cynical manipulation and commercial exploitation.

Although the term dates only to the nineteenth century, the phenomenon itself is a good deal older. While sexual scandals and other shocking events have become staples of modern sensationalism, its chief focus has always been crime, especially the most bloody and horrifying of murders. In Germany, the epicenter of early printing, broadsheets and pamphlets were regularly used by the mid-sixteenth century to recount crimes and the executions of the condemned. Even at this early date, accounts of crimes were marked by deliberate techniques designed to enhance the emotional impact of their contents. Their explicit appeal to emotion underlines the kinship of these early works with the later popular press. Karen Halttunen, in her recent study of American gothic murders, suggests reserving the term sensationalism for works that raise emotion merely as a pleasurable end in itself.⁸ Such a distinction appears difficult to sustain, however, since accounts of crime, like all texts, have multiple and complex aims and impacts. In her formulation, sensationalism would remain a term of blame rather than an analytical tool. The common feature of heightened emotional content runs through crime accounts from their very beginnings, linking various forms of sensationalism with their roots in the early days of print.

This study adopts the term sensationalism, despite its negative associations, as the best means of expressing the genre’s most salient feature—its appeal to the emotions. Sensationalist crime accounts build their emotional potency on both a visceral response to violence itself and the quasi-religious dilemma posed by transgression of core values. The term also serves to link a seemingly familiar modern phenomenon with its less-familiar early forms. Beginning with the growth of crime reporting out of the early printing centers of Germany, significant cultural dynamics, emotional techniques, and social contexts shaped sensationalism into a cultural agent. Brief comparative case studies from later centuries serve to illustrate the continuing significance of such representations. Linking violent crime and criminal justice procedures with a prescribed emotional response both personal and

philosophies positing the senses as the sole source of knowledge. *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1971), s.v. “sensationalism.”

⁶ For a recent commentary on the devaluation of emotion in philosophy, see Michael Stocker *Valuing Emotions*, with Elizabeth Hegeman (Cambridge, 1996), 91–108; on the devaluation of emotion and its association with feminized cultural elements, see Catherine A. Lutz, “Engendered Emotion: Gender, Power, and the Rhetoric of Emotional Control in American Discourse,” *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds. (Cambridge, 1990), 69–91.

⁷ This quotation is from 1886; also cited is an earlier use in 1865. *Oxford English Dictionary*.

⁸ See Karen Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the American Gothic Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 29–30.

communal, these works have been a powerful means of constructing both shared values and individual identity.

Research into the history of crime has expanded greatly over the past twenty-five years, as scholars have come to recognize its pivotal roles in the exercise of power and the definition of social boundaries. Spurred by Michel Foucault's analysis of the inscription of power in the rituals and institutions of criminal justice, historians have shed new light not only on the social dynamics of crime and punishment but also increasingly on their cultural underpinnings.⁹ Even as the records produced by courts offer rare points of access to the mentality and experiences of the less privileged, the assumptions and practices of court systems are closely linked with the processes of social discipline that produced the modern state on the one hand, the modern citizen on the other. Richard van Dülmen, drawing on the "civilizing process" theorized by Norbert Elias as well as on the history of criminal justice, sees judicial procedures as paradoxically helping to train early modern people in the elements of individualism: while they curbed individual license with their punitive power, they encouraged self-examination with increasing probes after motive and intent.¹⁰ What might seem a purely public matter—of prescription, violation, and punishment—is bound up with the most private of matters, the elusive subjectivity of the past.

This distinctive connection between public and private is inherent in criminal justice, at least in societies with a central concept of the individual soul. In the Christian West, the strong parallels between crime and sin, separated only by the human or divine nature of the legislating and punishing authorities, inevitably raise questions about the inner state of the criminal. The discourses of sensationalism, however, extend this public-private nexus far beyond the relationship between criminal and state, to encompass as wide an audience as possible. These representations of crime mark a unique point of intersection between structures of power and normative emotional demands—between public order and the interior life of the individual. The sensationalist text uses emotional resonance to draw its audience, assuming a given emotional response. Of course, any emotions that sensationalism may succeed in arousing cannot be simply personal, though experienced by individuals: On the one hand, their very existence presumes a like-minded community, a group responding to a common appeal; on the other, they are implicitly political, based on a given attitude toward violation of law and the actions of authority. If representation generally is a means of exercising power—naming and controlling the field of discourse where social order is articulated¹¹—sensationalism intensifies this process. Crime texts are powerful even though they may

⁹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York, 1977). Among recent works on the social and cultural history of crime, see, in addition to those cited below, Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender, and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003); Joan Neuberger, *Hooliganism: Crime, Culture, and Power in St. Petersburg, 1900–1914* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Richard J. Evans, *Rituals of Retribution: Capital Punishment in Germany 1600–1987* (Oxford, 1996); J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550–1750*, 2d edn. (London, 1999); Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1992).

¹⁰ Richard van Dülmen, *Die Entdeckung des Individuums 1500–1800* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), 54–55; Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (New York, 1978).

¹¹ For this argument, see Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Cambridge, 1988), 8–9.

not be cast or intended as propaganda; in fact, their typical avoidance of explicit argumentation and reliance on unanalyzed emotional response have served to enhance their effect.

IN THE WESTERN WORLD, the modern concept of crime draws on older conceptions of sin but focuses expressly on acts that are forbidden and punishable by human authority. As a violation of public order, crime came to new prominence with the emergence of increasingly effective states and judicial systems in the later Middle Ages. Of course, violent acts like those featured in sensationalist accounts were also committed in the earlier Middle Ages and became the subject of discourse, although not in the forms later taken by sensationalism. Medieval chronicles record acts of mayhem and murder committed by noblemen and rulers against each other, subject to retribution through revenge, feud, or warfare. Unlike the events recounted in later sensationalism, these violent clashes lacked an ordering authority to seal their significance and focus the action on a single miscreant and his punishment.¹² In city chronicles of the late Middle Ages, the standard patterns of crime and punishment began to emerge, punctuated by feuds between urban authorities and robber barons who resisted all attempts to define their actions under the rubrics of criminal justice.¹³ Chronicles generally were not aimed at a wide audience but were used by ruling classes or individuals as a record of past events.¹⁴ Their descriptions of crimes, while sometimes extensive and dramatic, could not have the impact of later media.

In the early modern period, the increasingly efficient pursuit of criminal justice to secure public order, combined with the new means of communication offered by printing, created the conditions necessary for the development of journalistic accounts of crime. By the late fifteenth century, printers had begun publishing topical news reports, and from the mid-sixteenth century, they produced crime reports in increasing numbers.¹⁵ The earliest news accounts were derived from correspondence regarding distant events, particularly wars, and were written mainly by public officials, merchants, and such members of the urban intelligentsia as scholars and clerics.¹⁶ The clergy were especially prominent among authors of local news, which included various wonders and disasters as well as crimes. Crime reports

¹² See, for example, Friedrich Roth, ed., *Des Ritters Hans Ebran von Wildenberg Chronik von den Fürsten aus Bayern* (Munich, 1905), 95–96.

¹³ A classic example is the fourteenth-century contest between the imperial city of Augsburg and the renegade nobleman Jacob Puttrich. See *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, 20 vols. (Leipzig, 1862), 4: 22–58.

¹⁴ On the uses of chronicles, see, for example, *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, 3: 3–22; Heinrich Schmidt, *Die deutschen Städtechroniken als Spiegel des bürgerlichen Selbstverständnisses im Spätmittelalter* (Göttingen, 1958), 14–28.

¹⁵ This study is based on my compilation of approximately 120 broadside and pamphlet accounts of crime printed in German during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They are drawn from collections in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (hereafter, SBB), the British Library in London (BL), the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich (ZB), and other libraries, in addition to reprinted sources. Although I cannot claim to have found every example, my sample is representative of those now extant.

¹⁶ Paul Roth, *Die neuen Zeitungen in Deutschland im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1914), 17–20; Karl Schottenloher, *Flugblatt und Zeitung: Ein Wegweiser durch das gedruckte Tagesschrifttum* (Berlin, 1922), 150–56.

were read by clerics, as well. The Zurich pastor Johann Jakob Wick, in the second half of the sixteenth century, compiled the largest extant collection of over 900 broadsides and pamphlets on sensational crimes and other unusual events such as monstrous births and supernatural phenomena.¹⁷

News reports used the new technology to reach a wide audience and soon developed standardized features. Many were written in rhyme, set to music, and decorated with woodcuts.¹⁸ Their visual appeal and oral performance expanded the potential audience beyond the prosperous and literate classes. The core audience, however—the one that made such publications viable for publishers—was the paying audience of purchasers. Given the common assumption, voiced by nineteenth-century critics, that sensationalism panders to the tastes of lower-class, uneducated consumers, it is instructive to note the respectable status of early sensationalism. The first waves of emotion-laden crime reports were not aimed at masses in the modern sense, but were produced and probably purchased mainly by the literate upper levels of early modern society. Familiarity with written or printed texts was still highly stratified by social class. Although many such works were published anonymously, others were signed by established clerics and educated burghers. Those with the disposable income to buy these items were far from the bottom of the social scale and were probably limited mainly to the artisan class and above.¹⁹ These works addressed a much wider audience than was possible for medieval manuscripts, but they could not have sustained themselves on a market among the low alone. Thus although the sensationalist focus on shock and emotion later came to be read as a marker of lower-class appeal, this was not the case in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Depictions of violent crime, as observed at the outset, rouse emotional reactions even when presented by news media in the modern “objective” mode. In early crime accounts there was no attempt at the modern dissociation between feeling and reportage. While early news reports on political events served the practical needs of merchants and other elites, sensationalist accounts of crime sought to convey a state of feeling.²⁰ Titles regularly emphasized the emotive quality of the content: it was “*erschrecklich*” (frightful), “*erbermlich*” (pitiful), “*unerhört*” (unheard-of), “*grausam*” (dreadful), “*jämmerlich*” (lamentable), “*grewlich*” (horrible), “*trawrig*” (grievous), “*kläglich*” (pitiable). In the reporting too, conventions emerged that heightened the emotional triggers inherent in the material. Such features as emphasis on familial relationships, graphic descriptions of violence, and the inclusion of direct dialogue worked along with emotive language to enhance visceral effect. These techniques are explored in more detail below.

¹⁷ See Matthias Senn, ed., *Die Wickiana: Johann Jakob Wicks Nachrichtensammlung aus dem 16. Jahrhundert* (Zurich, 1975), 14; Bruno Weber, ed., *Wunderzeichen und Winkeldrucker 1543–1586: Einblattdrucke aus der Sammlung Wikiana in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich* (Zurich, 1972).

¹⁸ In my sample, about half of the crime accounts are in song form.

¹⁹ See Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville, Va., 1992), 35–39; Gisela Ecker, *Einblattdrucke von den Anfängen bis 1555: Untersuchungen zu einer Publikationsform literarischer Texte*, 2 vols. (Göppingen, 1981), 1: 102–9.

²⁰ I should note that sensationalism did not focus exclusively on crime, since emotive style was also used in reports on such events as natural disasters. The focus on crime, however, is the longest lived, and I would argue the most culturally significant.

It may be tempting to ascribe the emotional features of sensationalism—in its early days as later—to commercialism pure and simple, to the need to increase sales by arousing maximum interest. Such explanations may have some validity, but they are not adequate. The assumption that commercial profit was the central motive behind these early productions is questionable. In sixteenth-century Germany, the income from such items must have repaid the efforts of printers, but it almost certainly brought little reward to authors.²¹ More fundamentally, commercial explanations cannot account for why particular forms of interest-arousing features were chosen and others not. Sensationalist crime accounts, far from being historically uniform, differ substantially with time and place. The inspiration of their producers was not one-dimensional. More important than ascribing motives, however, is the recognition that such representations are themselves cultural agents: the texts' effects and reception by their audiences cannot be bound by the aims of their authors and purveyors, commercial or otherwise.²²

An essential element in the emotional resonance of these works lay in their claim of truth. Implicitly, these stories were not trivial or recreational like fiction, but rather should be taken seriously. The majority of crime accounts advertised truth in their titles, with the “*warhafftige neue Zeitung*” (truthful new report) becoming a standard formula. The repeated emphasis on truth has been linked with oral traditions as well as with these developing genres whose veracious status was still in question.²³ Just as established newspapers do not bother to describe their contents explicitly as “true,” while less respected publications may advertise “true crime,” the sixteenth century already saw a tendency for application of the “*warhafftig*” label especially to accounts whose events were surprising or hard to believe.²⁴ The author of a 1582 pamphlet dealing with both disasters and crime commented explicitly on both the emotional content and the importance of the reader's perception of truth: “My dearest reader, this is unfortunately, may God have mercy, one piece of horrifying news after another . . . so that my heart nearly breaks and my eyes fill with tears. I don't know how it seems to you, for there are many who will refuse to believe, since it does not affect them and appears to be false and invented.”²⁵ Disbelief made people ignore signs of God's punishment; but as they realized the truth, they should join in heartfelt sympathy for the woes of others.

²¹ On authors' low pay, see Walter Krieg, *Materialien zu einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Bücher-Preise und des Autoren-Honorars vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1953), 79–82.

²² For an effective treatment of crime texts as shapers as well as reflectors of culture, see Daniel Cohen, *Pillars of Salt, Monuments of Grace: New England Crime Literature and the Origins of American Popular Culture, 1674–1860* (New York and Oxford, 1993).

²³ See Roger Chartier, ed., *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Princeton, 1989), 8; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983); Lorna Jane Abray, *The People's Reformation: Magistrates, Clergy, and Commons in Strasbourg, 1500–1598* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), 77–78; Lennard Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (Philadelphia, 1997), 42–70.

²⁴ In my sample, over half of the crime reports were explicitly labeled as true; in a randomly selected listing of news reports (*neue Zeitung*) in the VD 16 bibliography of sixteenth-century works, fewer than a quarter (22 of 120) were so labeled; *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts: VD 16*, 22 vols. (Stuttgart, 1983–), 14: 464–81.

²⁵ “Mein gelebster Leser / es ist leider Gott erbarmts ein erschröckliche Neue zeitung vber die ander . . . das mir mein Hertz zerspringen wil / vnnd meine Augen zu wasser wöllen werden / nit weiß ich wie es vmb dich sicht denn deren viel sind / die jnen kein glauben geben / dieweil sies nit antrifft / vnd als erlogen vnd erdicht muß sein.” *Drey Wahafftige [sic] Neue Zeitung. Die sehr erschröcklich sind / Die erst*

As Lennard Davis has pointed out, the “truth” purveyed in such works might have little to do with modern standards of literal truth; the deeper moral truth took precedence over mere factual details.²⁶ Yet the demand for truth, the insistence that the content derived from and bore directly on real life, was an integral part of sensationalism.

The combination of truth with appeals to the heart underlined the religious focus of these works. Virtually all crime accounts published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries connected their stories with an edifying Christian message. Many crime reports in song form were set to the tunes of hymns, such as “Kompt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn” (Come unto me, says the son of God) or “Ewiger Vater in Himmelreich” (Eternal Father in heaven).²⁷ Authors of crime reports explicitly advertised crime stories as relevant to all Christians because they gave warning of the consequences of sin. While the crimes recounted in print tended to be only the most horrific, authors could point to the slippery slopes that led from seemingly minor infractions to the worst of crimes. The Protestant cleric Johannes Füglin, reporting on the dual murder in 1565 of a Basel burgher and his granddaughter by the old man’s godson, emphasized the early vices that led to the criminal’s fall. He had neglected his family, had run into debt, and had taken to drink—sins that set him on the path to murder.²⁸ Similar claims were made about such entry-level sins as disobeying parents, cursing, drinking, gambling, and of course, giving way to lust.²⁹ Reports about youthful offenders regularly pointed to the need for a rigorous godly upbringing to avoid raising such monstrous criminals.

Although commentators on later sensationalism often dismiss the pious moral-

vo[n] der Statt Straßburg . . . Die Ander von Peter Niern wie derselbig wunderbarlich gefangen / vnnd gericht ist worden . . . (Heidelberg, 1582), Wick F30.2, 22a-23, ZB. Here and elsewhere translations are mine.

²⁶ See Davis, *Factual Fictions*, 82.

²⁷ Examples include, for the first tune, *Neue Warhafft / Auch Erschröckliche Zeitunge: Wie ein Son vnd Tochter Sampt einer Dienstmagd / jhren Leiblichen / Natürlichen Vatter / Hauptman Jacob Eliner . . . zu Brägentz am Bodensee jämerlicher . . . weiß Ermördt haben . . .* (Augsburg, 1595), Ye 5071, SBB; *Eine Warhafftige vnd erschrockliche Neue Zeittung / Welche sich begeben vnd zugetragen hat / in der Statt Limburg / mit eines reichen Becken Tochter / mit Nahmen Catharina . . .* (Frankfurt am Main, 1626), reproduced in Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Baden-Baden, 1974–1975), 2: no. 118; *Zwo warhafftige neue Zeitung / Die Erste / Welche sich begeben . . . hat in der Stadt Braunschweig . . .* (Magdeburg, 1605), Yd 7852.23, SBB; *Eine warhafftige Neue zeyttung / so sich begeben hat zu Eschwein / wie allda ein mörder ist eingebracht worden / welcher 55. Mord mit seiner eygen Hand verbracht hat . . .* (Coburg, 1597), BL; *Ein Gründliche auch warhafftige vnd erschrockliche [sic] neue Zeitung / von sechs Mördern . . .* (1603), Ye 5571, SBB. For the second, *Warhafftige vnd zuvor Vnerhörte erschrockliche neue Zeitung: Von einem Mörder / sampt seinem Weyb vnd Tochter . . .* (Constance, 1602), BL; *Drey Warhafftige Neue Zeitungen. Die Erste / Von dem gewaltigen . . . Wetter . . . Die Ander / auß dem Nederland* (Cologne, 1598), BL.

²⁸ Johannes Füglin, *Beschreibung eines grausamen Mordts / so in der Loblichen vnd weiterürnpten Statt Basel / nach Christi geburt M.D.LXV. vergangen ist* (Basel, 1565), ZB.

²⁹ See, for example, on disobedience: *Eigentlicher Bericht und traurige Zeitung / Von unterschiedlicher Wunderzeichen . . . Erbärmliche Neue Zeitung / Von einer ungehorsamen Tochter* (1673), Ye 7681, SBB; on cursing: *Warhafftige Zeitung / So niemals erhört / weil die Welt gestanden / welche sich begeben zu Quedelburg in Sachsen* (Erfurt, 1621), in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, no. 117; on drinking and gambling: *Ein warhafftiger / grundlicher Bericht vnd neue Zeitung: Was sich mit einem vollen Weinschlauch vnd seinem ehelichen Weib / die groß schwanger gewesen . . .* (Erfurt, 1616), BL; on lust: *Ein warhafftigen bericht vnd neuwe zeittung von einem kloster . . . von der Aabtissin welche grosse vnzucht getrieben mit einem vogt welche zehen kinder mit im gehabt / vnnd dieselbigen jämerlich ermördt . . .* (Cologne, 1599), Ye 5301, SBB.

izing of authors,³⁰ the early clerical authors were undoubtedly sincere in their religious goals. Given the overlap of crime and punishment with the church's territory of sin, clerics felt a duty to explain the place of such events in the divine plan. In fact, the shock value of horrific crimes could be read not simply as a commercial opportunity, but as a sign that God was trying to get people's attention—just as he might with supernatural signs or monstrous births.³¹ God allowed such dreadful crimes, according to Füglin, so that people in their horror would recognize the need for repentance and reform.³² The author of a 1589 broadside discussed at length the need for such examples to rouse sinners from their easy security to a sharpened sense of repentance, "but because of great grief and sorrow, and even more from natural human horror, no writer can easily accomplish this." The temptation was to be silent—but this would be cowardly shirking of responsibility, letting slip a chance to do good.³³

The juridical conception of crime and punishment strongly paralleled the Christian scheme of sin. In the primal drama of Christian doctrine, violation of God's law deserves the punishment of damnation. Redemption becomes possible only through the miraculous blood sacrifice of Christ, who takes on the inevitable punishment and overcomes it by his divine innocence. Like sin, crime demands punishment and was in fact defined primarily by this characteristic. In early modern Germany, serious crimes were *peinlich*—that is, punishable by damage to the body of the offender.³⁴ The reference points of these parallels worked constantly to shape the emotional structure of crime narratives.³⁵ The criminal reenacted both the fall of unaided humanity and the well-deserved punishment that must ensue.

This basic scenario cut across confessional lines, even though both Catholic and Protestant authors sometimes used accounts of crime and punishment to drive home confession-specific messages. A Catholic pamphlet of the seventeenth century, for instance, used the story of a man who murdered his family to emphasize the inevitable punishment of sin: "no one will be spared / as he sows so shall he reap / no one can escape this."³⁶ Protestant authors could use similar content to stress the power of God's word to redeem even the worst sinners through faith. Despite such differences of emphasis, the basic religious framework of sin and punishment underlay all crime narratives.

³⁰ See, for example, W. A. Coupe, review of *The Shocking Ballad Picture Show*, by Tom Cheesman, *Journal of European Studies* 25 (1995): 212–13.

³¹ On the similar evocation of horror in accounts of monstrous births, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York, 1998), 180–81.

³² Füglin, *Beschreibung eines grausamen Mordts*, 16–17.

³³ "Jedoch vor grossem Hertzleid vnd trawren / Javil mehr vor entsetzung Menschlicher Natur / wird solches kein Scribent leichtlich verbringen mögen." *Ware Abcontrafectung ainer erbärmlichen / vnd erschrocklichen Newen Zeytung / so sich zu Erlingen / 4. Meil Wegs von Augspurg . . . verlauffen . . .* (Augsburg, 1589), in *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1550–1600: A Pictorial Catalogue*, Walter L. Strauss, ed., 3 vols. (New York, 1974), 3: 948.

³⁴ See Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* rev. ed. (Leipzig, 1965), s.v. "peinlich."

³⁵ On the power of these parallels in art, see Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago, 1999) and Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985).

³⁶ "keins Menschen wird gar nicht verschont / wie er arbeit wird ihm belohnt / keinem wirds anderst geschehen." *Warhafftige Beschreibung von einer schröcklichen Mordthat / so geschehen 1652 . . . in der Neisischen Herrschafft . . .* (Neisse, 1653), in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, no. 121.

THE FIRST FULL-BLOWN SENSATIONAL treatment of crime, written by the accomplished author and Lutheran minister Burkard Waldis, shows this literature's characteristic combination of horror and uplift, and it marked out the basic contours of the genre. Although little-known today outside the circle of specialists in German literature, Waldis was an active player in the religious, political, and cultural transformations of his day.³⁷ His best-known work, the play *The Prodigal Son*, used the biblical parable to dramatize a Lutheran message on the priority of faith over works, while presenting vivid characterizations of contemporary life. He also wrote a new version of Aesop's fables, psalms, anti-papal satires, and other works. Possibly his least-read publication in modern times, despite its multiple editions in the sixteenth century, is a pamphlet published in 1551: "A true and most horrifying account of how a woman tyrannically murdered her four children and also killed herself, at Weidenhausen near Eschwege in Hesse."³⁸

This pamphlet shares sensationalist features with many later sixteenth-century crime pamphlets, including the "horrifying" title and a grisly woodcut of the mother dismembering her children. Even more striking, however, is Waldis's use of literary techniques to magnify the emotional impact of the crime. He effectively juxtaposed the seeming normality of household routine with the sudden outbreak of horrific violence. The narrative builds suspense and pathos by depicting the pursuit of each child in detail, complete with their direct speeches pleading for their lives. The scene of the first murder illustrates the intensity of his portrayal:

She first went for the eldest son
Attempting to cut off his head;
He quickly to the window sped
To try if he could creep outside;
By the leg she pulled him back inside
And threw him down onto the ground;
He got up and away did bound.³⁹

He ran to hide in the cellar, but she instantly followed him. The account traces her movements as, hatchet in hand, she searched in every corner and finally found him hiding behind a barrel. With no escape possible, he pled for his life:

³⁷ Gustav Milchsack, *Burkard Waldis* (Halle, 1881); Milchsack, introduction to *Der verlorene Sohn, ein Fastnachtspiel* by Burkard Waldis (Halle, 1881); Angelika Reich, "Burkard Waldis," *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit (1450–1600): Ihr Leben und Werk*, Stephan Füssel, ed. (Berlin, 1993).

³⁸ Burkard Waldis, *Eyne warhafftige vnd gantz erschreckliche historien / Wie eyn weib jre vier kinder tyranniglichen ermordet / vnd sich selbst auch vmbbracht hat / Geschehen zu Weidenhausen bei Eschweh in Hessen . . .* (Marburg, 1551), BL. Other editions were printed in Strassburg and Erfurt, and the same text was reprinted as news in Magdeburg, 1578; see Emil Weller, *Annalen der Poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert* (1862; rpt. edn., Hildesheim, 1964), 1: 228; Ye 4415, SBB.

³⁹ "Sie greyff erst nach dem eltsten sohn / Im seinen kopff zuhawen ab / Bald er zum fenster sich begab / Vnd wolt hinaus gekrochen sein / Beim beyn zog sie jn wider hinein / Vnd warff jn vff die erd darnider / Er macht sich auff / entlieff jr wider." Waldis, *Eyne warhafftige vnd gantz erschreckliche historien*, A2.

He said, "O dearest mother mine,
Spare me, I'll do whate'er you say:
I'll carry for you from today
The water the whole winter through.
O please don't kill me! Spare me, do!"
But no plea helped, it was in vain;
The Devil did her will maintain.
She struck him with the self-same dread
As if it were a cabbage head.⁴⁰

Waldis went on, in great circumstantial detail, to recount how she hacked until he was dead, then killed the other children just as gruesomely.

Waldis's mode of storytelling deliberately intensifies the story's horrifying effect. The story directs and demands the audience's imaginative participation: though one knows at the outset that the children have been killed, one cannot help hoping that each attempt to creep into a corner and hide will succeed. The protracted account of the mother's fury allows ample time for the audience to be amazed, at each step, that she does not stop; and the author expressed this amazement. Repeatedly he paused to point out how she lacked the pity that the audience feels for the children. More wrenching than the bare description of bloodshed in the home is the textual insistence that the audience fully imagine the children's terror and innocent pleadings.

Waldis used this emotionally charged crime story to promote a confessional message. The pamphlet reminded readers of the ever-present, prowling devil, warning that all are vulnerable to constant temptation. Only God's grace offered an escape from sin. Further, even the worst of sinners, like this murderous mother, could hope for salvation through faith. After attempting suicide, the mother lived long enough to repent, under Lutheran tutelage in the word of God:

Th'eternal God then lent his grace,
That by God's word improved was she,
So she converted blessedly,
And earnestly did yield her soul to God.⁴¹

The story thus drove home a Lutheran lesson to souls stirred by the story's emotional intensity.

Although Waldis was unusual among crime authors in his literary ability, his pamphlet encapsulates key features of sixteenth-century sensationalism. The patterns of emotional focus found in this pamphlet were widely repeated in crime accounts of the later sixteenth century and on into the seventeenth. Murder within the family was by far the most common theme, accounting for over half of the

⁴⁰ "Er sprach hertz liebste mutter mein / Verschon mein doch vnd laß dir sagen / Ich wil dir all das wasser tragen / Das dir den winter thut von nöten / Verschon mein doch wölst mich nit tödten. / Da halff keyn bitt es war vmb sunst / Ihrn willen schafft des Teuffels kunst / Sie schlug vff jn gleich nach der schwer / Als obs eyn frisches krautheupt wer." Waldis, *Eyne warhafftige vnd gantz erschreckliche historien*, A2.

⁴¹ "Da gab der ewig Gott sein seggen / Da sie durch Gottes wort gelert / Das sie sich seliglich bekert / Mit ernst thet sich zu Gott ergeben." Waldis, *Eyne warhafftige vnd gantz erschreckliche historien*, A3v.

reports, not counting attacks on families that came from outside the household. Among these familial killings, the murder of children appeared in two-thirds of the reports (42 of 63).⁴² In most cases (47 of 63), the murder did not stop with just one family member. Multiple murder within the family became the most widely featured pattern of sensationalist reporting, with emphasis on violation of the ties of blood.⁴³ Intergenerational violence, especially of parents against children or children against parents, recurred again and again. Failures of parental care to the point of murder, or failures of discipline that allowed children to run wild and attack their parents, regularly received the blame.⁴⁴

Even the most inherently shocking crimes, like these multiple familial murders, were not left to do their work of horrifying unaided but were reinforced by techniques of representation. Although few authors were as virtuosic as Waldis, the emotive language, direct dialogue, building of suspense through circumstantial detail, and graphic description of bloody violence were common in the genre. The emotional appeals of these works regularly invoked the bonds that ought to exist between blood relations, as well as the tenderness for helpless children and pregnant women that should be felt by all but was violated by the killers. Typically, in 1585, a father killed his young son in the course of a nine-murder killing spree, "as if all natural inborn blood loyalty was extinguished in him."⁴⁵ Relations of family, blood, and household received special emphasis even in nonfamilial killings. In one case, for example, two 1573 editions of the same song recounted a case of rape, murder, and mutilation by a foster son of the victim's father; though the texts are the same, in one of the titles a hasty or overzealous printer made them blood brother and sister.⁴⁶

Direct dialogue was especially likely to be placed in the mouths of victims,

⁴² If multiple accounts of the same crime were excluded, these figures would be 37 of 56, about the same proportion. Since the focus here is on representations, I count different reports of a single crime as separate items.

⁴³ For a fuller discussion of this pattern, see Wiltenburg, "Family Murders: Gender, Reproduction, and the Discourse of Crime in Early Modern Germany," *Colloquia Germanica: Internationale Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 28, nos. 3–4 (1995): 357–74.

⁴⁴ See, for example, in addition to those cases cited elsewhere, *Eigentlicher Bericht und traurige Zeitung / Von unterschiedlichen Wunderzeichen . . . Erbärmliche Neue Zeitung / Von einer ungehorsamen Tochter* (1673), Ye 7681, SBB [daughter kills parents, children, siblings]; *Erschröckliche neue Zeitung. Von einem Mörder Christman genant . . .* (1581), BL [father kills children, many others]; *Neue Warhafft / Auch Erschröckliche Zeitunge: Wie ein Son vnd Tochter . . . jhren Leiblichen / Natürlichen Vatter . . .* (1595), Ye 5071, SBB [children kill father]; *Neue Zeittung vnd Warhafft erzehlung . . .* (Augsburg, 1602), in Dorothy Alexander and Walter L. Strauss, eds., *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut 1600–1700: A Pictorial Catalogue*, 2 vols. (New York, 1977), 2: 452 [father kills children]; *Warhafftige Beschreibung von einer schrecklichen Mordthat / so geschehen 1652 . . . in der Neisichen Herrschafft . . .* (1653), in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, no. 121 [father kills pregnant wife and son].

⁴⁵ "als bey dem alle natürliche angeborne blutstrew verloschen." *Warhafftige vnd schreckliche Neue zeitung / von einer Fürnemmen Person / welche durch verführung deß bösen Feindes / vnd grimmigem zorn / auff ein mal Acht mordt verbracht . . . zu Wangen im Algäw . . .* (Lauingen, 1585), A2v, Flugschr. 1585–12, SBB. See also *Neue Zeittung vnd Warhafft erzehlung / welcher gestalt ein reicher Bawr . . . Bernhard Kuntz . . .* (Augsburg, 1602), in Alexander and Strauss, *German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, 2: 452. The father was so possessed by greed that he even forgot fatherly love: "ja der angebornen Liebe / vnd Väterlichen hertzlichen Trew / gegen seinen Leibeignen Kindern."

⁴⁶ *Ein warhafftig vnnd doch Erbermlich Geschicht / so sich begeben hat / zu Dürssenreit / von einem vngeratne[n] Ehrlosen Bößwicht / wie er ein Junge Tochter zu vnehrn begert . . .* (Eger, 1573), Wick F22.23, p. 299, ZB; *Ein warhafftig vnnd erbermliche Geschicht / Von einem vngeratnen Son welcher seine leibliche[n] Schwester hat notzwingen wollen . . .* (Eger, 1573), Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen.

fostering a vivid reimagining of the scene and encouraging audience sympathy.⁴⁷ The scenario of victims pleading for their lives—particularly such pathetic scenes as depicted by Waldis, with children naively attempting to bargain with heartless killers—became a repeated feature. The children offered simple gifts, promised good behavior, cried, or smilingly offered to play, in ways that strongly evoked childish innocence in the face of unthinkable horror. In a song from 1573, a young man and a friend killed his guardian and the whole family in order to steal his inheritance. The three small daughters were slaughtered even though “they pleaded with sweet words from their lovely mouths, that they would spare their lives.”⁴⁸ A murderous father in 1580 killed the little boy who ran up “to play with his father; he quickly took him by the arm and stabbed him to the heart.”⁴⁹ The children’s direct speeches are especially pathetic, like that of one five-year-old girl: “indeed she cried most bitterly / and said unto her mother / O mother dear, don’t do to me as you did to Philip there.” But the mother went on to kill her as she had her brothers.⁵⁰ These are just a few among many examples.⁵¹

Direct personification conveyed immediacy and intensity in other cases, too. In a Basel killing of 1565, a song account gave not only the words of the young female victim as she sought to dissuade her murderer, but also her thoughts:

O God, now must I die?
Then thought the pious maid;
Is there no one on earth
Who will come to my aid?
Then I Lord Jesus’ mercy pray,
Who for us lowly sinners
On the cross his life did lay.⁵²

⁴⁷ Direct dialogue appears in at least 28 of my approximately 120 reports (likely an underestimate because I was not systematically looking for this feature early in my research) and is especially common (23 of 63) in reports of familial killing.

⁴⁸ “Bath sie mit süßen worten / auß jhren lieblichen mundt / solt jhn jr leben fristen thun.” *Ein Jämerlich vnd Erbärmlich new Lied / Von einem jungen Gesellen / welcher durch bose gesellschaft / verführt worden / das er sein Vormund selb eylfft / ermordet hat* . . . (n.p., 1573), A3, Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen.

⁴⁹ “mit dem Vatter zu schertzen / das nam er bey dem Arm geschwindt / vnd stach jm nach dem hertzen.” *Die Drit / von einem Küffer Christoff Bihl genandt / Welcher 9. seiner Kinder jemerlich hat vmbgebracht* . . . (n.p., 1580) [fragment of title page], Wick F29.110, p. 214, ZB.

⁵⁰ “Weinet bitterlich in der gestalt / Vnd thet zur Mutter sagen. Ach liebe Mutter thu mirs nit / Wie dem Philipp dort hinden . . .” *Drey Warhafftige Neue Zeitungen. Die Erste / Von dem gewaltigen . . . Wetter . . . Die Ander / auß der Nederland* (Cologne, 1598), A3, BL.

⁵¹ For other examples of direct speech by child-victims, see Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women*, 225–31; *Zwo Warhafftige Neue Zeitung / Die erst / Von einem Mörder / der sein Ehelich Weib / vnnd Sechs Kinder ermordet hat* (1599), Ye 5311, SBB; *Warhafftige . . . Zeitung. Von etlichen Jesuwitern . . . Die ander Zeitung. So sich zu Hall im Ihnthal mit einem Burger . . .* (1607), BL; *Warhafftige Beschreibung von einer schrecklichen Mordthat*, in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, no. 121; *Warhafftige Zeitung / So niemals erhört*, in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, no. 117; *Ein Gründtliche auch warhafftige vnd erschlöckliche [sic] neue Zeitung / von sechs Mördern . . .* (1603), Ye 5571, SBB; *Drey warhafftige grundtliche Zeitungen / Die erste / Von etlichen Hexen . . . Die ander / Von einem Burger vnd Thuchmacher . . .* (1610), ZB.

⁵² “O Got muß ich hie sterben / sprach sich das Meitlin fromm: / Ist dann kein mensch auff erden / der mir zu hilffe kumm / So erbarm sich der Herr Jesus Christ / der für vnns arme Sünder / am Creütz gestorben ist.” Wolfgang Meyer, *Ein kläglich lied von dem erschrocklichen vnd grausamen Mordt / so geschehen ist / in der loblichen Statt Basel / den fünfften tag Hornungs / in dem M. D. LXV. Jare* (Basel, 1565), A6v, Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen.

This same song also feelingly recorded the grief of the girl's father and the horror of the townspeople, both in direct speech. In another familial killing, this time of a mother by her daughter, the victim appealed to their relationship: "Think of how with great suffering I bore you for nine months beneath my heart! God will punish you for this."⁵³

Extensive detail about the events of the crime, as in Waldis's account, injected drama into a scenario whose outcome was known. Accounts of multiple murders typically recounted each killing separately, with details of place and action. The killer moved inexorably from one room to the next; victims awoke at the noise of the first killings and ran to see what was the matter. Some resisted their attackers, as in the heartrending murder of pastor Johan Schwanfelder's daughter in 1570.⁵⁴ Reports regularly described the means of discovering the crime, such as the suspicious smoke in the night noticed by neighbors of a woman who chopped up and cooked her husband,⁵⁵ or the alarm given by a horrified eyewitness.⁵⁶ Where the killer was not immediately known, authors sometimes traced the unfolding of the mystery, as in Basel in 1565, when the killer was tracked through stolen goods.⁵⁷ Accounts also detailed attempts to hide the evidence, such as the setting of fires, which could lead to further mayhem,⁵⁸ and other actions taken to hide or disguise the body. Circumstantial description vividly recreated the scenes of violence.

Abundant detail could be offered in nonliterary form as well. Broad­sides typically provided woodcut images that gave a literal depiction of the crimes, mirroring the textual account and sometimes surpassing it. Nonliterate consumers could reconstruct the essentials from the picture alone. Often the specific punishments prescribed for the culprit's execution could be "read," along with the setting and circumstances of the crime itself. Most artists were scrupulous about showing the precise weapons used, and they often illustrated specific wounds inflicted on the victims. Coloration, added by stenciling, could provide the red of blood. In some cases, the level of depiction reached a surprisingly clinical completeness. The 1573 case of rape, murder, and mutilation inspired at least four publications; two of them featured, in addition to a depiction of the murderer hacking up the victim's body into sixteen pieces, a sort of parts diagram showing the body reconstructed like a

⁵³ "Gedenck daß ich mit grossem schmerz / 9. Monat dich getragen hab vnder meinem Hertz / Gott wird dich darumb straffen." *Ein erschrockliche neue Zeittung / Welche sich zugetragen vnd begeben zehen Meil von Dantzig in der Hauptstatt Lauenburg da ein Tochter mit Hilff ihres Buhlen Vatter vnd Mutter / sampt ihrem Schwesterlein von neun Jahren jämmerlich vmb das Leben gebracht hat . . .* (Nuremberg, 1664), A1v, ZB.

⁵⁴ Johan Schwanfelder, *Warhafftiger Bericht von dem jämmerlichen vnd erbärmlichen Mordt / so zu Sprendenlingen in der Dreyeych an zweyen Kindern im Pfarhof* (Frankfurt am Main, 1570), Wick F19.15, p. 21, ZB. This startling first-person account by the father and grandfather of the two victims demonstrates his conviction that the publication of his grief and the details of the crime served a religious purpose.

⁵⁵ Jacobus Cockelius, *Erschreckliche / vnerhöte [sic] Neue zeittung / welche sich newlich in diesem M.D.LXII. Jare zu Dressigk . . . zugetragen . . .* (1562), BL.

⁵⁶ For example, *Ein warhafftig vnnnd doch Erbermlich Geschicht / so sich begeben hat / zu Dürssenreit*, Wick F22.23, ZB.

⁵⁷ Meyer, *Ein kläglich lied von dem erschrocklichen vnd grausamen Mordt*.

⁵⁸ For an example see, in addition to Basel in 1565, *Zwo neue Zeitung / Die erste. Von einem Jüngling / welcher sein leiblichen Vatter erschlage[n] darnach sein hauß angezündt . . . 1583 . . . Basellick in Pomern*, BL.

jigsaw puzzle.⁵⁹ These broadsides also gave a graphic rendition of the victim's disfigured head (mutilated to the point that, as explained in the text, authorities actually did reassemble the body in order to identify the victim). The report of another dismemberment in 1605 provided a similar diagram.⁶⁰

Authors attributed little mystery to the motives, often economic, behind such heinous crimes. The killers' deeds, rendered inexorable by the known outcome, appeared as the result of their giving the devil an opening by prior sin: often drinking, gambling, greed, or anger, but sometimes only cursing or failing to pray and attend church. Past a certain point, the devil seemed to drive them on to ever-greater crime. Their capture and punishment, usually described in detail, offered the assurance of retribution. In contrast to the sensationalism of later centuries, the perpetrators were usually not examined closely as individuals, nor was the audience offered vicarious entry into their minds.⁶¹ The chief focus of imagined experience was on the victims—with perhaps some shift to the killer once he or she was condemned and repentant, suffering the excruciating but well-deserved pangs of execution. As Daniel Cohen and Karen Halttunen have argued for the later gallows sermons of early America, the religious assumptions of this literature interpreted crime as resulting from inadequate curbs on general human sinfulness, rather than unique characteristics of the criminal.⁶² Not the killers' distinctive psyches, but their weakness and the devil's temptation led to their fall.

Although the treatment of criminal psychology may appear thin to modern sensibilities, the narratives of early sensationalism are thick with blood. The scenes overflowed with gore, as culprits seized such weapons as hatchets and cleavers with which to attack their families. Crime accounts typically gave exact specifics on the number and location of the wounds—often messy mutilations, decapitations, even disembowelings. These killings involved no simple daggers to the heart, as in contemporary depictions of, for example, the suicide of the chaste Lucretia.⁶³ Rather, their grotesque effects on the bodies of victims underlined the devilish inspiration of the criminals. At the same time, the flow of blood evoked symbolic inversion of the holy bleeding of Christ's sacrifice. Some pieces even attached pious songs on the blood and passion of Christ to their portrayals of criminal mayhem.⁶⁴ Just as circumstantial as the graphic crimes were the complete recitations of

⁵⁹ Wolfgang Harms and Michael Schilling, eds., *Die Sammlung der Zentralbibliothek in Zürich: Kommentierte Ausgabe*, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1997), 2: nos. 39, 40, 41, pp. 76–79.

⁶⁰ *Abbildung des erschrecklichen abscheulichen vnd erbermlichen Mords / Welcher zu Hall in Sachsen . . . begangen worden an Jacob Spohr . . .* (Leipzig, 1605), Alexander and Strauss, *German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, 2: 718.

⁶¹ Interestingly, one exception to this rule in my sample is very early, in a broadside from 1534. Here the killer of a priest confessed that he had planned the crime several times before, “aber alles inn yhm selbs gedacht / was wiltu thun / thun es nit / vnd also vnderlassen bleyben / biß er doch zu letst leyder also volbracht hab” (but thought to himself, what are you doing, don't do it, and so left it undone, until unfortunately at last he carried it out). Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500–1550*, Walter L. Strauss, ed., 4 vols. (New York, 1974), 4: 1207. This kind of entry into the criminal's mind was not imitated by later sixteenth-century accounts, which instead offered formulaic references to the devil and sin.

⁶² Cohen, *Pillars of Salt*, 83–88; Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul*, 14–15.

⁶³ See, for example, Ludwig Binder, *Diß lied sagt von Lucretia / Do sie vmb jr ehre kam. / Do het sie also grosse scham / Das sie jr selbs das leben nam.* (Nuremberg, c. 1560), BL.

⁶⁴ For example, *Warhafftige Beschreibung von einer schrecklichen Mordthat*, in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, no. 121, and *Warhafftige Zeitung / So niemals erhört*, in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, no. 117.

punishments: the number of tearings with red-hot pincers, the specific instruments used, the number of hours it took for the sufferer to die. The horrors of the bloody murders had religious connotations in their evocation of hellish disorder, as well as a political undercurrent in their implicit justification of the gruesome mutilations inflicted on the condemned at the time of execution.

Also political, of course, was the implicit or explicit endorsement of governmental authority in its role as crime fighter. Accounts sometimes praised authorities—"Ein Erbar vnd Wolweiser Rat" (a wise and honorable city council)—for their zeal in bringing the guilty to justice, especially when the arrest required unusual measures.⁶⁵ In the Basel case of 1565, authorities had searched far and wide to track down the killer and achieved the unusual coup of an arrest outside the city's territory. Wolfgang Meyer, writing about the murders, dedicated his song to the Basel authorities and praised their efforts in glowing terms. Going further than most authors, he explicitly reminded the public that the government was the source of their peace and security and thus deserved their utmost loyalty.⁶⁶ Such accounts were sometimes endorsed by authorities themselves, for whom they could serve the same purposes as the spectacle of public execution. A broadside about a murder in 1593 boasted of how its account bore the seal of the local judge, attesting to its veracity.⁶⁷ In a 1589 case near Augsburg, the local judge went to the imperial city to get legal instructions, taking with him on his return an Augsburg artist (Hans Schultes the Elder) to portray the scene. The artist's work decorated the resulting broadside.⁶⁸

The generic patterns I have been describing—particularly the emotive conventions that governed the portrayal of familial murders, but also the elements shared with crime reporting more broadly—suggest a powerful interplay among texts, audiences, and authors. Clearly, these texts were shaping broadly held expectations about how criminal violence was to be recounted and interpreted.⁶⁹ Of course, the generic conventions could not constrain all readers to approve or accept the authors' views, but the patterning of the narratives along common lines shows what was perceived by authors as successful and appropriate for such discourse. The pleading of the murdered children, for example, which to modern readers seems an odd interpolation of invented dialogue into supposedly factual narratives, was clearly accepted as a normal and even expected feature in accounts of familial murder. While in some cases, like that of Waldis, it was at least conceivable that the

⁶⁵ See *Eigentliche verzeichnis der erschrecklichen vnd gewelichen Morthat / so sich zugetragen in der weitberühten Stadt Halle in Sachssen / von einem mit Namen Christoff Windt . . .* (Magdeburg, 1572), Harms and Schilling, *Sammlung der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, 2: 24. Similarly, the author of *Ein warhafftig vnnnd doch Erbermlich Geschicht . . . zu Dürssenreit* praised the "frommen Herren" (worthy lords) who sent men out to find the culprit, Wick F22.23, p. 304, ZB.

⁶⁶ Meyer, *Ein kläglich lied von dem erschrocklichen vnd grausamen Mordt*.

⁶⁷ *Ein grausame Erschröckenliche Geschicht / So geschehen ist im Obern grawen Pundt . . .* (Augsburg, 1593), in Strauss, *German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, 2: 493.

⁶⁸ *Ware Abcontrafectung ainer erbärmlichen / vnd erschrocklichen Newen Zeytung / so sich zu Erlingen / 4. Meil Wegs von Augspurg . . . verlauffen . . .* (Augsburg, 1589), in Strauss, *German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, 3: 948.

⁶⁹ For England in the seventeenth century, Malcolm Gaskill reports cases in which court testimony echoed the conventions established in printed narratives. Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000), 222–23. On effects of media representations of crime, see Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, 40–43.

author could have spoken with the murderer and received some account of the victims' words, the children's pleas are repeated in formulaic terms across many accounts. Circumstantial details of the victims' behavior could be included even when the murderer died before capture, leaving no possible witness.⁷⁰ Despite their claims to truth, the essence of these accounts lay less in factual accuracy than in emotional impact.

The strength of the genre's appeal is illustrated not only by the appearance of multiple editions but even more by the retelling of stories that fit the pattern. In the 1560s, this appeal apparently motivated the resurrection of a decades-old crime, that of a baker's apprentice who killed his master's family. The published account offered a fairly standard familial killing, complete with direct speech of the young child begging for life, and of the repentant killer at his gruesome execution. Only at the end did readers learn that the events took place over fifty years earlier, in 1504.⁷¹ Entire scenarios of familial killing could be transposed from one time and place to another. Waldis's 1551 account of the murderous mother was reprinted as news in 1578. Similarly, the case of the bloodthirsty daughter Magdalena, who killed her whole family, was reported as news from Flanders in 1650 and again more than twenty years later, in 1673, as events in Moravia.⁷² These revivals bespeak popularity, with a receptive audience particularly for the emotive features emphasized in these depictions of household mayhem.

The resonance of these texts extends to social, religious, and political arenas, in ways that respond to the events of their age but also preserve for the texts themselves a role in constructing contemporary social meanings. The major outpouring of early sensationalist crime reports fell, perhaps not surprisingly, in a period of high crime in the second half of the sixteenth century. Richard van Dülmen has identified the decades from 1560 to 1600 as showing particularly high numbers of executions and high activity among bands of robbers.⁷³ The numbers of extant crime reports—growing from the 1550s, ballooning in the 1570s–1580s, then tapering after 1610—do owe something to the accidents of collection and survival; over half of my examples from the 1570s–1580s were preserved in the single collection by Johann Wick. Nevertheless, the pattern coincides generally with an upsurge in crime, as well as with the growth of witchcraft prosecutions in the later sixteenth century. Although one cannot necessarily assume a correlation between high crime and high sensationalism, these accounts did emerge from an atmosphere charged with actual violence and fear.

Of course, the crimes featured in sensationalist accounts were not the most

⁷⁰ See, for example, *Zween Erschreckliche geschicht / Gesangs weise. Die Erste / von einem Wirt im Allergaw / Bastian Schönmundt genandt / . . . Die Ander / Eine erschreckliche vnd Warhafftige Newe Zeitung . . . zu Langenberck . . . das ein schwanger Weib vom Teuffel besessen / jren Man sampt drey Kindern / auch sich selbs mit jhrer Leibesfrucht jemmerlich ermordt vnd vmbgebracht hat* (1596), Ye 5141, SBB.

⁷¹ Contz Haß, *Ein Spruch von einem Peckenknecht / der funff vnschuldiger Menschen grausamklich ermordet / Zu Wien in Osterreich* (Augsburg, c. 1562), Wick F13.1, pp. 5, 10a, ZB.

⁷² *Zwo vnerhörte vnd schröckliche Zeitungen / Die erste / wie daß ein Kauffmans Sohn sich an eine Dienstmagd verlobt . . .* (1650), in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, no. 120, based on a Dutch edition ("Gedruckt nach der Niderlandischen Copey"). See also *Eigentlicher Bericht und traurige Zeitung / Von unterschiedlichen Wunderzeichen . . .* (1673), Ye 7681, SBB.

⁷³ Richard van Dülmen, *Theatre of Horror: Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Germany*, Elisabeth Neu, trans. (Cambridge, 1990), 82–84.

common, but rather those perceived as most horrifying. In the shapes these dangers took, in particular of damage to family, one can discern tensions related to social change. One might argue, perhaps, that blood ties, as the deepest of human bonds, are the natural ground for sensationalism. In other historical settings, however, emotional weight could be placed elsewhere, such as on sexual or marital bonds. The focus on familial and particularly intergenerational ties sent powerful messages about perceived threats to social and especially familial order. In their evocation of the horror of household bloodshed, a number of works pointed also to economic strain: The children were hungry and reminded the raging father of his economic failure; the greedy youths demanded their inheritance; the father's anger over debts drove him to violence.⁷⁴ In the hard economic times of the later sixteenth century, such burdens bulked large, even as they interacted with the new importance placed on family by social authorities. Post-Reformation reformers, convinced of the central importance of the family, sought to boost parental power by such steps as outlawing clandestine marriages and requiring parental consent for marriage.⁷⁵ These reinforcements of parental authority, however, coincided with pressures of price inflation and population growth that tended to undermine parents' ability to back their will with real economic clout. Increased intergenerational tensions contributed to both the outbreak of familial violence and the intense interest in its portrayal.⁷⁶

The sensationalist portrayals of family violence dramatized the ways in which familial relations could go terribly, inhumanly wrong. Such accounts furthered confessional aims by encouraging a posture of fear in the face of unthinkable horrifying invasions of domestic and civic peace. Such ghastly realities, by implication, could not be countered by mere human means but underlined the need for repentance. And not only religion, but the right brand of religion, was needed to avert attack from the ever-prowling devil. In addition to general exhortations to pious life, authors recommended godly familial discipline as an essential condition for both basic social cohesion and the saving of souls. Parents were urged to "take them under the rod while they can still be bent,"⁷⁷ to prevent their children from literally going to the devil. While they encouraged empathetic involvement in the suffering of victims and cultivated tenderness for the helpless innocence of children, these works also endorsed authoritative discipline in both family and society.

The religious content of these works, linking shocking crimes with the devil and

⁷⁴ See, for example, *Die Drit / von einem Küffer Christoff Bihl . . .* (title page mutilated), Wick F29.110 [improvident father, hunger]; *Zwo neue Zeitung / Die Erste / Ein erschrocklich vn[d] sehr erbärmlich Geschicht . . . in Braband* (Vienna, 1580), Ye 4527, SBB [hunger]; *Klägliche neue Zeitung / Von einem reich[en] Burger Wolff Breymüller genandt / so geschehen ist zu Auffkirchen im Bayerlandt . . .* (n.p., 1583), Wick F31.63, p. 140, ZB [greed]; *Zwo neue Zeitung / Die erste. Von einem Jüngling / welcher sein leiblichen Vatter erschlage[n] darnach sein hauß angezündt . . . 1583 . . . Baselick in Pomern*, BL [greedy heir]; *Ein Erschröckliche vnnd Klägliche Historij / von einem Mörder Blasi Enderlin genannt . . .* (Ulm, 1585), Wick F33.75, p. 206 [debts]. Multiple examples could be given.

⁷⁵ See Thomas Robisheaux, *Rural Society and the Search for Order in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1989); Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality, and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1994) and Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford, 1989).

⁷⁶ See Wiltenburg, "Family Murders."

⁷⁷ "nemmens vnder dRut / weil sie noch zucken sind." *Ein ware gschicht vnd neue Zeitung / Von einem falschen Meitlin . . .* (c. 1650), Ye 7266, A4v, SBB.

urging moral reform, were not mere formulas but an essential part of the early sensationalist outlook. From this point of view, there was no significant difference between, on the one hand, accounts of killers who were so overtaken by the devil that they killed their own families or mutilated corpses, and, on the other, accounts of witchcraft or of murderers who used black magic to evade capture. While moderns would find supernatural forces at work in the latter and not the former, authors of these accounts saw the drama of God and the Devil equally in both. Thus a pastor-author could find "a living sermon" even in murders committed against his own family, with their lessons on the godly acceptance of death and the blessings of repentance and forgiveness.⁷⁸ Religious messages not only promoted personal reform to individuals but also conveyed a broader sense of living in especially troublous and sinful times. Crime combined forces with comets, misbirths, and other ills to contribute to a widespread post-Reformation sense of crisis, one that fueled growing apocalyptic ideas as well.⁷⁹ For Johann Wick, with his astonishing collection of wonders, disasters, and crimes, the cultivation of horror was both practical and devotional exercise, gathering evidence of divine wrath as a means of urging humanity to change its ways.

The sense of threat fostered by sensationalist reports worked in support of political authority, even in the absence of explicitly political messages. They could also be used specifically to buttress religious and political arguments for increased social discipline. Johannes Füglin, in his own account of a familial murder, invoked what he saw as a larger trend toward such crimes to support his view of general moral decay and the need for greater governmental action against vice:

In the shedding of human blood, such shocking and horrifying cases have sometimes also occurred in the past, but more and more in the present day. So that not only those who are somewhat related (although in truth we are all brothers and sisters) have dipped their hands in each other's blood, but also the very nearest relations . . . A few years ago a father stabbed his own son to death over a single pin. Just a few years later a son hardheartedly hacked his father to death, only because of his faithful admonition.⁸⁰

Crime discourses fed on each other and assumed a level of exposure in the audience that would prime them for the reception of directive messages. Their political thrust not only encouraged submission to authority but also could urge political rule to more conscientious recognition of its moral and religious duty.

SENSATIONAL CRIME ACCOUNTS, in the sixteenth century as later, occupied a distinctive rhetorical space created by their emotional resonance. The raising of

⁷⁸ Schwanfelder, *Warhafftiger Bericht*, Wick F19.15, ZB.

⁷⁹ See Robin Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford, Calif., 1988).

⁸⁰ "inn vergiessung menschen bluts / so grausame / erschrockenliche sachen etwan vor zeiten auch / aber je lenger je mer vff heütigen tag sich zu tragendt / vnd begeben. Also das nit allein die jenigen / so ein anderen etwas verwandt (wiewol wir in der warheit alle brüder vnd schwesteren sind) die hend ein anderen inn dem blut wäschen / sondern auch die aller nechsten blutsfreündt . . . Vor wenig jaren hat ein vatter seinen leiblichen son / vmb einer eintzigen gufen willern erstochen. Vber wenig jar härnach ein son seinen vatter / von wegen seiner treüwen warnung steinhert zu todt gehauwen." Füglin, *Beschreibung eines grausamen Mordts*, 15–16.

emotion, or appeal to the passions, was traditionally the province of rhetoric. The most important task for an orator, according to Cicero, was "to discover how to convince the persons whom he wishes to persuade and how to arouse their emotions."⁸¹ Although scholastic intellectuals may have shied away from emotional rhetoric precisely because of its dependence on human response rather than objective logic, the power of words to rouse the passions was well known.⁸² Medieval commentators expected strong emotional reactions to literature. Clerics complained, in fact, that people were more deeply moved by trivial stories than by serious religious instruction: "One who is left unmoved by the story of Christ's Passion read in the Gospel for Holy Week, is stirred to tears when the tale of Guy of Warwick is read aloud to him."⁸³ The renewed enthusiasm for rhetoric among humanists, growing in the fifteenth century, endorsed the ability of language to move and delight, as well as to instruct, its audience.⁸⁴ This represented both a return to Cicero's principles of rhetoric and an enhanced appreciation of the role of emotional response in both oral and written communication.⁸⁵

The persuasive power of emotion in rhetorical situations was widely recognized and exploited in late medieval religious practices. The spreading of God's word was, in fact, a field in which the ancient focus on persuasive power had revived well before the Renaissance.⁸⁶ Preachers sought to inspire piety by encouraging strong emotional reactions to the passion of Christ. Popular sermons used homely anecdotes and humor, as well as direct address and emotional appeals, to rouse listeners. Religious art famously began to emphasize the humanity of the suffering Jesus in ways that encouraged responses of pity and grief.⁸⁷ Tears came to be seen as a hallmark of genuine religious response.⁸⁸ Thus the differing genres and aims of political persuasion, entertainment, and religious instruction converged in their enhanced awareness and uses of emotional appeals.

The particular emotions invoked in early German sensationalism—principally pity, horror, sorrow, and fear—called for both empathic and personal reactions from the audience. Readers and hearers were asked, often explicitly, to imagine and pity the situation of others, people with whom they had previously had no contact whatever. Implicitly, the texts promoted the fear that, by extension, the horrifying

⁸¹ Cicero, quoted in Jody Enders, *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty: Rhetoric, Memory, Violence* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999), 29.

⁸² See James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of the Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (1974; rpt. edn., Tempe, Ariz., 2001), 111.

⁸³ Quoted in Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge, 1996), 29.

⁸⁴ See Wayne A. Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds: Literature and the Renaissance Discourse of Rhetoric* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995); Rebhorn, ed. and trans., *Renaissance Debates on Rhetoric* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000); Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 169.

⁸⁵ See Richard Strier, "Against the Rule of Reason: Praise of Passion from Petrarch to Luther to Shakespeare to Herbert," in *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, eds. (Philadelphia, 2004), 23–42.

⁸⁶ See Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, 322.

⁸⁷ See, for example, Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (New York, 1954), 263; Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge en France* (Paris, 1908), 75–76.

⁸⁸ See, for example, the discussion in Esther Cohen, "The Animated Pain of the Body," *AHR* 105, no. 1 (February 2000): 65–66; Huizinga, *Waning of the Middle Ages*, 190–91.

potential of sin could pose danger to anyone who was not vigilant enough. Far from encouraging calculation of the probable odds against falling victim to such outrageous crimes, authors routinely drew general lessons for self-protection—chiefly, avoidance of sin and vice, strict discipline of children, and support of the authorities. And in fact, the danger was not so much that of falling a victim to crime as of falling victim to one's own sinful nature and the snares of the devil.

In aspiring toward the wakening of emotion, early sensationalism was in good company. But although rhetoric may broadly aim at the power to move and persuade, sensationalism relies more strongly on emotive appeal than do most other forms of discourse. In ancient thinking, the rousing of emotion—"pathos"—was only one component of effective communication. Yet it was a distinctively imposing power, one with divine associations: the capacity of passion to transform both poet and audience borrowed from the powers of the gods. Such emotional power was awe-inspiring, and dangerous, precisely because it tended to deactivate normal processes of judgment.⁸⁹ In modern usage, "pathos" is associated with the emotions evoked by tragic events, especially sorrow and pity. Such is the territory of crime accounts. By long tradition, however, such emotional intensity has been seen as too weighty and grand for any but serious genres—such as epic and tragedy—that dealt with high and imposing subjects. The reliance on pathos in topical reports of crime has created for many a jarring clash of genres—a sense of feelings roused in the wrong place. However, it underlines the distinctive rhetorical stance of sensationalism as a genre. Because its starting point, violent crime, is the raw material of tragedy, sensationalism operates in a mode that tends to mute the norms of ordinary debate.

The uses of sensationalism in these early accounts suggest that it is not useful to ascribe their intense emotional focus on the most repellent of crimes to a simple desire for titillation. Rather, their emotional appeal serves as a key rhetorical tool, seeking to foster unanimity of response even across the widely scattered and invisible audience of the printed text. The expected, appropriate responses of horror and pity are constructed as natural and inevitable, common to all who share a basic human identity. The religious resonance of violent crime itself, as the ultimate sin, intensifies this effect. Through their affective triggers, the narratives powerfully assert their status as nonpolitical and unmediated, despite the use of purposeful literary techniques and the frequent inclusion of specific religious or political messages. This could make them effective propaganda for religious agendas—the superiority of a given confession in fighting sin—or political ones, especially the buttressing of strong governmental authority. Their emotional resonance made it difficult to contest them—to stand up, say, for the views of rebellious children—without aligning oneself with horrific violence. If they are not mere titillation, then, perhaps these works can be dismissed as mere propaganda? This, too, would be an oversimplification. By fostering bonds of common emotional response, these works offered a means of healing violent tears in the social fabric. The apparent commercial success of their formulaic approaches to this task

⁸⁹ See Rainer Dachelt, *Pathos: Tradition und Aktualität einer vergessenen Kategorie der Poetik* (Heidelberg, 2003), 20, 24–25, 27–28.

suggests that they had some success in guiding common responses to the unthinkable and horrific.⁹⁰

The preoccupations of these early sensationalist works suggest a blend of religious, political, and social concerns. While the main messages of the post-Reformation confessions were conveyed in sermons and religious writings, the religious elements of crime literature created a distinctive means of underpinning the linkages between religious authority and political power. The conception of government as wielding God's punishing sword on earth was of course not new, but it was newly linked in these narratives with an intense vicarious experience of threat to religious, familial, and physical order. The increasingly active early modern state, taking on new responsibility for securing order and monopolizing violence, received steady support from sensationalism. At the same time, the familial crimes so prevalent in early German sensationalism reflect the centrality of intergenerational tensions in sixteenth-century social thought.

WHILE SENSATIONALIST ACCOUNTS from different periods share common features that mark their generic kinship, they also vary considerably with time and place. It is not possible, of course, to examine every significant cultural variant that appeared in the transition to the modern world. However, a few examples will suggest both the continuities in this genre's cultural functioning and its complex relationship to historical change. A comparison with sensationalist forms in seventeenth-century England, together with brief looks at the work of other scholars on Germany and the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, will illustrate the genre's responsiveness to changing cultural concerns.⁹¹ Far from an unchanging reflection of the low side of human nature, sensationalism has shifted its cultural ground and points of emotional focus, while retaining its rhetorical stance. Like the earliest sensationalism, these later forms use emotional appeals to mark out distinctive discursive territories, eluding the norms of dialectic and debate.

In contrast to the focus on victims so notable in the literary features of early German sensationalism, crime accounts in seventeenth-century England fixed their gaze squarely on the criminal.⁹² Developing the distinctive sensationalist subtype of

⁹⁰ The workings of this public discourse can be seen as a precursor of the "public sphere" theorized by Jürgen Habermas. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger, trans. (Cambridge, 1989). For an application of Habermas's concept to the sixteenth century, but with attention to commercial concerns as an early shaper of public discourse, see Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1997).

⁹¹ I have space here to discuss only a small selection from recent scholarship and have focused particularly on some works that take the genre itself as a focus of study. A number of scholars have made effective use of crime reports as sources for social and cultural history. See, for example, Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992); Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); Ruth Harris, *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law, and Society in the Fin de Siècle* (Oxford, 1989).

⁹² There are some indications of a similar trend in seventeenth-century Germany, but the number of surviving crime accounts is small, particularly during the period of the Thirty Years' War. See, for example, *Ein schön Klaglied: Welches Andres Mosser sonst Rauchlein genannt / vor seinem End erdichtet . . .* (Basel, 1626), BL; *Zwey schöne Klaglieder Das Erste / Welches Hans Winter von Zwickaw / auß dem Land zu Meichsten / vor seinem End gedichtet . . .* (Basel, 1627), BL; *Valet-Lied A.M.T.G.D. Wegen durch Gifft Ertödteten Ehmanns Peinlich leidenden Sünderin* (1665), BL.

the “last good-night” ballad, English publications frequently cast the condemned as the speaker of a first-person narrative, modeled on speeches delivered before execution by repentant malefactors.⁹³ The authorities in charge of executions, along with the clergy who helped manage the last days and hours of the condemned, strongly promoted the expectation that every culprit should make a “good end,” supportive of God and good government. The appropriate behavior included expressions of contrition for one’s crime, respect and even gratitude toward the punishing authorities, faith in the possibility of Christian redemption, and warnings to others against one’s own evil example. While this conception of the “good end” was common across Europe,⁹⁴ English practice and expectations gave special prominence to the repentant criminal’s voice. Ballads and pamphlets featuring their purported words were already being published in the late sixteenth century and became a standardized form in the seventeenth.

Like earlier crime accounts, these publications dealt most with violent crimes, particularly murder, but their sensationalist, emotion-enhancing features were focused not only on the bloodiness of the crimes but also on the mind of the murderer. The first-person narrative demanded direct imaginative identification with the culprit, however temporary and qualified. This demand was especially intense in the many ballads in which the singer adopted the voice of the criminal. These productions personalized the character and situation of lawbreakers, even as they assimilated them to an expected and regularly stylized set of emotional reactions and social values. Such verses, repeating standard formulas of regret and guilt but with vividly imagined details of both the crime and the perpetrator’s state of mind, were a mainstay of popular publication throughout the century.

This shift to a focus on the criminal, regularized in the English “last good-nights,” occurred elsewhere also and intensified in the following centuries. While the intense victim-focus of the early German works evoked empathy with victims, these were generally interchangeable figures: the helpless child, the betrayed parent. The turn to the distinctiveness of the individual confessor, for all its limitations of convention and formula, marks an increased interest in individual subjectivity. Certainly, it implies a deviation from the religious assumption that human depravity requires no unique explanation. Richard van Dülmen’s analysis of developments in criminal justice suggests a useful way of thinking about such changes, more concrete than broad trends toward individualism and modernity. He notes that medieval justice had focused on restitution for harm done, but the early modern state was concerned with violations of law, attacks on the sovereign authority. In this context, he argues, the intent of the criminal became as important as the actual damage, and courts increasingly inquired into motive, state of mind, and character.⁹⁵ Such considerations were certainly operative in England, where the

⁹³ See J. A. Sharpe, “‘Last Dying Speeches’: Religion, Ideology, and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Past and Present*, no. 107 (May 1985): 144–67; Peter Lake, “Deeds Against Nature: Cheap Print, Protestantism and Murder in Early Seventeenth Century England,” in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, Kevin Sharpe and Lake, eds., (Stanford, Calif., 1993), 257–83.

⁹⁴ See, for example, van Dülmen, *Theatre of Horror*, 60–61; Pieter Spierenburg, *Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression; From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience* (Cambridge, 1984), 59–66.

⁹⁵ van Dülmen, *Entdeckung des Individuums*, 55.

need to persuade a jury, rather than meet the strict evidentiary standards of Roman law, made intangible factors especially influential.⁹⁶ Paradoxically, while on the one hand state authority represented increased secular oversight, on the other, such regard for the individual's inner state could bring crime into even closer parallel with the traditional religious territory of sin. Not only the individual's actions, but also thoughts and feelings, became matters for public attention.

If attention to the criminal as an individual had some roots in criminal justice, in the "last good-night" it took on an independent life, one fraught with ambiguity. An early example, "The Lamentation of Master Page's Wife" of 1591 by Thomas Deloney, illustrates the complex combination of empathy and condemnation this form could offer. The young Eulalia Glandfield, forced to marry against her will, conspired with her lover to kill her husband. In the ballad, while she repents of her crime and asks forgiveness in suitable form, she also strikingly conveys her emotional state. She recounts how she begged her parents not to make her marry Page, stressing her prior love for George Strangwidge: "With sighs and sobs I did them often move / I might not wed, whereas I could not love." Once she was tied to Page, her feelings intensified:

My chosen eyes could not his sight abide;
My tender youth did scorne his aged side;
Scant could I taste the meat whereon he fed;
My legs did lothe to lodge within his bed.
Cause knew I none I should despise him so,
That such disdain within my hart should grow,
Save only this, that fancie did me move,
And told me still, George Strangwidge was my love.⁹⁷

These last lines suggest her irresponsible weakness in succumbing to such feelings, yet her physical revulsion could hardly be made more palpable. She admits her death is deserved but shares the blame with her greedy and coercive parents.

These works sharply recreated the varied emotions that led their protagonists into crime, particularly anger, lust, and greed. They typically also gave extensive circumstantial details of the events leading up to murder, though these tended to fall into conventional patterns: the downward slide into robbery and murder via idleness and loose living, the violent quarrels over a husband's drinking or a wife's ill-temper. Although the repentant criminal was reinscribed into the Christian scheme of redemption at the close, these explorations of the killer's mind and circumstances moved the implied causes of criminal violence in a decidedly secular direction. Crime was to be avoided partly by piety but also by adherence to secular norms, especially the proper regulation of emotion.

In addition to the particularized elements of each account, authors regularly applied emotional descriptors drawn not from the specifics of a given case, but from socially prescribed norms. Thus ballads of men who killed their wives in the late

⁹⁶ See Cynthia B. Herrup, "Law and Morality in Seventeenth-Century England," *Past and Present*, no. 106 (February 1985): 102–23.

⁹⁷ Roxburghe Ballads, 1:182, BL; reprinted with slight variations in William Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth, eds., *The Roxburghe Ballads*, 8 vols. (1869; rpt. ed., New York, 1966), 1: 554–58.

seventeenth century almost invariably described their victims in the language of conjugal affection. William Terry laments his murder of "my kind and loving Wife."⁹⁸ Likewise Edmund Allen: "Was I not cruel to my Dear / . . . I weep to think I sought the Life, / of her that lov'd me so."⁹⁹ George Feast killed "my dear and Loving Wife."¹⁰⁰ Anne Wallen's earlier lament for having killed her husband speaks of him as "my dearest husband" and regrets the loss of "his sweetest breath."¹⁰¹ The protagonists thus express the emotions of normally accepted marital relationships while underscoring their own transgression of emotional ties. The enjoyment of such performances offered audiences the invitation to dabble in the dangerous feelings that led to crime, from within the safe retreat of the orderly and conventional emotional life to which the penitent returns. While the emotions that underlay the crimes were tied to distinctive, individual traits and situations, the emotions invoked in the penitent phase returned to universally accepted norms.

As these examples suggest, the speakers of "last good-nights" might be distinctive in their crimes but became homogeneous in their contrition. This was no accident and was not left to the chance of the actual speeches that might be uttered on the day of execution. Two of the pieces cited above were signed by authors, and thus explicitly presented as an imaginary version of the culprit's words. Clearly, "last good-nights" did not necessarily represent the real sentiments any more than the literal words of their protagonists. The "true account" of Francis Cooper, "The bloody Miller," noted that he denied the crime to the last, yet described his crime in a first-person ballad.¹⁰² Miscreants need not even survive their misdeeds to speak in such accounts. "The Unnatural Mother" featured a woman who killed herself and two of her children after a quarrel with her husband, yet here she gave voice: "Jane Lawson was my Name, / James Lawsons Cruel Wife, / By him I had three Children small, / and liv'd a happy Life."¹⁰³ The ventriloquism of these pieces constructed an emotive persona, not in order to represent the culprit's actual feelings, but to convey what he or she ought to have felt. While most criminals did conform to the expected conventions of the "good end" on the day of execution, their shortcomings in this respect were not an insuperable bar to the expected edification.

These pieces, and the custom of the gallows speech itself, gave a paradoxical public voice and prominence to society's worst offenders.¹⁰⁴ Still, their public voice was largely constrained within prescribed limits. These customary patterns served the ends of authority by legitimizing judicial coercion and punishment. State power

⁹⁸ "The Bloody-minded Husband" (c. 1690), in *The Pepys Ballads*, Hyder E. Rollins, ed., 8 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1929–32), 5: 288; facsimile in W. G. Day, ed., *The Pepys Ballads*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1987), 2: 194.

⁹⁹ "The Unnatural Husband" (1695), in Rollins, *Pepys Ballads*, 7: 90–91; and in Day, *Pepys Ballads*, 5: 8.

¹⁰⁰ "The Inhumane Butcher Of Leaden-Hall Market" (1697), in Rollins, *Pepys Ballads*, 7: 259–61; and in Day, *Pepys Ballads*, 5: 19.

¹⁰¹ T. Platte, "Anne Wallens Lamentation" (1616), in *A Pepysian Garland*, Hyder E. Rollins, ed. (Cambridge, 1922), 84–88.

¹⁰² "The bloody Miller" (1684), in Rollins, *Pepys Ballads*, 3: 119–22; and in Day, *Pepys Ballads*, 2: 156.

¹⁰³ "The Unnatural Mother" (1680), in Rollins, *Pepys Ballads*, 3: 43–46; and in Day, *Pepys Ballads*, 2: 191.

¹⁰⁴ See van Dülmen, *Theatre of Horror*, 119–24; Sharpe, "Last Dying Speeches."

was here endorsed not only by abstract principles but also by the internal conviction of those most harshly affected: by feeling, in other words, as well as by reason. Like earlier sensationalist accounts, too, the “last good-nights” worked through the emotions of their audience—horror, pity, sympathy, guilt. The shape of their emotionalism is not simply reducible to their uses as tools of political authority. Rather, their shifting of focus to the inner life of the criminal both drew on and fed broader cultural changes, from increasingly secular explanations for social evils to the emotive expectations of companionate models of marriage.

England was not alone in the long-term shift of sensationalist interest to the individual psyche and emotional life of malefactors. Tom Cheesman, in his study of German “shocking ballads,” finds increasing focus on individual identity in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, associated with the decline of traditional ascribed status and the growth of more urban, commercial society.¹⁰⁵ Sensationalist accounts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries continued the earlier interest in familial violence but also turned markedly toward a focus on the criminal mind and on the circumstantial details of the descent into crime.¹⁰⁶ The alteration of perspective is especially evident in comparing works on similar themes across the centuries. The early period, as noted, featured a number of cases of familial murder in which a father killed his whole family, crimes that in the sixteenth century were typically attributed to his vicious course of life and the influence of the devil. The title of a pamphlet on a parallel case from 1846 dramatizes the changed outlook: “Christian Holtzwardt, the killer of his wife and five children, as person, thinker, and poet. Selections from his journals and complete account of the sixfold murder and arson committed on the night of December 28–29, 1845 in Sudenburg-Magdeburg. (With a picture of the murderer and the scene of the grisly deed.)”¹⁰⁷ The publisher of this pamphlet was unusually lucky to find a multiple murderer who was also an author. In addition to an account of the killer’s life, the pamphlet includes parts of a three-act drama he wrote, as well as poetry and extracts from his letters and religious opinions. Ironically, the murders got him published, though debt and failure had evidently driven him to his desperate acts. Although Holtzwardt’s was an unusual case, it was merely an extreme of the more general interest in the criminal’s inner life.¹⁰⁸

Recent works on the history of discourses of crime in the United States have found similar patterns of historical development in crime literature. Starting with

¹⁰⁵ Tom Cheesman, *The Shocking Ballad Picture Show: German Popular Literature and Cultural History* (Providence, R.I., 1994), 88–95.

¹⁰⁶ Holger Dainat notes this trend already in such eighteenth-century titles as “Blutschänder, Mordbrenner und Mörder zugleich, den Gesetzen nach, und doch ein Jüngling von edler Seele” (A man guilty of incest, arson, and murder all together according to the law, and yet a youth of noble soul) and “Mörderin, Unkeusche, Mordbrennerin, und doch ein gutes, nur Mitleid werthes Mädchen” (Murderess, unchaste woman, arsonist, and yet a good girl, worthy only of pity). See Holger Dainat, “Der unglückliche Mörder: Zur Kriminalgeschichte der deutschen Spätaufklärung,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 107, no. 4 (1988), 519n.

¹⁰⁷ Christian Holtzwardt, *der Mörder seiner Gattin und seiner fünf Kinder, als Mensch, Denker und Dichter. Bruchstücke aus seinem Tagebuche und vollständiger Bericht der Sudenburg-Magdeburg in der Nacht vom 28.-29. December 1845 verübten sechsfachen Mordthat und Mordbrennerei. (Mit dem Bildnisse des Mörders und des Schauplatzes der gräßlichen That.)* (Brunswick, 1846), BL.

¹⁰⁸ For an extreme case showing a similar tendency in France, see Michel Foucault, ed., *I, Pierre Rivière, having slaughtered my mother, my sister, and my brother . . . : A Case of Parricide in the Nineteenth Century*, Frank Jellinek, trans. (New York, 1975).

the regular publication of execution sermons in the late seventeenth century, American publications combined social and religious agendas with features aimed at maximizing emotional response.¹⁰⁹ As with earlier examples, the function of sensationalist elements was partly commercial, aiming to arouse maximum interest and sales, but it served many other purposes as well. Daniel Cohen has suggested, for example, that the salacious material of nineteenth-century American crime literature responded to the tensions of the developing competitive society, with its simultaneous offering of limitless temptation and demand for internalized self-control.¹¹⁰ Karen Halttunen argues that the violent sensationalism of the same period should be seen as an attempt to fill cultural needs formerly served by religious discourse. In place of the older conception of general human depravity as explanation for evil actions, crime literature turned to narrative techniques that marked the murderer as uniquely monstrous. The variations in modern sensationalism have both reflected and influenced cultural changes that reshaped key areas of emotional resonance and public concern. In seventeenth-century England, sensationalist crime reports aligned companionate marital ideals with intense imagining of subjective experience and visceral endorsement of state power. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a sharp focus on the aberrant individual sought new secular explanations of criminal violence. This condemned genre addressed central issues of cultural meaning and social discipline, while retaining the nondisputatious mode of emotional evocation at its operative core.

THUS EVIDENCE FROM the sixteenth century into the modern age shows the cultural significance of sensationalist crime literature. It arose not as a commercial ploy but as a means of interpreting the meaning of severe breaches of social bonds to the expanding public accessible through the medium of print. The genre was neither low-class nor scurrilous in its beginnings. It was linked strongly with religious understandings of sin and punishment, political goals of strengthening public order and authority, and cultural tensions over the changing political dynamics of family life. At other historical periods, it has retained key elements of these concerns as it addressed the social and cultural conflicts of its time and place. Its emotion-arousing features make it powerfully persuasive, even as it presents itself as noncontroversial and thus deserving of the same emotional response from all right-thinking people who disapprove of criminal violence. Modern intellectual categories, with their attempt at rigorous separation of the emotive and imaginary from the real and rational, have tended to promote an unwarranted dismissal of sensationalism as debased and trivial. It has had religious, political, and cultural impact, promoting the ready acceptance of punitive governmental actions, the advancement of religious agendas, the internalization of mainstream emotional expectations, the habit of vicarious emotional experience, and the focus on distinctive individual identity. Its influence is difficult to measure, but too real to

¹⁰⁹ See Cohen, *Pillars of Salt*; Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul*; Daniel E. Williams, "Rogues, Rascals and Scoundrels: The Underworld Literature of Early America," *American Studies* 24, no. 2 (Fall 1983): 5–19.

¹¹⁰ Cohen, *Pillars of Salt*, 247–48.

ignore. As attested by the role of crime in modern American political discourse, intellectuals' contempt for sensationalism has distracted attention from its often powerful effects.

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Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War

SVEN BECKERT

HISTORIANS GENERALLY VIEW the U.S. Civil War as a crucial turning point in the history of the American nation. But it was more than this: the Civil War sparked the explosive transformation of the worldwide web of cotton production and, with it, of global capitalism. The cotton industry was among the world's largest industries at midcentury, drawing on the labor of perhaps 20 million workers. Prior to 1861, most of the world supply of raw cotton had been produced by slaves on plantations in the American South and was spun into thread and woven into cloth by textile workers in Lancashire. But in the decades following Appomattox, this world had given way to a global empire of cotton structured by multiple and powerful states and their colonies and worked by non-slave labor. Sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and peasants, often highly indebted to local merchants, produced most of the global cotton, a significant fraction of which was grown outside the American South, in such places as India, Egypt, West Africa, Turkmenistan, and Brazil.

The American Civil War was pivotal in these transformations. In its wake, nearly 4 million slaves gained their freedom in the nation that dominated world cotton production, leading to fears among merchants and manufacturers that the disruption of the "deep relationship between slavery and cotton production" might "destroy one of the essential conditions of the mass production" of cotton textiles.¹ By exploding global confidence in the structure of one of the world's most important industries, the war encouraged a new regime of bureaucrats and industrialists in cotton-consuming countries to secure supplies of the "white gold" not from slaves, but from sharecroppers, tenants, and peasants, decisively shifting the balance between free and coerced labor. And by removing several million bales

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¹ *Bremer Handelsblatt* (October 11, 1862), 335.

of cotton from global markets between 1861 and 1865, the war forced manufacturers to find new sources for their crucial raw material, catapulting in the decades after Appomattox large areas of the world into the global economy. New forms of labor, the growing encasement of capital and capitalists within imperial nation states, and the rapid spatial expansion of capitalist social relations were the building blocks of a new political economy that dominated global affairs until the "Great War" half a century later. Indeed, the unimaginably long and destructive American struggle, the world's first "raw materials crisis," was midwife to the emergence of new global networks of labor, capital, and state power.² The speed and flexibility with which merchants, manufacturers, and agricultural producers responded to the crisis revealed their adaptability and, not least, their capacity for marshaling new, indirect, but far-reaching forms of state power in place of direct ownership of human beings to secure plentiful labor. One of the most important chapters in the history of global capital and labor, in effect, was written on the battlefields of provincial America.

Even such a quintessential national event as the American Civil War thus had tremendous international implications, which in turn played a decisive role in the terms of its resolution for planters and slaves alike. The war arose in large part out of tensions within the empire of cotton, and in turn transformed the ways in which it linked distant people and places involved in the growing, trading, manufacturing, and consuming of cotton. The core domestic effects of the war—the consolidation of the American nation-state, emancipation, the embrace of a new political economy by Northern mercantile elites, and the spread of capitalist social relations into the Southern countryside—not only moved in tandem but to a significant degree caused parallel developments in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa.³ By paralyzing the dominant producer of one of the industrial world's most important commodities, the Civil War brought to a climax the tensions within global capitalism as it had evolved during the first half of the nineteenth century and led to a paradoxical result: the liberation of 4 million slaves in North America and the extension and intensification of imperial control over potential cotton-growing regions in Asia and Africa.

Understandably, historians have viewed the American Civil War primarily as a turning point in the history of the American nation. Its international ramifications, including those on the world's cotton industry, are usually reduced to what foreign

² Allen Isaacman and Richard Roberts, "Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa: Introduction," in *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Isaacman and Roberts, eds. (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995), 7.

³ For a general discussion of the global impact of the U.S. Civil War see C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, Mass., 2004), 161–65. For developments in the United States, see Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850–1890* (New York, 1983); Stephen Skowronek, *Building A New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1870–1920* (New York, 1982); Barbara Jeanne Fields, "The Advent of Capitalist Agriculture: The New South in a Bourgeois World," in *Essays on the Postbellum Southern Economy*, Thavolia Glymph and John J. Kushma, eds. (College Station, Tex., 1985), 73–94; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York, 1988); Richard Bessel, *Yankee Leviathan, The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859–1877* (New York, 1990); Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850–1896* (New York, 2001), chaps. 5, 6, and 10.

intervention might have meant to the Union and Confederacy.⁴ Although scholars have largely overlooked the conflict as a turning point in the history of global capitalism, contemporary statesmen, merchants, manufacturers, and intellectuals, especially those residing outside the United States, perceived the war to be as much about cotton's political economy, that is, the particular interaction between states and markets, as about the unity of the American republic. For them, the war posed a set of urgent questions. Who, if not American slaves, would grow cotton and under what systems of labor? What would be the role of states in securing that cotton? And how would the United States fit into the worldwide web of cotton production after the war? Those who acted or commented upon the cotton empire in the nineteenth century—a spectrum as broad as the cotton empire itself, from Richard Cobden, Tsar Alexander II, and Edward Atkinson to Thomas Baring, Louis Napoleon III, and Karl Marx—knew that even the most local manifestations of this cash crop's cultivation and manufacturing were ensnared in a global system and could not be made sense of without it. They understood especially well the tight links between capitalism, cotton, and slavery. For these globally minded politicians, princes, intellectuals, merchants, manufacturers, and journalists, the worldwide web of cotton production was an organic whole that remained incomprehensible when parceled into local, national, or even regional stories.⁵

This essay will revisit these cosmopolitan (and imperial) sensibilities and explore just how the U.S. Civil War recast the worldwide web of cotton production, its prevailing forms of labor and, with them, global capitalism itself. It does not seek to illuminate a chapter of U.S. history from a global perspective but rather to see the role of the United States in a larger transformation of global significance, namely the reconstruction of the worldwide web of cotton growing, trade, and

⁴ There is a very substantial literature on this subject, including David M. Potter, "The Civil War in an International Context," in *The Legacy of the American Civil War*, Harold Woodman, ed. (New York, 1973), 63–72; Henry Blumenthal, "Confederate Diplomacy: Popular Notions and International Realities," *Journal of Southern History* 32, no. 2 (May 1966): 151–71; Carl N. Degler, *One among Many: The Civil War in Comparative Perspective* (Gettysburg, Pa., 1990); Harold Melvin Hyman, ed., *Heard Round the World: The Impact Abroad of the Civil War*, by H. C. Allen et al. (New York, 1969); Frank Lawrence Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America*, 2d edn. (Chicago, 1959); Bernarr Cresap, "Frank L. Owsley and King Cotton Diplomacy," *Alabama Review* 26, no. 4 (1973): 235–51; Charles M. Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1998); D. P. Crook, *Diplomacy during the American Civil War* (New York, 1975); Howard Jones, *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992).

⁵ Edward Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain; with a notice of its early history in the East . . .* (London, 1835); Thomas Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain, Including a History of the Liverpool Cotton Market and of the Liverpool Cotton Brokers' Association* (London, 1886); Alwin Oppel, *Die Baumwolle nach Geschichte, Anbau, Verarbeitung und Handel, sowie nach ihrer Stellung im Volksleben und in der Staatswirtschaft; im Auftrage und mit Unterstützung der Bremer Baumwollbörse* (Leipzig, 1902); William B. Dana, *Cotton from Seed to Loom: A Hand-Book of Facts for the Daily Use of Producer, Merchant and Consumer* (New York, 1878); Morris R. Chew, *History of the Kingdom of Cotton and Cotton Statistics of the World* (New Orleans, 1884); Gerhart von Schulze-Gaevernitz, *The Cotton Trade in England and on the Continent* (London, 1895); James A. B. Sherer, *Cotton as a World Power: A Study in the Economic Interpretation of History* (New York, 1916); Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee, "Baumwoll-Expedition nach Togo" [1900], pp. 4–6, in R 150F, Fonds Allemand 1 (hereafter FA), 332, Archive du Togo, Lomé, Togo, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv Berlin (hereafter BA Berlin); Elisée Reclus, "Le Coton et la Crise Américaine," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 32 (1862): 176–208; Charles J. Sundell to Seward, Stettin, May 15, 1863, Despatches from United States Consuls in Stettin, as quoted in Michael Löffler, *Preußens und Sachsens Beziehungen zu den USA während des Sezessionskrieges, 1860–1865* (Münster, 1999), 110.

manufacturing. I will tell this story in three parts: First, I will sketch the structure of the worldwide cotton industry before the U.S. Civil War, the powerful and immensely profitable status quo against which later changes will be measured. Second, I will examine how the war disrupted some of the fundamental networks of this industry and how people interested in cotton struggled to make sense of this unexpected new world—from the cotton textile workers of Lancashire, Alsace, and Massachusetts, to the merchants of Liverpool, Bombay, and Alexandria, and to the peasants of Egypt's lower Nile, India's Berar, and Brazil's Pernambuco. Here, too, I will explore how the remarkable adaptability of the world's cotton industry may have contributed to the Union's victory in the war. Third, and finally, I will investigate the long-term changes precipitated by the war: the absorption of vast new areas into the world economy, the complex shifts from bonded to non-slave labor, and the rising importance of nation-states in structuring the worldwide web of cotton production. Since the networks of cotton production, trade, and manufacture tied together developments in areas of the world far removed from one another, this essay will make perhaps unexpected links between Antietam and Ashton-under-Lyne, Bull Run and Berar, Tupelo and Togo.

THE UPHEAVALS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR were so consequential because by 1861 cotton had become the core ingredient of the world's most important manufacturing industry. In sheer numbers employed, value of output, and profitability, the cotton empire was without parallel. One author, boldly but unscientifically, estimated that as of 1862, fully 20 million people were engaged in the production of cotton and cotton cloth worldwide.⁶ Whole regions such as the mill towns of Massachusetts, Alsace, Saxony, the suburbs of Moscow, and, most important of all, Lancashire, had come to depend on a predictable supply of cheap cotton. In England alone, it was estimated that the livelihood of between one-fifth and one-fourth of all people was based upon the industry, one-tenth of all British capital was invested in it, and close to one-half of all exports consisted of cotton yarn and cloth.⁷

If this industry brought great wealth to European manufacturers and merchants, and bleak employment to hundreds of thousands of mill workers, it also catapulted the United States onto the center stage of the world economy.⁸ After Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1793, American cotton moved in ever-greater quantities to the factories of Europe. Nearly unlimited supplies of labor and recently emptied land, along with an expanding trade infrastructure and established credit networks, enabled the American South to replace early suppliers from Brazil and the West Indies.⁹ By the late 1850s, the United States accounted for a full 77 percent of the 800 million pounds of cotton consumed in Britain, 90 percent of the 192 million

⁶ Reclus, "Le Coton et la Crise Américaine," 176.

⁷ Dwijendra Tripathi, "A Shot from Afar: India and the Failure of Confederate Diplomacy," *Indian Journal of American Studies* 10, no. 2 (1980): 75; J. B. Smith (Stockport) in *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., vol. 167 (1862), 754; D. A. Farnie, *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market, 1815–1896* (Oxford, 1979), 180.

⁸ Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790–1860* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1961).

⁹ *The Economist* (hereafter *Econ*), February 2, 1861, 117.

pounds used in France, 60 percent of the 115 million pounds spun in the German Zollverein, and as much as 92 percent of the 102 million pounds manufactured in Russia.¹⁰ When the British economist J. T. Danson considered in 1857 carefully the “[c]onnection between American Slavery and the British Cotton Manufacture,” he concluded that “there is not, and never has been, any considerable source of supply for cotton, excepting the East-Indies, which is not obviously and exclusively maintained by slave-labour.”¹¹ The United States and American slavery were thus at the core of the cotton industry and the emerging industrial capitalism.

The world would soon discover just how explosive this growth was. American slavery had begun to threaten the very prosperity it produced, as the distinctive political economy of the cotton South collided ever more powerfully with the incipient political economy of free labor and domestic industrialization that a growing number of northern farmers, workers, and industrialists embraced.¹² From a global perspective, the outbreak of war between the Confederacy and the Union in April of 1861 was not only a struggle over American territorial integrity and the future of its “peculiar institution” but also about slave labor and nation-building in the world at large, including the particular incorporation of the United States within it. As John Marshman, editor of the Baptist missionary newspaper *Friend of India*, observed in March of 1863, “it may be said that the prosperity of the South has been based on the gigantic crime of holding three or four millions of human beings in a state of slavery, and it is difficult to divest the mind of the conviction that the day of reckoning from the throne of the Eternal has come.”¹³

THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR severed in one stroke the global relationships that had underpinned the worldwide web of cotton production and global capitalism for at least two generations. The Confederate government sharpened the crisis by banning all exports to try to force British diplomatic recognition. By the time the Confederacy realized this policy was doomed to fail, a Northern blockade effec-

¹⁰ *Econ*, January 19, 1861, 58; M. K. Rozhkova, *Ekonomicheskie svyazi Rossii so Srednei Aziei: 40–60-e gody XIX veka* (Moscow, 1963), table 17, 61; “Vliianie Amerikanskoi Voiny na Khlopchatobumazhnoe delo v Rossii” [The effect of the American war on the cotton business in Russia], *Moskva* 25 (1867), January 25, 1867; M. Gately, *The Development of the Russian Cotton Textile Industry in the Pre-Revolutionary Years, 1861–1913* (PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 1968), Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Erster Jahrgang, 1880* (Berlin, 1880), 87; U.S. Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Statistics, *Cotton in Commerce, Statistics of United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Egypt, and British India* (Washington, D.C., 1895), 29. The French numbers are for 1859; see Claude Fohlen, *L’Industrie Textile au Temps du Second Empire* (Paris, 1956), 284, 514. On the importance of the United States to world cotton markets see Gavin Wright, “Cotton Competition and the Post-Bellum Recovery of the American South,” *Journal of Economic History* 34, no. 3 (September 1974): 610–35; Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy since the Civil War* (New York, 1986).

¹¹ J. T. Danson, “On the Existing Connection between American Slavery and the British Cotton Manufacture,” in *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 20 (March 1857), 7. For a similar argument see also Reclus, “Le Coton et la Crise Américaine,” 176, 187. Arguments about the connection between capitalism and slavery can also be found in Philip McMichael, “Slavery in Capitalism: The Rise and Demise of the U.S. Ante-Bellum Cotton Culture,” in *Theory and Society* 20 (June 1991): 321–49, Joseph Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (New York, 2003); and Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994).

¹² See for this argument Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*, chaps. 3 and 4.

¹³ John Marshman quoted in *Times of India* (hereafter, *ToI*), “Overland Summary,” March 12, 1863.

tively kept most cotton from leaving the South. Consequently, exports to Europe fell from 3.8 million bales in 1860 to virtually nothing in 1862, despite the best efforts of Southern smugglers. The effects of the resulting "cotton famine," as it came to be known, quickly rippled outward, reshaping industry and society in places ranging from Manchester to Mulhouse, from Berar to Pernambuco, and from Bremen to Alexandria. With only slight hyperbole, the Chamber of Commerce in the Saxon city of Chemnitz could report that "never in the history of trade have there been such grand and consequential movements as in the past four years." As early as the summer of 1862, some of the defining trade relationships of the world economy had collapsed.¹⁴

After using up the unusually large stocks of cotton, yarn, and cloth that had accumulated in ports and mills, a mad scramble to fill the vacuum left by the embargo on Southern cotton ensued. This was the more frantic as nobody could predict when the war would end, and when, if ever, cotton production would revive in the American South. By early 1862, cotton imports from the United States fell by 96 percent, and mills began shutting down for a few days each week, or entirely. Tens of thousands of operatives soon found themselves out of work. By early 1863, a quarter of the inhabitants of Lancashire, more than 500,000 individuals, received some form of public assistance. Workers, demanding relief, rioted in the streets of several British cotton towns, underscoring the explosive social consequences of the cotton famine. Similar crisis erupted on the European continent, as posters went up in the textile towns of Alsace proclaiming "Du pain ou la mort" (bread or death).¹⁵

The suffering of cotton operatives and the losses sustained by manufacturers compelled government bureaucrats to find new ways to secure cotton. Cotton, after all, was central to their national economies, as well as to the maintenance of social peace. Some officials advocated recognition of the Confederacy and breaking the Union blockade. Others hoped for new sources of cotton from places outside the United States. When, in the spring of 1862, Napoleon III conversed with William L. Dayton, the U.S. Minister in Paris, on various aspects of the cotton problem, the emperor concluded the interview by saying: "I hope . . . that something will be done by your government to relieve the difficulties here, growing out of the want of cotton." On numerous occasions, the House of Commons, the House of Lords, and the French Senate debated the cotton question. This intense concern with securing access to cheaply priced raw materials essential to national industries was a clear departure from the past. Since the 1780s, raw cotton markets had been decisively dominated by merchants: now, in an awkward return to mercantilist policies, cotton

¹⁴ The quote is from *Jahresbericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer Chemnitz* (1865): 6, as quoted in Löffler, *Preußens und Sachsens Beziehungen*, 302; see also Matthew B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry: An Essay in American Economic History* (New York, 1897), appendix.

¹⁵ Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain*, table 1, appendix; *Liverpool Mercury* (hereafter, *LM*), February 22, 1864; March 25, 1863. On the relief efforts in Lancashire, see John Watts, *The Facts of the Cotton Famine* (London, 1866); Hyman, *Heard Round the World*, 132. Lynn Case, ed., *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico 1860–1867: Extracts from the Reports of the Procureurs Généraux* (New York, 1936), 123–25; on Germany see Löffler, *Preußens und Sachsens Beziehungen*, 126, 147. "Du pain ou la mort" is quoted in Thomas A. Sancton, "The Myth of French Worker Support for the North in the American Civil War," *French Historical Studies* 11, no. 1 (1979): 66.

had become a matter of state. The cotton famine, in fact, became the school in which a new kind of imperialism began to emerge.¹⁶ (See Figure 1.)

Meanwhile, 4,600 miles to the east of Liverpool and 9,200 miles away from Antietam, Indian merchants and cultivators, British colonial bureaucrats, and Manchester manufacturers embarked on a frantic race to grow cotton for world markets.¹⁷ India, indeed, had captured the imagination of British textile entrepreneurs as early as the 1820s. Accustomed to variations in harvests and weather, such entrepreneurs were aware of the potential danger of dependence on one supplier for cotton. But very little had come from these promotional efforts. Lackluster support by the colonial state, America's overwhelming market dominance, India's feudal social structure, and lack of transportation infrastructure retarded cotton production for export. Indeed, as *The Economist* noted before the outbreak of the Civil War, "[a]s long as there were negroes in the Southern States, and those negroes could be kept to work, it would have been venturesome, not enterprising" to grow cotton for world markets elsewhere—including in India.¹⁸

The bombardment of Fort Sumter, however, announced that India's hour had come. With feverish energy, British cotton capitalists and colonial bureaucrats worked to increase India's cotton output and move it to market. Manchester manufacturers shipped cottonseed to Bombay to be distributed to growers; they moved cotton gins and cotton presses into the countryside; and they talked about investing in railroads to remove cotton to the coast. They also pressed a newly perceptive British government for massive infrastructure investments, changes in criminal codes to make the adulteration of cotton a crime, and new property laws to make for clearly defined and easily marketable property in land. Perhaps most important was their pressure to change Indian contract law in order to facilitate

¹⁶ *LM*, August 12, 1862: 7; for the British government's concern about the social impact of the cotton famine see, for example, the documents in HO 45, 7523, Home Office, Public Record Office (hereafter, PRO), Kew, London, United Kingdom. Even before the outbreak of the war, British Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell had hastened to assure cotton manufacturers in Manchester that his government would do all in its power to secure cotton from sources outside the United States. The letter is quoted in *LM*, January 22, 1861, 2. For the William L. Dayton quotation see Dayton to William Henry Seward, Paris, March 25, 1862, Despatches, France, State Department Correspondence, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter, NA). Napoleon argued that social unrest would follow if cotton could not be secured. Thurlow Weed to Seward, Paris, April 4, 1862, Despatches, France, State Department Correspondence, NA. On diplomatic pressure see also William S. Thayer to Seward, London, July 11, 1862, Private letter, U.S. Consulate, Alexandria, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Alexandria, NA; Löffler, *Preußens und Sachsens Beziehungen*, 111.

¹⁷ Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty-First Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1861* (Manchester, 1862), 21. For evidence of this pressure see also Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1863* (Manchester, 1866), 6; Proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 1858–1867, M8/2/6, Archives of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester, UK.

¹⁸ For earlier efforts to increase cotton production in India, see *Anti-Cant, India v. America: A Letter to the Chairman of the Hon. East India Company, On Cotton* (London, 1850); John Briggs, *The Cotton Trade of India with a Map of India, Coloured to Indicate the Different Spots Whereon all the Varieties of Cotton which are Brought into the British Market have been Successfully Cultivated* (London, 1840); John Chapman, *The Cotton and Commerce of India: Considered in Relation to the Interests of Great Britain; with Remarks on Railway Communication in the Bombay Presidency* (London, 1851); *The Cotton Trade of India* (London, 1839); Thomas Williamson, *Two Letters on the Advantages of Railway Communication in Western India, Addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Wharncliffe, Chairman of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company* (England); *The Cotton Trade of India, Part II: Its Future Prospects* (London [1840]); Walter R. Cassels, *Cotton: An Account of its Culture in the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1862), 16–237. For the quotation see *Econ*, February 2, 1861, 117.

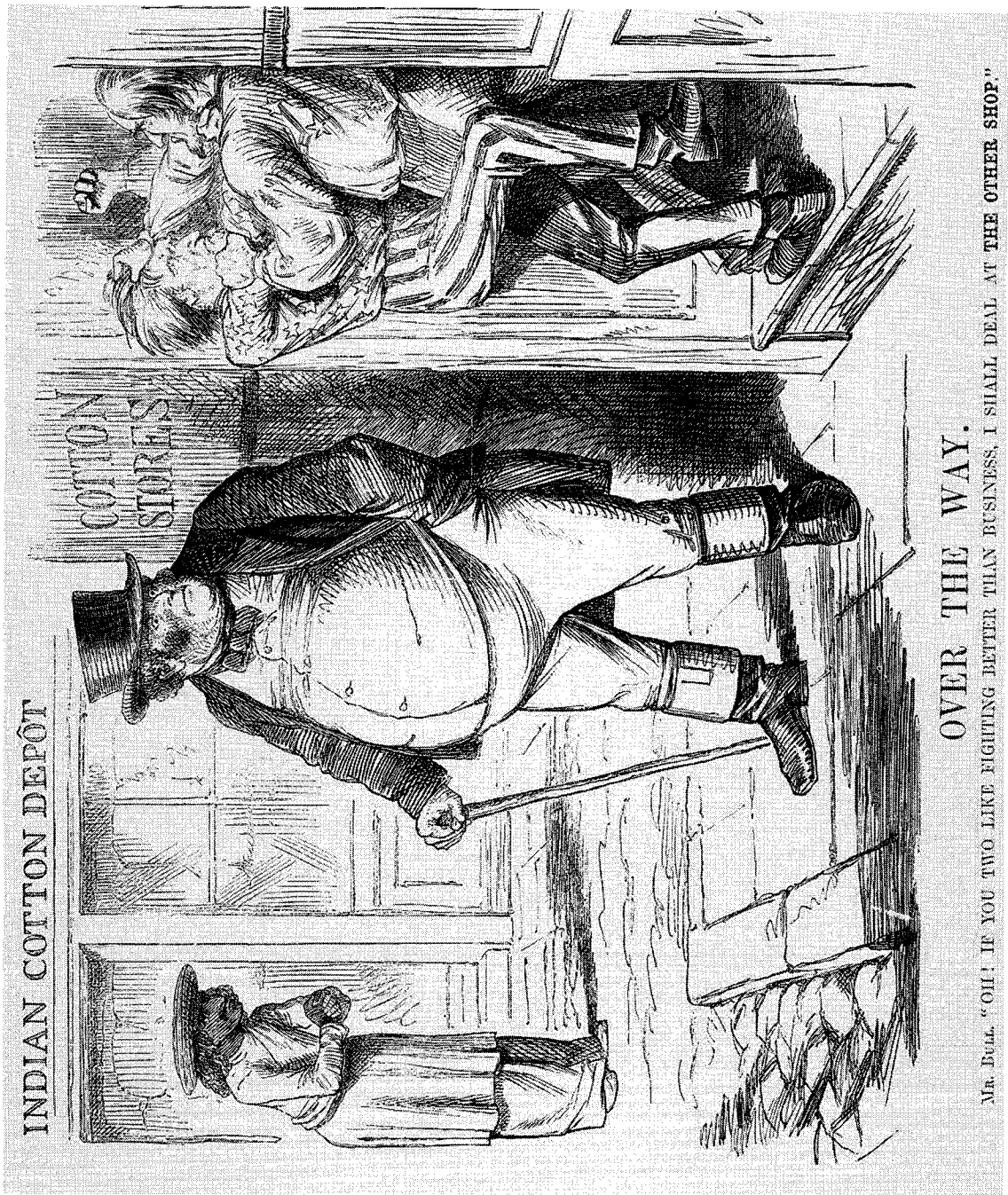


FIGURE 1: Viewed from abroad, cotton was central to the American struggle: *Punch* comments on the American Civil War. *Punch*, or the *London Charivari*, November 16, 1861; reproduced with kind permission of Harvard University.

European investment in cotton production. Cotton capitalists wanted to make “penal the breach of contract where advances have been made,” giving “the advancer an absolute lien upon the crop he advances upon to the extent of his advances.” If merchants could secure such an absolute claim on cotton grown with the support of their capital, investment would be encouraged. Such a system would permit cultivators to devote their efforts entirely to cash crops, since advances would allow them to purchase food grains before their own cotton crop ripened.¹⁹

The effectiveness of these new measures was furthered by rapidly rising prices, which eased the transition from subsistence to world market production. The value of Indian cotton jumped fourfold during the first two years of the war.²⁰ As a result, Indian cultivators began planting cotton on new land as well as on land once devoted to food crops. This unprecedented dedication to export agriculture paid off handsomely for them during the war years and decisively helped European cotton manufacturers secure some of the raw material they needed to keep their factories running: whereas India had only contributed 16 percent of Britain’s supply of raw cotton in 1860, and 1.1 percent of France’s in 1857, it contributed 75 percent in 1862 in Britain and as much as 70 percent in France. Some of this cotton had been diverted from domestic use and competing foreign markets (especially China), while the rest was the result of a 50 percent increase in production. Rural producers in western India in general and Berar in particular were most responsible for this increase in output. The explosive growth of Bombay can indeed be traced to the Civil War years, as Indian cotton left its old channels of trade into Bengal and moved toward the great European entrepôt. European merchants and manufacturers complained about the poor quality of Indian cotton—it was less clean, of shorter

¹⁹ For the efforts by manufacturers, see Charles Wood to William Reeves, March 18, 1861, Letterbook, March 18 to May 25, LB 7, F 78, MSS EUR, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London, UK (hereafter, IOL); Wood to Earl of Elgin, October 25, 1862, Letterbook, July 3 to December 31, 1862, LB 11, F 78, MSS EUR, Wood Papers, IOL; Letter from Messrs. Mosley and Hurst, Agents to the Cotton Supply Association, to W. Greg, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, dated June 20, 1861, reprinted in *ToI*, July 18, 1861, 3. For the quotation see Wood to W. J. Grant, May 9, 1861, in LB 7, F 78, MSS EUR, Wood Papers, IOL. On the debates on the passage of a law that made the adulteration of cotton a crime, see the *ToI* reporting in 1863, for example on February 12, 1863, “Overland Summary,” 6–7; also “Overland Summary,” *ToI*, March 27, 1863, 1. For pressures to change Indian contract law, see Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty-First Annual Report*, 13. See also Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1862* (Manchester, 1863), 37; Wood to William Maine, October 9, 1862, Letterbook, July 3 to December 31, 1862, LB 11, F 78, MSS EUR, Wood Papers, IOL; reprint of a resolution of the home department, February 28, 1861, Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette, March 2, 1861, in Papers relating to Cotton Cultivation in India, 106, Wood Papers, MSS EUR F 78, IOL. Some of the mechanisms are related well in John Henry Rivett-Carnac, *Many Memories of Life in India, at Home, and Abroad* (Edinburgh, 1910), 165–93. For the debate during the war between manufacturers and government officials, see also Wood to Elgin, October 25, 1862, LB 11, F 78, MSS EUR, Wood Papers, IOL; Wood to William Maine, October 9, 1862, Letterbook, July 3 to December 31, 1862, LB 11, F 78, MSS EUR, Wood Papers, IOL; *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., vol. 167 (1862), 767; Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *Forty-Second Annual Report*, 1863, 26; Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *Forty-First Annual Report*; *LM*, September 24, 1862, 6; Wood to Sir George Clerk, March 18, 1861, in LB 7, March 18 to May 25, 1861, F 78, MSS EUR, IOL; Peter Harnetty, “The Imperialism of Free Trade: Lancashire, India, and the Cotton Supply Question, 1861–1865,” *Journal of British Studies* 6, no. 1 (November 1966): 75–76. For the debate as a whole, see Dwijendra Tripathi, “Opportunism of Free Trade: Lancashire Cotton Famine and Indian Cotton Cultivation,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 4, no. 3 (1967): 255–63.

²⁰ Neil Charlesworth, *Peasants and Imperial Rule: Agriculture and Agrarian Society in the Bombay Presidency, 1850–1935* (Cambridge, 1985), 135.

staple, and required the adjustment of machines—but Indian cotton prevented the total collapse of the European cotton industries.²¹

The swirl of activity that transformed parts of India during the Civil War years also rippled through Egypt's lower Nile delta. There, the Ottoman's Viceroy Sa'id Pasha turned his personal attention to converting his own large landholdings into vast cotton farms. According to Massachusetts cotton manufacturer Edward Atkinson, Sa'id Pasha became at a stroke "the largest and best cultivator of cotton in the world." From the viceroy's vantage point, his long-term project of modernizing Egypt through the sale of cotton on world markets, a project begun about four decades earlier under Muhammad 'Ali, now seemed closer than ever to fruition. New railroads, new canals, new cotton gins, and new cotton presses were built in the countryside. By 1864, 40 percent of all fertile land in lower Egypt had been converted to cotton cultivation. Egyptian cotton exports increased five times during the Civil War years, marking a permanent economic change of such significance that historians of Egypt rank the American Civil War among the most crucial events in its nineteenth-century history.²²

The outward radiating effects of the Civil War also reached the northeastern coast of Brazil. Decades earlier, cultivators there had occupied land belonging to large estate owners in and around Pernambuco, where they survived primarily as subsistence farmers. Over time, however, these peasants began to cultivate small amounts of cotton to obtain cash for necessities and taxes. When prices for cotton surged during the war and British merchants provided sufficient advances to enable farmers to devote all their energies to cotton, they abandoned their subsistence crops to plant cotton for the world market. Collectively, these cultivators more than doubled Brazilian cotton exports between 1860 and 1865.²³ (See Table 1).

Rural cultivators in other regions of the world also responded to the cotton famine in the industrial states. Argentinean, Chinese, and Central Asian cotton now increasingly found its way into world markets. Even African merchants along the

²¹ Reichsenquete für die Baumwollen- und Leinen-Industrie, *Statistische Ermittlungen*, Heft (Berlin, 1878) 1, 56–58; James A. Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Extent* (London, 1860), 103, 112, 132; "Overland Summary," February 12, 1862, *ToI*, 1; October 3, 1862, *ToI*, 2; Harnetty, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," 92; *Statistical Abstracts for the United Kingdom in Each of the Last Fifteen Years from 1857 to 1871* (London, 1872), 48–49; Fohlen, *L'Industrie Textile*, 287, 514; Bombay Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for the Year 1863–64* (Bombay, 1865), 1; Frenise A. Logan, "India—Britain's Substitute for American Cotton, 1861–1865," *Journal of Southern History* 24, no. 4 (1958): 476. See also Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1864* (Manchester, 1865), 18; B. R. Mitchell, *European Historical Statistics, 1750–1970* (New York, 1976), E14; Frenise A. Logan, "India's Loss of the British Cotton Market after 1865," *Journal of Southern History* 31, no. 1 (1965): 40–50. On the issue of cotton versus grain, see "Overland Summary," *ToI*, January 14, 1864, 3; Walter Richard Cassels, *Cotton: An Account of its Culture in the Bombay Presidency, Prepared from Government Records and other Authentic Sources, in Accordance with a Resolution of the Government of India* (Bombay, 1862), 205. For a discussion of Egyptian peasants replacing their food crops with cotton, see Earle, "Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War," 521.

²² Quoted in Edward Atkinson, "The Future Supply of Cotton," *North American Review* (April 1864), 481; Edward Mead Earle, "Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War," *Political Science Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1926): 520–45; E. R. J. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy* (Oxford, 1969), 89.

²³ *Estatísticas Históricas do Brasil: Séries Econômicas Demográficas e Sociais de 1550 a 1988* (Rio de Janeiro, 1990), 346. They were urged on by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Lord Russell himself. See Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty-First Annual Report*, 8; Stanley J. Stein, *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture: Textile Development in an Underdeveloped Area, 1850–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), 43.

	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866
India	346	381	395	473	550	525	803
Egypt	50.1	59.6	82	128.7	174	250.7	178.5
Brazil	27.4	21.6	30.8	38.3	47.6	60.7	102.3

TABLE 1: Cotton Exports from India, Egypt, and Brazil, 1860–1866, in Million Pounds. Sources: Government of India, *Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India and Foreign Countries* vol. 5 (Calcutta, 1872); vol. 9 (Calcutta, 1876); Roger Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy, 1820–1914* (Oxford, 1969), 90; *Estatísticas histórica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1990), 346.

coast of what would eventually become the German colony of Togo employed their slaves in the production of cotton for shipment to Liverpool. Such desperate search for cotton bred fanciful scenarios among political economists, manufacturers, and merchants who hoped that this or that region of the world would fill the gap left by the war. *L'Afrique est le vrai pays du coton* (Africa is the true land of cotton) pronounced one French observer optimistically in 1864. To the chagrin of cotton manufacturers and gullible investors, not all of these plans worked out during the war years, and the quantity of African, Argentinean, or Turkestan cotton sold on the world market remained insignificant.²⁴

Yet during the American Civil War, merchants, manufacturers, workers, cultivators, and statesmen had sown the seeds for a recasting of the empire of cotton. Because of their efforts, Indian, Egyptian, and Brazilian cotton had become a major presence on western markets. Their experience during the cotton famine, moreover, had opened bold new vistas on colonial adventure and state involvement in commodity markets. While private investment and mild lobbying of colonial policies had characterized the antebellum efforts of cotton manufacturers, the cotton famine sharply raised the sophistication and dependence of these cotton capitalists on the state. Nationalism and colonialism suddenly had become matters of urgent self-interest. Last but not least, cotton interests had invented in those years a new system of mobilizing non-slave labor, characterized by cultivators enmeshed in debt, share croppers burdened by crop liens, and rural producers with little political power. Infusing European capital into peasant production allowed cotton growing to expand beyond the wildest imagination of its protagonists, even though one of its traditional pillars—slavery—was about to be destroyed.

²⁴ Alejandro E. Bunge, *Las Industrias del Norte: Construcción al Estudio de una Nueva Política Económica Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1922), 209–10; *LM*, November 9, 1863, 6; *LM*, January 3, 1865, 6; Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty-Fourth Annual Report* (1865), 16; Donna J. E. Maier, “Persistence of Precolonial Patterns of Production: Cotton in German Togoland, 1800–1914,” in Allen Isaacman and Richard Roberts, eds., *Cotton, Colonialism and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Portsmouth, 1995), 75. See also Peter Sebald, *Togo 1884–1914: Eine Geschichte der deutschen “Musterkolonie” auf der Grundlage amtlicher Quellen* (Berlin, 1988), 30; O. F. Metzger, *Unsere alte Kolonie Togo* (Neudamm, 1941), 242; “Der Baumwollbau in Togo, seine bisherige Entwicklung, und sein jetziger Stand,” draft of an unsigned article to be published in *Kolonialwirtschaftliche Mitteilungen* (ca. 1902), 8224, R 1001, BA Berlin; Céleste Duval, *Question Cotonnière: La France peut s'emparer du Monopole du Coton par l'Afrique, elle peut rendre l'Angleterre, l'Europe, ses Tributaires; L'Afrique est le Vrai Pays du Coton* (Paris, 1864), 7.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR spurred rapid changes in regions far removed from North America. These changes, in turn, had an impact on the war itself. Perhaps most importantly, they tended to influence the sentiments of the world's cotton merchants, manufacturers, and workers as well as their governments towards the American conflict. Especially for merchants, but also for some manufacturers and even a few workers, the desire to secure cotton at first made them powerful advocates for the cause of the Confederacy. Yet their ability to reshape the world cotton industry by giving India, Egypt, and other places important new roles moved them increasingly into the Union camp, persuading them that emancipation and cotton production might not be mutually exclusive.

Although most rulers, capitalists, and workers in Britain, France, Prussia, and Russia, including those involved with cotton, made no secret of their pro-Union proclivities, a powerful minority regularly used the cotton famine to justify their demands for British or French intervention. Tellingly, Liverpool, the world's largest cotton port, was the most pro-Confederate place in the world outside the Confederacy itself. Liverpool merchants helped bring out cotton from ports blockaded by the Union navy, built ships of war for the Confederacy, and supplied the South with military equipment and credit. And Liverpool was not alone. The Manchester Southern Club and the Manchester Southern Independence Association also agitated for the South. In 1862, thousands of participants, many of them workers, staged rallies in British cotton towns, demanding government recognition of the Confederacy. In France, as early as October 1861, delegations of cotton merchants and manufacturers converged on Paris to press the government to help make U.S. cotton accessible again and chambers of commerce in various cotton growing cities pleaded with Napoleon to recognize the Confederacy and to bring the blockade to an end.²⁵ These sentiments mattered because they could potentially influence the position of various powers, especially of Britain and France, to the American war. The Union had an overwhelming interest in maintaining the

²⁵ Blumenthal, "Confederate Diplomacy," 151–71; Degler, *One among Many*; Hyman, *Heard Round the World*; Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*; Cresap, "Frank L. Owsley and King Cotton Diplomacy"; Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy*; Crook, *Diplomacy during the American Civil War*; Jones, *Union in Peril*; Lynn Marshall Case, *The United States and France: Civil War Diplomacy* (Philadelphia, 1970); Jones, *Union in Peril*; Löffler, *Preußens und Sachsens Beziehungen*. For pro-Confederate sentiments see, for example, *LM*, June 24, 1861, 3; August 12, 1861, 2; September 20, 1861, 6; October 8, 1861, 5; October 15, 1861, 5; December 18, 1861, 6; April 18, 1862, 6. For pressure to recognize the Confederate government, see *LM*, July 16, 1862, 5; November 19, 1862, 3. For a controversial debate on slavery, see the letters to the editor to the *LM* printed on February 7 and February 9, 1863, both on page 3; *LM*, May 21, 1863, 7. See also John D. Pelzer, "Liverpool and the American Civil War," *History Today* 40, no. 3 (March 1990): 46; *The Porcupine*, November 9, 1861, 61. For material support for the Confederacy see, for example, copy of letter from Thomas Haines Dudley, U.S. Consulate Liverpool, to Charles Francis Adams, Liverpool, May 4, 1864, in Seward Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter LC), Washington, D.C.; Thomas Haines Dudley to William H. Seward, Liverpool, September 3, 1864, in Seward Papers, LC; *LM*, May 3, 1864, 6. Fraser, Trenholm & Company, operating out of Liverpool, secured funds for the Confederacy, built ships of war, and participated in blockade running. See the Fraser, Trenholm & Company Papers, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool, UK (hereafter, MMML). Liverpool merchants went into business with agents of the Confederacy in trading cotton through the federal blockade. Letter by W. Fernie, Liverpool, to Fraser, Trenholm & Co, B/FT 1/13, Fraser, Trenholm & Company Papers, MMML. Also see *LM*, February 4, 1863, 3; Pelzer, "Liverpool and the American War," 46. For Manchester, see *LM*, May 23, 1863, 6; October 6, 1863, 6; October 17, 1863, 3; February 1, 1864, 7; for working-class support see *LM*, May 2, 1862, 7; August 9, 1862, 5. For France, see Case and Spencer, *The United States and France*, 179. See also Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *Forty-First Annual Report*, 21–22.

neutrality of European governments, while the Confederacy saw gaining recognition as its single most important foreign policy goal. Of course there were good reasons not to intervene—Britain had to consider the fate of its Canadian provinces, and its growing dependence on wheat and corn imports from the United States, while continental powers such as France, Russia, and Prussia had an interest in maintaining a strong United States to balance British economic and military power. But recognition always remained a possibility, and those who advocated it usually argued for the advantages of an independent Confederacy as a source of raw cotton and a low tariff market for European goods.²⁶

Because the Union government recognized that the Achilles heel of its diplomacy was the shortage of cotton, it tried to undermine pro-Confederate sentiment by actively encouraging cotton production in other parts of the world, especially in Egypt. There was no little irony in the fact that the government of the world's greatest producer of cotton would encourage competitors to its most important export crop to emerge, but the military and political pressure was so overwhelming that it justified even extraordinary steps. Washington, wrote William H. Seward in April 1862, had "an obvious duty to examine the capacities of other countries for cotton culture and stimulate it as much as possible, and thus to counteract the destructive designs of the factious monopolists at home."²⁷

These calculations of American policy makers, as expected, did help to defuse tensions between Washington and European capitals. In the spring of 1862, Baring Brothers Liverpool expressed their view that war between the United States and

²⁶ For the Confederacy, see W. L. Trenholm to Charles Kuhn Prioleau (Liverpool), New York, June 21, 1865, B/FT 1/137, Fraser, Trenholm & Company Papers, MML. On the importance of wheat imports to Britain, see, for example, Thayer to Seward, London, July 19, 1862, Seward Papers, LDC. For a far-flung debate on why not to recognize the Confederacy see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., vol. 171 (1863), 1771–1842. For British dependence on wheat and corn imports see especially 1795. See also Duke of Argyll to John Russell, October 11, 1862, Box 25, PRO 30/22, Lord John Russell Papers, PRO. On the Prussian desire for a strong United States to counterbalance British influence, see Löffler, *Preußens und Sachsens*, 59. For various arguments made in the House of Commons for recognizing the Confederacy, see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* vol. 171, June 30, 1863, 1771–1842. See also *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., vol. 165 (1862), 1165. See also Martin T. Tupper to Abraham Lincoln, May 13, 1861 (Support from England), in Abraham Lincoln, *Abraham Lincoln Papers*, ser. 1, *General Correspondence* (n.p., 1833–1916), Library of Congress. The diplomatic correspondence between the British Foreign Office and the British embassy in Washington D.C. suggests that Foreign Minister Earl Russell along with the French government exerted considerable pressure on the U.S. government by reminding it again and again of Europe's need for cotton. See Lord John Russell Papers, PRO. See also Lord Lyons to Earl Russell, Washington, July 28, 1863, in United States, Washington Legislation, Private Correspondence, Box 37, 30/22, Lord John Russell Papers, PRO; Wood to Earl of Elgin, August 9, 1862, LB 11, Letterbook, July 3 to December 31, 1862, F 78, MSS EUR, Wood Papers, IOL. American diplomats, too, were frequently reminded of Europe's urgent need for cotton. Sanford to Seward, April 10, 1862, Seward Papers, Manuscripts Division, LC, as quoted in Case and Spencer, *The United States and France*, 290. See also Thayer to Seward, London, July 19, 1862, Seward Papers, LC; Dayton to Adams, Paris, November 21, 1862, AM 15236, Correspondence, Letters Sent A-C, Box I, Dayton Papers, quoted in Case, *The United States and France*, 371.

²⁷ Seward quoted in Thayer to Seward, March 5, 1863, U.S. Consulate, Alexandria, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Alexandria, NA. See also David R. Serpell, "American Consular Activities in Egypt, 1849–1863," *Journal of Modern History* 10, no. 3 (1938): 344–63; Thayer to Seward, Despatch number 23, Alexandria, November 5, 1862, in Despatches of the U.S. Consul in Alexandria to Seward, NA; Seward to Thayer, Washington, December 15, 1862, Seward Papers, LC; Trabulsi to Seward, Alexandria, August 12, 1862 and Thayer to Seward, April 1, 1862, in Despatches of the U.S. Consul in Alexandria to Seward, NA. For the dispatches to Seward on cotton see, for example, Thayer to Seward, Alexandria, July 20, 1861, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Alexandria, 1835–1873, NA.

Great Britain was less likely “provided we get a large import from India.”²⁸ Edward Atkinson, Boston cotton manufacturer himself, was similarly relieved that the “supposed dependence of Europe upon the Cotton States has proved to be an utter fallacy.”²⁹ Indeed, once significant amounts of cotton arrived from sources other than the United States, the political pressure on European governments from cotton interests declined.³⁰ By 1863, even those whose livelihood depended on cotton and who had once been advocates of the cause of the Southern states began to envision the possibility of a non-slave empire of cotton, seeing the Southern struggle for independence as a dangerous disruption to the world economy.³¹ After all, cotton merchants and manufactures, unlike Southern planters and their government, were not invested in a particular source of cotton, such as the American South, nor in a particular system of labor to produce it, such as slavery. All they required was a secure and predictable supply of inexpensive cotton. To the degree that this conversion of cotton traders had to do with the arrival of cotton from non-slave areas, Egyptian, South American, and Indian cultivators and merchants played a small role in contributing to Northern victory in the Civil War.³²

RESPONDING TO THE IMMEDIATE economic, social, and political effects of the cotton famine represented the most formidable challenge to merchants, manufacturers, rural producers, workers, and statesmen in the Americas, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Yet the true significance of the war to the worldwide web of cotton growing, trade, and manufacturing rested on the war’s destruction of the most fundamental pillars on which the empire of cotton, and with it industrial capitalism, had been built for six decades: slavery, a powerful planter class in the American South, an industry structured on the relationship between Lancashire and the United States, and networks of trade dominated by merchants operating in relatively open markets. This particular combination of land, labor, capital, and state power had enabled the production of rapidly growing quantities of cotton at falling prices and thus had made possible industrial revolution. Yet in 1865, it was beyond repair.³³

Cotton merchants and manufacturers did not let go of this earlier world easily. For too long, American slavery had guaranteed their prosperity. Profits derived from the

²⁸ Baring Brothers Liverpool to Joshua Bates, Liverpool, February 12, 1862, in HC 35: 1862, House Correspondence, Baring Brothers, ING Baring Archives, London, UK.

²⁹ Atkinson, “The Future Supply of Cotton,” 478. Atkinson is here not identified as the author, but his authorship becomes clear from his correspondence with Charles E. Norton. See N 297, Letters, 1861–1864, Edward A. Atkinson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass. See also John Bright to Atkinson, London, May 29, 1862, Box N 298, Edward A. Atkinson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

³⁰ This is the impression from reading the Annual Reports of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. For a sense of relief by cotton interests, see, for example, Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *Forty-Third Annual Report*, 17, 25; *LM*, August 8, 1864, 7; August 9, 1864, August 7, 10, 1864, 3; August 31, 1864, 7; September 22, 1864, 7; October 31, 1864, 7.

³¹ *LM*, January 4, 1864, 8.

³² This general argument is also made by Tripathi, “A Shot From Afar.”

³³ *Bremer Handelsblatt* (April 22, 1865), 142. The institution of slavery itself, of course, thrived for a few more decades in places such as Cuba, Brazil, and Africa. By and large, however, cotton was no longer produced by slaves. See Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts, eds. *The End of Slavery in Africa* (Madison, Wisc., 1988).

trade in slave-grown cotton had fueled the wealth of Liverpool, Le Havre, Bremen, and New York, and indeed quite a few merchants had gotten their start in the slave trade itself.³⁴ Even for those who sincerely believed slavery to be an evil, the abstract appeal of liberty diminished once actual emancipation became a real possibility. *The Economist* was a case in point. Generally a strong opponent of slavery, its editors nonetheless feared that if abolition came to the American South, “[t]he catastrophe would be so terrible, its accompaniments so shocking, and its results everywhere and in every way so deplorable, that we most earnestly pray it may be averted.”³⁵

This was hardly a principled defense of slavery. Yet the reaction of merchants and manufacturers reflected their understanding of the sources of their own prosperity. After all, at prevailing antebellum world market prices, few cultivators in India, Brazil, Africa, or, for that matter, the American South, had produced very much cotton for European markets—despite the best efforts of some manufacturers. The experience of emancipation in the Caribbean a few decades earlier, moreover, had taught cotton capitalists to be concerned about cash-crop production by former slaves. Cotton production in Saint Domingue had collapsed upon emancipation and in British Guyana, once an important cotton growing region, freedpeople had moved into subsistence farming, “with evil consequences.”³⁶

Despite these misgivings, slavery could not be resurrected. Although the British Minister to Washington expressed hope in 1865 that “measures are being taken to force the Negroes to work,” freedpeople in the United States, supported by powerful interests in the North, successfully insisted on making the war a war of their liberation.³⁷ Moreover, the upheavals of the war suggested that the United States might have lost its capacity to produce sufficient cotton to feed the growing global demand. In 1865, it had become clear that a novel combination of land, labor, capital, and state power had to be found to secure the fabulous amounts of inexpensive cotton needed by cotton manufacturers the world over.

Capitalists and imperial bureaucrats worked zealously on such a reconstruction of the worldwide web of cotton production. In articles and books, speeches and letters, they belabored the question if and where cotton could be grown by non-slave labor. Massachusetts cotton manufacturer Edward Atkinson, for example, contributed to this debate in 1861 with his *Cheap Cotton by Free Labor*, British colonial official W. H. Holmes followed suit a year later with *Free Cotton: How and Where to Grow it*, and an anonymous French author added his voice the same year with *Les Blancs et les Noirs en Amérique et le Coton dans les deux Mondes*.³⁸

Soon such treatises were informed by lessons drawn from the Civil War experiences themselves. The sudden turn to non-slave cotton during the Civil War years in Egypt, Brazil, and India as well as in Union-controlled zones of the

³⁴ Such as John Tarleton, who, during the 1780s, dealt in cotton only as a sideline to his main activity, trading in human beings. See Tarleton Papers, 920 TAR, Liverpool Records Office, Liverpool, UK. See also *LM*, September 22, 1863, 7.

³⁵ *Econ*, January 19, 1861, 58.

³⁶ W. H. Holmes, *Free Cotton: How and Where to Grow it* (London, 1862), 18.

³⁷ W. A. Bruce to Earl Russell, Washington, May 22, 1865, 22/28, 30, Lord John Russell Papers, PRO.

³⁸ Holmes, *Free Cotton*; Edward Atkinson, *Cheap Cotton by Free Labor: By A Cotton Manufacturer* (Boston, 1861); *Les Blancs et les Noirs en Amérique et le Coton dans les deux Mondes, Par L'auteur de La Paix en Europe par l'Alliance Anglo-Francaise* (Paris, 1862).

American South represented, after all, a gigantic experiment of how a world of cotton without slaves could be shaped. These rehearsals for reconstruction suggested two somewhat contradictory conclusions.³⁹ First, cotton experts reckoned that enough cotton could be procured to permit cotton manufacturing to continue its dramatic expansion even without slavery. This was, for example, the judgment of the English Ladies' Free Grown Cotton movement, a loose association of women who committed themselves to purchasing only cloth produced with free labor cotton.⁴⁰ And, perhaps most optimistically, it was embraced by Republicans in the United States such as Edward Atkinson, who believed that cotton production in the American South could be expanded dramatically through the use of "free labor"—that is, as long as freedpeople would not engage in subsistence agriculture.⁴¹

Yet the Civil War experience also had shown that non-slave cotton had entered world markets only under conditions of unsustainable high prices; after all, the price of Indian cotton had quadrupled and earlier efforts to bring Indian cotton to market at lower prices had largely failed. Moreover, from the perspective of 1864 and 1865, emancipation was leading to dangerous social turmoil in the American South. It was thus reasonable to expect that freedom would bring a permanent reduction in the supplies of raw cotton—an expectation expressed most directly by the fact that postbellum cotton prices (for American middling in Liverpool) remained for ten years well above their prewar level.⁴²

Despite this uncertainty, the wartime rehearsals for reconstruction provided cotton capitalists and government bureaucrats with important insights into how the growing of cotton for world markets might be resurrected. Most importantly, they learned that labor, not land, constrained the production of cotton.⁴³ Members of the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, the world's leading experts on such matters, argued already during the war that three things were necessary for successful cotton cultivation: "soil and climate fit for the growth of cotton"—and labor. They understood that land and climate of a "quality equal, and in many cases superior, to that" of America was available in many different parts of the globe. But these experts on global cotton found that "only two regions" possessed "the very first requisite, which was labor"—West Africa and India.⁴⁴

But how should this labor be mobilized? During the American Civil War and its

³⁹ The theme of "rehearsal for reconstruction" is taken from Willie Lee Nichols Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Indianapolis, 1964).

⁴⁰ *LM*, September 23, 1863, 6. This was also the conclusion of an increasing number of people in Liverpool, who by 1863 wrote an ever-increasing number of letters to the editor of the *LM* to make their antislavery voices heard. See, for example, *LM*, January 19, 1863, 6; *LM*, January 24, 1863, 7.

⁴¹ Atkinson, *Cheap Cotton by Free Labor*, Atkinson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass. See also Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty-First Annual Report*, 33.

⁴² Already in 1862, Mr. Caird argued in the House of Commons, that "[t]he advantages which the Southern States had hitherto derived from slave cultivation would to a great extent be at an end." *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., vol. 167 (1862), 791. See also *LM*, January 3, 1865, 6; *LM*, April 25, 1865, 6; *LM*, May 13, 1865, 6. For prices, see Todd, *World's Cotton Crops*, 429–32.

⁴³ August Etienne, *Die Baumwollzucht im Wirtschaftsprogramm der deutschen Übersee-Politik* (Berlin, 1902), 28. The theme of labor shortage was also an important subject in discussions on the expansion of Indian cotton production during the U.S. Civil War. See, for example, *ToI*, October 18, 1861, 3; February 27, 1863, 6; *Zeitfragen*, May 1, 1911, 1.

⁴⁴ In the "West of Africa, though there was labor, the people were savage." *LM*, June 12, 1861, 3. As the superintendent of the Cotton Gin Factory in the Dharwar Collectorate reported in May of 1862, "Although the cultivation of native cotton is capable of extension to an enormous degree, yet the

immediate aftermath, the efforts of cotton interests focused squarely on accessing labor in regions that formerly had not grown significant amounts of cotton for European markets. This strategy had a long history; since the 1820s, for example, largely unsuccessful efforts had been afoot to enable the production of greater amounts of cotton for British markets in India. The Civil War, however, focused the energies of capitalists and statesmen in unprecedented ways, and, indeed, their efforts resulted in a sustained increase in cotton production in India, Brazil, Egypt, and Central Asia. Aided by dramatic advances in transportation and communications technology, their activities rapidly expanded capitalist social relations through a sharp surge of global economic integration, resulting in a long-lasting commercialization of regions that before 1861 had remained remote from world markets. As the *Revue de Deux Mondes* observed perceptively, “[t]he emancipation of the enslaved races and the regeneration of the people of the East” were intimately connected.⁴⁵ This geographic spread of world market cotton production was the first new pillar of the postwar empire of cotton.

The expansion of cotton production for world markets was most momentous in India. As the Bombay Chamber of Commerce observed at the end of the war, the “emancipation of American slaves [was] a matter of paramount importance” for the future of India’s cotton industry, signifying a permanent change in the agricultural structure and trade of India. While it is true, as many historians have observed, that Indian rural producers were not able to hold on to their dominant position on world cotton markets after the war, their production for export still rose rapidly, expanding from 260 million pounds in 1858 to nearly 1.2 billion pounds in 1914, despite the simultaneous explosion in the number of domestic spinning mills. (See Figure 2.) Export merchants, however, no longer sold most of this much larger crop to manufacturers in India’s two traditional markets—Great Britain and China—but instead found buyers in continental Europe, and, after the turn of the century, among Japanese spinners. In the thirty years after 1860, continental European consumption of Indian cotton increased sixty-two-fold.⁴⁶ (See Table 2).

amount of labour available is barely sufficient to clean the quantity now produced.” Quoted in *ToI*, February 12, 1863, 3.

⁴⁵ Reclus, “Le Coton et la Crise Américaine,” 208.

⁴⁶ Bombay Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for the Year 1865–66* (Bombay, 1867), 213. The permanence of this change is also emphasized by Maurus Staubli, *Reich und Arm mit Baumwolle: Exportorientierte Landwirtschaft und soziale Stratifikation am Beispiel des Baumwollanbaus im indischen Distrikt Khandesh (Dekkan), 1850–1914* (Stuttgart, 1994), 66; Mann, *Cotton Trade*, 132; *Statistical Abstracts for British India from 1911–1912 to 1920–1921* (London, 1924), 476–77. There is an unfortunate tendency in much of the literature on the effects of the Civil War on India to limit one’s view to the relationship between India and Britain, which entirely misses the more important trade in raw cotton between India and continental Europe as well as Japan. For the “empire centric” view, see, for example, Logan, “India’s Loss of the British Cotton Market after 1865” and also Wright, “Cotton Competition and the Post-Bellum Recovery of the American South.” On the importance of continental European markets, see also Harry Rivett-Carnac, “Report on the Cotton Department for the Year 1868–69” (Bombay, 1869), 139; C. B. Pritchard, “Annual Report on Cotton for the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1882–83” (Bombay, 1883), 2. On the importance of the Japanese market, see S. V. Fitzgerald and A. E. Nelson, *Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Amraoti District*, vol. A (Bombay, 1911), 192. On increased imports of Indian cotton in Europe, see Dwijendra Tripathi, “India’s Challenge to America in European Markets, 1876–1900,” *Indian Journal of American Studies* 1, no. 1 (1969): 57–65; *Statistical Abstracts for the United Kingdom for Each of the Fifteen Years from 1910 to 1924* (London, 1926), 114–15; Todd, *World’s Cotton Crops*, 45. For the reasons why Indian



FIGURE 2: Securing new sources of cotton: Indian and European merchants trade at the Bombay cotton market, ca. 1870. Reproduced with kind permission of Volkart Stiftung, Winterthur, Switzerland.

Elements of the Indian story played out in Brazil and Egypt as well. In Brazil, cotton exports had averaged 32.4 million pounds per year during the 1850s, rising to more than 61 million pounds in 1865. During the following thirty years (1866–1896), Brazil exported an average of 66.7 million pounds of cotton annually, compared with an average of 26.9 million pounds in the three decades before the Civil War (1831–1860)—despite the simultaneous growth of domestic cotton manufacturing by a factor of 53. Meanwhile in Egypt, fellaheen quintupled their cotton production between 1860 and 1865 from 50.1 million to 250.7 million pounds. After the war, their production at first fell quite significantly to about 125 million pounds, but by 1872 merchants shipped more than 200 million pounds from the port of Alexandria to European destinations. Even during the post-Civil War trough of cotton production, Egypt's output was still two-and-a-half times as large as it had been before the Civil War. Indian, Brazilian, and Egyptian cotton in particular thus had become a significant new presence on world cotton markets. By 1883, cotton from there had captured a full 31 percent of the continental European market or a little more than twice as much as in 1860.⁴⁷

cotton found a ready market on the continent, see "Report by F. M. W. Schofield, Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Simla, 15 September 1888," in Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Fibres and Silk Branch, April 1889, nos. 6–8, Part B, National Archives of India, New Delhi, India (hereafter, NAI).

⁴⁷ The Brazil discussion is based on *Estatísticas Históricas do Brasil*, 346. On the number of spindles,

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Million lbs</i>
1850s	226.5
1860s	384.4
1870s	554.8
1880s	469.5
1890s	536.9
1900s	710.6
1910s	920.1

TABLE 2: Cotton Exports from India: Average Annual Exports, by Decade, in Million Pounds. Sources: Government of India, *Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India with Foreign Countries*, vol. 5 (Calcutta, 1872); Government of India, *Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India with Foreign Countries*, vol. 9 (Calcutta, 1876); *Statistical Abstracts Relating to British India from 1874/5 to 1883/4* (London, 1885), 11; John Todd, *World's Cotton Crops* (London, 1915), 45; *Statistical Abstracts for British India from 1911–12 to 1920–21* (London, 1924), 476–77.

The rapid geographic expansion of the worldwide web of cotton production was deeply entangled with efforts to find new ways to motivate rural cultivators to grow the white gold and move it to market. Until 1861, American slavery had answered the question as to how to extract labor for cotton production, but during the war it had become obvious that slaves would never again produce much cotton for world markets, even in regions in which slavery persisted, such as in Brazil and Africa.⁴⁸ A new system of labor thus had to be invented. Antebellum experiences suggested that this would be difficult, since non-slave cotton had arrived only in small quantities in the ports of Liverpool, Bremen, and LeHavre. Rural cultivators in control of both their labor and land usually had resisted growing cotton for world markets at prices competitive with slave-grown cotton. Cotton merchants did not succeed in extracting sufficient amounts of cotton from precapitalist producers at what they considered to be reasonable prices—neither in India nor in Africa, Egypt, or, for that matter, the upcountry of the Southern United States. Moreover, efforts by cotton planters to rely on wage workers failed, as people the world over refused to work for wages on cotton plantations.⁴⁹

see Stein, *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture*, 191. One observer argues that without the war, the rapid expansion of cotton production in Egypt would have taken half a century. See Earle, "Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War," 522. For the conversion of cantars into pounds, see Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy*, 382–83. I assumed here that one cantar equaled 100 lbs. See also Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy*, 90, 123, 124, 197; the permanence of this change is also emphasized by Alan Richards, *Egypt's Agricultural Development, 1800–1980: Technical and Social Change* (Boulder, Colo., 1982), 31; Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain*, 91.

⁴⁸ Luiz Cordelio Barbosa, "Cotton in Nineteenth Century Brazil: Dependency and Development," (PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1989), 170.

⁴⁹ Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll-Unternehmungen, Bericht XI* (Spring 1909), p. 28, in 8224, R 1001, BA Berlin; Thaddeus Sunseri, "Die Baumwollfrage: Cotton Colonialism in German East Africa," *Central European History* 34, no. 1 (2001), 46, 48. Peasant resistance against colonial cotton projects in a very different context is also described in Allen Isaacman et al., "'Cotton is the Mother of Poverty': Peasant Resistance to Forced Cotton Production in Mozambique, 1938–1961," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13, no. 4 (1980), 581–615; Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee, "Verhandlungen der Baumwoll-Kommission des Kolonial-Wirtschaftlichen Komitees vom 25. April 1912," 169; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction*.

Out of these failures an entirely different system of labor control was born: unlike in sugar production, which, after emancipation, relied to an important extent on indentured laborers, cotton would be grown by cultivators who would work their own or rented land with the input of family labor and metropolitan capital. Sharecropping, crop liens, and powerful local merchants in control of capital characterized the countryside in which they lived.⁵⁰ These cotton farmers, the world over, were deeply enmeshed in debt, vulnerable to world market fluctuations, generally poor, subject to newly created vagrancy statutes and labor contracts designed to keep them on the land, and politically marginalized. They were often subject to extra-economic coercion. These were the people who would grow ever-larger amounts of cotton in the new empire of cotton, from India to Central Asia, from Egypt to the United States.⁵¹

The global story of how this new system of labor was forged can be told from many different vantage points, as its fundamental dynamics were strikingly similar on all continents. Here, however, a closer look at one region within India, Berar, should suffice. Only acquired by the British in 1853, colonial administrators and British cotton interests quickly saw Berar as a promising region for the growth of cotton. After 1861, the effects of the distant American Civil War turned it virtually upside down. In the following four years, cotton acreage nearly doubled, and then doubled once more by the 1880s. The war, reported one observer, has “positively electrified Berar. Before this, cotton had been one out of many staples. It now became the prevailing, absorbing, predominating product.” While some of this increase resulted from planting formerly fallow lands, the percentage of land devoted to cotton instead of food grains rose as well—from 21 percent in 1861 to 30 percent in 1865, and to 38 percent by 1900. By 1867, as one observer put it, Berar had “become a perfect garden of cotton”—a garden that eventually produced more of the fiber than all of Egypt.⁵²

The annihilation of both space and time was at the core of Berar’s transforma-

⁵⁰ See Herbert S. Klein and Stanley L. Engerman, “The Transition from Slave to Free Labor: Notes on a Comparative Economic Model,” in *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*, Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Engerman, eds. (Baltimore, Md., 1985), 255–70.

⁵¹ This was a different system of labor than the one that emerged in the global sugar industry after emancipation. There, indentured workers took on a prominent role. The difference is probably related to the fact that sugar production is much more capital intensive than the growing of cotton, and, moreover, because there are efficiencies of scale in sugar which do not exist in cotton. For the effects of emancipation on sugar, see especially Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton, 1985); David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1922* (New York, 1995); Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca Scott, *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000).

⁵² For the quote see Alfred Comyn Lyall, ed., *Gazetteer for the Haidarabad Assigned Districts, Commonly Called Berar, 1870* (Bombay, 1870), 137. All the numbers are from Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar*, 184. A very good introduction to the ways in which the British acquired Berar is reprinted in Moulvie Syed Mahdi Ali, ed, *Hyderabad Affairs*, 5 vols. (Bombay, 1883). See also Lord Dalhousie to Charles Wood, June 3, 1843, F78, 17, MSS EUR, Wood Papers, IOL; “Lord Dalhousie’s Minute on his Indian Administration—Hyderabad,” Madras, *Spectator*, August 2, 1856, in *Hyderabad Affairs*, 2 (1883), as quoted in Laxman D. Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar* (New Delhi, 1997), 58; Nelson, *Central Provinces District Gazetteers: Amraoti District*, 248; Harry Rivett-Carnac, “Report on the Cotton Department for the Year 1867–1868,” (Bombay, 1868), 10. Maurus Staubli, studying the impact of the transition to a cotton export industry in another region of India, the district of Khandesh, came to very similar conclusions. See Staubli, *Reich und Arm mit Baumwolle*.

tion. Before the 1850s, cotton sent to Bombay was transported on bullocks in journeys taking many weeks. During the Civil War years, however, railroads began dissecting Berar, enabling merchants to ship cotton rapidly and cheaply. By 1870, thanks to government investments, the railroad finally reached the Berar town of Khangaon, "the largest cotton outpost of the British empire," where merchants from Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, and the Habsburg Empire congregated to acquire raw cotton, gin and press it, and then ship it to Europe. Market integration advanced rapidly and once telegraphic communication with England had become possible in 1868 and the Suez Canal opened in 1869, a Liverpool merchant could wire an order for cotton to Berar and receive it on the shores of the Mersey just six weeks later.⁵³

While railroads and telegraphs created the infrastructure to sell Berar cotton on world markets, it took the intervention of the British colonial state to recast Berar's social structure and natural environment in ways that encouraged cultivators to produce cotton. When British colonial administrators created private property in land, they facilitated the infusion of European capital, a goal furthered by legal changes penalizing the adulteration of cotton and altering contract law.⁵⁴ It was in such a revolutionized social environment that rural producers responded to the rapid rise of cotton prices after 1861 by growing an ever-greater quantity of the cash crop. In the process, they took on debts to buy implements, purchase seed, acquire the means of subsistence during the cotton-growing season, and pay taxes, often at exorbitant rates of interest (a minimum of 12 percent per year, but 24 or even 60 percent were common), and in turn they signed over their cotton crop to moneylenders, usually many months before the harvest.⁵⁵

As elsewhere in the empire of cotton, the money advanced to cultivators by indigenous moneylenders increasingly came from European merchants, such as the Volkarts, the Rallis, and the Barings who advanced capital to local merchants and agents who in turn would provide it to moneylenders who would grant credit to cotton cultivators. Since these local moneylenders obtained unlimited title to the property and labor of their debtors, it gave them the "power to utterly ruin and enslave the debtor." During the nineteenth century, they used this power to control peasant labor, and not their land, which was of little value without people to work it. Their authority rested upon the impartial rule of law, courts, and ultimately the

⁵³ F. R. S. Briggs, *The Cotton Trade of India: Its Past and Present Condition* (London, 1839), 83; Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar*, 142. India and Bengal Despatches, vol. 82, August 17, 1853, 1140–1142 from Board of Directors, EIC London, to Financial/Railway Department, Government of India, quoted in Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar*, 142. On the telegraph, see Rivett-Carnac, "Report on the Cotton Department for the Year 1867–68," 100. On the occasion of the opening of the railroad no other than the British viceroy himself linked the new state of affairs explicitly to the American Civil War. "Opening of the Khangaon Railway," *ToI*, March 11, 1870, reprinted in Ali, *Hyderabad Affairs*, vol. 4, 199. On Khangaon see also Rivett-Carnac, "Report on the Cotton Department for the Year 1868–69," 98ff; Lyall, ed., *Gazetteer for the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, Commonly Called Berar, 1870*, 230; Rivett-Carnac, "Report on the Cotton Department for the Year 1867–68," 100; *Journal of the Society of Arts* 24 (February 25, 1876), 260.

⁵⁴ Nelson, *Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Amraoti District*, 228. This was also the case in Egypt. See Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy*, 113. British capital also financed advances to Brazilian cotton planters. See Barbosa, "Cotton in Nineteenth Century Brazil: Dependency and Development," 99.

⁵⁵ Nelson, *Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Amraoti District*, 253. In Egypt, rates from 12 to 60 percent annually were also typical. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy*, 107.

state, and thus was entirely unlike the claims to power inherent in the relationship between masters and their slaves.⁵⁶

As a result of these swift changes, a region that as late as 1853 had remained largely removed from world markets and had a subsistence and village-orientated economy with a substantial household manufacturing sector reoriented its economic activities around cotton. This had significant implications for Berar's social structure. Cotton expansion pushed more people into agricultural labor. Many banjaras (traditional owners of carts who had transported cotton) now labored in Berar's fields. Spinners and weavers, their markets challenged by British imports, found themselves unable to compete for the crucial raw material, and also moved into the agricultural proletariat, their numbers decreasing by as much as 50 percent during the war. Thus in a large swath of India, integration into the world market went hand in hand with the movement of people from manufacturing into agriculture. Indeed, high cotton prices during the war years both stimulated the planting of cotton and undermined its transformation into yarn and cloth by Indian spinners and weavers, making in effect a two-prong assault on the equilibrium of the subcontinent's traditional economy. A wave of rapid "peasantization" and proletarianization descended upon Berar, and, by 1891, 30 to 40 percent of its inhabitants had become landless agricultural laborers. Such a transformation was exactly what British colonial interests had in mind when they had pushed into Berar in the first place. As the British Cotton Commissioner Harry Rivett-Carnac remarked in 1869, "Now it is not too much to hope, that, with a branch railway to this tract, European piece goods might be imported so as to undersell the native cloth. And the effect would be, that, not only would a larger supply of the raw material be obtained—for what is now worked up into yarn would be exported—but the larger population now employed in spinning and weaving would be made available for agricultural labour, and thus the jungle land might be broken up and the cultivation extended."⁵⁷

Stories such as this can be told for places all over the empire of cotton. Throughout Maharashtra, for example, British efforts to increase the revenue and encourage peasants to engage in distant markets led to the undermining of the collective nature of villages, making individual peasants (instead of villages as a whole) responsible for taxes, and handing judicial power to distant courts instead of village-based and peasant-dominated tribunals. One of the effects of these changes was that moneylenders gained new power over peasants' land and labor, especially in the wake of the "dislocations in the economy of Maharashtra caused by the Civil

⁵⁶ For the quote see "Report of the Committee on the Riots in Poona and Ahednagar, 1875" (Bombay, 1876), 80. See also Nelson, *Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Amraoti District*, 253; Lestock Reid, *Administration Report of the Cotton Department for the Year 1876-77* (Bombay, 1877), 41; Printed letter from Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay to A. O. Hume, Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce, March 1877 and Savashiva Ballal Goundey, Honorary Secretary, Sarvajanic Sabha, to the Chief Secretary of Government in Bombay, Puna, April 14, 1877, both in compilation No. 765, Report of the Deccan Riots Commission, Compilation Volume 161, 1877, Revenue Department, Maharashtra State Archive, Mumbai, India.

⁵⁷ Rivett-Carnac, "Report on the Cotton Department for the Year 1868-69," 91. The American South, after the Civil War, also became much more dependent on cotton and an importer of foodstuffs. See Wright, *Old South, New South*, 35; Gavin Wright and Howard Kunreuther, "Cotton, Corn and Risk in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History* 35, no. 3 (1975): 526-51.

War in America,” when peasants, in order to pay their taxes and plant their crops, became ever more dependent on advances. In Khandesh, the greater orientation toward cotton agriculture and the attendant legal and social changes resulted in ever-increasing percentage of land devoted to the “white gold” (19 percent in 1861/62, 44 percent in 1901/02) and a wave of proletarianization, so that by 1872 already one in four adult men owned no land and worked for wages. In Egypt as well, the booming cotton export industry, according to historian Alan Richards, “destroyed the quasi-communal forms of land tenure, broke up the protective web of village social relations, replaced them with private property in land and individual tax responsibility and helped create four classes: large landowners . . . rich peasants . . . small peasant landowners, and a landless class.” In 1907, Richards estimates that 37 percent of all agriculturalists had become landless laborers. Meanwhile, the American South witnessed a transformation of agriculture and class relations just as radical. The ever-deeper involvement of sharecroppers and Southern upcountry farmers in the world market, along with harsh credit arrangements, led to a vast expansion of cotton production. Just like in India and Egypt, merchants linked to metropolitan capitalists, not planters or rural cultivators, emerged as the newly dominating social group in the countryside. Aided by vagrancy laws, labor codes, crop lien laws, and annual labor contracts, they enforced the new rules of the market. White tenant farmers, not former slaves, accounted for much of the increase in cotton production, as they were drawn away from subsistence agriculture and into production for world markets.⁵⁸

Everywhere, the emergence of new systems of labor resulted in a rapid, vast, and permanent increase in the production of cotton for world markets. Most significantly, American farmers recovered, despite all predictions to the contrary, their position as the world’s leading producers of raw cotton. By 1870, their total output surpassed that of 1860 for the first time, by 1877, they regained their prewar market share in Great Britain, the world’s most important cotton market, and by 1880, they exported more cotton than they had in 1860.⁵⁹ Indeed, by 1891, sharecroppers, family farmers, and plantation owners in the United States grew twice as much cotton as in 1861 and supplied 81 percent of the British, 66 percent of the French, and 61 percent of the German market.⁶⁰ Altogether, by 1900, growers the world

⁵⁸ Ravinder Kumar, *Western India in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in the Social History of Maharashtra* (London, 1968), 35, 59, 151, 161; Staubli, *Reich und Arm mit Baumwolle*, 58, 68, 114–15, 187; Alan Richards, *Egypt’s Agricultural Development: 1800–1980: Technical and Social Change* (Boulder, Colo., 1982), 55, 61. In Turkestan, many years later, the result would be quite similar. John Whitman, “Turkestan Cotton in Imperial Russia,” *American Slavic and East European Review* 15, no. 2 (1956): 190–205. On economic change in the postbellum South, see also Foner, *Reconstruction*, 392–411; Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1978), 166–76; Wright, *Old South, New South*, 34, 107; Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism*.

⁵⁹ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to the Present* (New York, 1976), 518, 899; U.S. Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Statistics *Cotton in Commerce: Statistics of United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Egypt, and British India* (Washington, D.C., 1895), 29.

⁶⁰ *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 518; *Tableau Décennal du Commerce; 1887–96* (Paris, 1898), 2, 108; *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* vol. 13 (Berlin, 1892), 82–83; *Statistical Abstracts for the United Kingdom in each of the Last Fifteen Years from 1886 to 1900* (London, 1901), 92–93.

over produced enough cotton to feed approximately 105 million factory spindles, compared to about 48 million before the American Civil War.

As the case of the American South confirms, enmeshing cultivators in a quagmire of debts, often combined with extra-economic coercion and a lopsided distribution of political power, proved to be an efficient way to encourage tenant farmers, peasants, and sharecroppers throughout the world to produce ever-increasing amounts of raw cotton.⁶¹ The destruction of slavery and the failure of merchants, manufacturers, and statesmen to impose wage labor on cotton growers or to buy cotton from precapitalist producers had resulted in the emergence of a new system of labor.⁶² This was the second new pillar of the postwar empire of cotton. While cultivators were now nominally free, networks of credit in every cotton-growing region of the world captured them in an ongoing cycle of indebtedness that required them to grow cash crops. The new growers of cotton owned themselves, but their freedom continued to be severely limited by contractual relations between borrowers and lenders, tenants and landlords.

THESE WERE MONUMENTAL CHANGES to the worldwide web of cotton production. New forms of labor control in ever-larger areas of the world had replaced the efforts of slaves in the southern United States. But this new combination of land, labor, and capital could not be affected by manufactures, merchants, and landowners alone. They had to draw on the support from their respective governments. In fact, the new empire of cotton demanded new forms of state intervention, both in order to expand its scope as well as to secure its new ways of extracting labor.

Of course, state power had been essential to the antebellum web of cotton production as well; after all, it was the American government that had emptied cotton territories of their native inhabitants and enforced the institution of slavery. Yet just as the 1860s saw a significant decline of bonded labor, emancipation accelerated the tendency of states to structure more actively the empire of cotton. While the antebellum empire of cotton had been a world in which planters, factory owners, and aristocrats coerced their dependents to labor, the new world was one in which states used their coercive powers to secure land, labor, and markets for cotton. What seems at first contradictory developments—emancipation and a new imperialism—were instead two grand movements within the same vast system: the destruction of slavery, along with the emergence of the United States as a power in manufactured cotton in its own right, motivated nearly all European states to secure labor, cotton lands, and markets in territories they controlled.⁶³ Local sovereignties

⁶¹ For a discussion on the U.S. South, see J. William Harris, "The Question of Peonage in the History of the New South," in *Plain Folk of the South Revisited*, Samuel C. Hyde, Jr., ed., (Baton Rouge, La., 1997), 100–25.

⁶² This was also the case in many other countries. In Peru, for example, tenant farming and sharecropping became the dominant form of cotton production in the wake of the Civil War and the enormous expansion of output that resulted from it. See Vincent C. Peloso, *Peasants on Plantations: Subaltern Strategies of Labor and Resistance in the Pisco Valley, Peru* (Durham, N.C., 1999).

⁶³ For an argument about the increasing importance of economic space controlled by powerful imperialist nations, see also Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times* (London, 1994), 262.

and domains gave way to empires. This was the third new pillar of the empire of cotton.

The most significant shift within this rise of a new imperialism was the unprecedented commitment of states to secure raw materials and markets for their domestic cotton industries. Consolidating imperial rule, commitments to infrastructure construction, and securing property rights in places distant from the metropolis all were part of this process. The American Civil War had convinced statesmen and cotton manufacturers everywhere that depending on a single supplier of cotton, especially one that seemed as politically unstable as the United States, was dangerous to the economic well-being of their factories and their rival nation-states. Although the last third of the nineteenth century saw the rise of new industries that were much more dynamic and capital intensive than textile mills, the cotton industry remained the largest single employer of labor, the heaviest consumer of imported commodities, and the most significant exporter. As "Foresight" asked in a letter to the editors of the *Liverpool Mercury* in the summer of 1862 after considering the hard times in a cottonless Lancashire: "Is it not far wiser and more prudent to be endeavoring to raise a permanent supply in countries our own?"⁶⁴

Manufacturers, consequently, appealed to their respective national governments to open new and more reliable sources of cotton. During the war itself, the Manchester Cotton Supply Association had been the single most insistent voice favoring government intervention to promote colonial cotton growing, but in the decades after the war, similar associations emerged throughout the world of cotton, such as the Empire Cotton Growing Association, the British Cotton Growing Association, the (Russian) Central Asia Trading Association, the (French) Association Cotonnière Coloniale, and the (German) Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee. They all now pressured various governments to grow cotton on colonial soil, a move, they hoped, that would also increase markets for cotton goods, as colonial subjects would exchange their cotton for manufactured textiles.⁶⁵ While it is possible and even likely that such pressures would have built without the U.S. Civil War (given the new opportunities suggested by colonial possessions), manufacturers evoked over and over again the memory of the cotton famine, giving a new sense of urgency to their demands.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ *LM*, August 12, 1862, 7.

⁶⁵ Trying to "obviate the evils arising from our present position of dependence upon one main source of supply." Resolution passed by the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, reprinted in *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, June 1861, 678; Arthur Redford, *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade, 1794–1858* (Manchester, 1934), 217, 227; Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Baumwoll-Expedition nach Togo, Bericht* (Berlin, 1901). See also Isaacman and Roberts, *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History*; Records of the Togo Baumwollgesellschaft mbh, Record Group 7, 2016, Staatsarchiv Bremen, Bremen, Germany; Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar*, 55; Thaddeus Sunseri, *Vilimani: Labor Migration and Rural Change in Early Colonial Tanzania* (Portsmouth, 2002); Sven Beckert, "From Tuskegee to Togo: The Problem of Freedom in the Empire of Cotton," unpublished paper, 2004; Earle, "Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War," 520; *Zeitfragen: Wochenschrift fuer deutsches Leben* (May 1, 1911), 1; Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Baumwoll-Unternehmungen 1902, 1903* (Berlin, 1903), 5; Thaddeus Sunseri, "The *Baumwollfrage*: Cotton Colonialism in German East Africa," *Central European History* 34 (2001): 33. The link between expanded cotton production of exports and larger import markets was frequently made by advocates of colonial cotton growing. See, for example, Karl Supf, "Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll-Unternehmungen, Bericht VIII," *Der Tropenpflanzer* 11 (April 1907), 219.

⁶⁶ See, for example, *Zeitfragen* (May 1, 1911), 1

This story can be told from many different perspectives. In imperial Russia, to take a prominent example, for nearly half a century before the American Civil War, farsighted government bureaucrats, along with a group of merchants and manufacturers, had envisioned Transcaucasia and Central Asia as a source of raw cotton for the domestic industry, with the Russian commander-in-chief in the Caucasus, Baron G.V. Rosen, hoping that “there would be our Negroes.”⁶⁷ Yet as late as 1857, not much had come out of these efforts, and Central Asian cotton supplied only 6.5 percent of the needs of the Russian industry.⁶⁸ It was only during the American Civil War that efforts to grow cotton on native soil succeeded, when a group of cotton mill owners, united in the Central Asian Trading Association, met in Moscow to find ways to expand cotton production in Central Asia.⁶⁹ Encouraged by a tripling of prices, cotton exports from Central Asia to Russia increased 4.6 times to 24 million pounds between 1861 and 1864.⁷⁰ Manufacturers now pressured the Russian government to acquire Central Asian territories; a pressure that was not disagreeable to a government whose paramount interest was countering British designs on that region.⁷¹

While American cotton regained some of its Russian markets after 1865, Central Asian cotton was launched on a path of permanent expansion. As the journal of Moscow capitalists *Moskva* reported in an 1867 article on “The Influence of the American War on the Cotton Business in Russia,” the war helped Russia “rear and foster its native raw material.”⁷² After the consolidation of Russian rule over Central Asia in the 1860s and 1870s, large-scale infrastructure projects, especially the building of railroads, were undertaken with the strong support of the imperial government. In remote areas it had taken up to six months to transport cotton by camel to the nearest railroad station; with the expansion of railroads,

⁶⁷ Quoted in M. K. Rozhkova, *Ekonomicheskaiia politika tsarskogo pravitel'stva na Srednem Vostoke vo vtoroi chetverti XIX veka i russkaia burzhuaziia* (Moscow, 1949), 100. On earlier hopes for Central Asia as the cotton supplier to Russia, see also Pavel Nebol'sin, *Ocherki torgovli Rossii s Srednei Aziei* (St. Petersburg, 1855), 18, 22, 25, 27. Textile manufacturer Aleksandr Shipov stressed as early as 1857 the importance of securing access to Central Asian cotton. See Aleksandr Shipov, *Khlopchato-bumazhnaia promyshlennost' i vazhnost' eia znacheniiia v Rossii*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1857), 49–50. See also Charles William Maynes, “America Discovers Central Asia,” *Foreign Affairs* 82 (March/April 2003), 120.

⁶⁸ Rozhkova, *Ekonomicheskii sviazi Rossii so Srednei Aziei*, 54–55, tables 9–10.

⁶⁹ Quote in *Ekonomicheskii sviazi Rossii so Srednei Aziei*, 64–65. That the Civil War cotton shortage resulted in a greater attention among Russian cotton capitalists to the need to grow cotton in Central Asia, is also argued by Rozhkova, *Ekonomicheskii sviazi Rossii so Srednei Aziei*, 150–52.

⁷⁰ A pood (or 35.24 lbs) of Asian cotton sold for 7.75 rubles in 1861, but by 1863 the price had increased to more than 22 rubles. P. A. Khromov, *Ekonomicheskoe razvitie Rossii v XIX-XX Vekakh: 1800–1917* (Moscow, 1950), 183. In some regions, such as in the Erivan province (in the Caucasus), cotton production during the Civil War increased nearly tenfold, from 30,000 poods in 1861 to 273,000 poods in 1870. K. A. Pazhitnov, *Ocherki istorii tekstil' noi promyshlennosti dorrevoliutsionnoi Rossii: Khlopchato-Bumazhnaia l'no-pen' kovaia i shelkovaia promyshlennost* (Moscow, 1958), 98; Rozhkova, *Ekonomicheskii sviazi Rossii so Srednei Aziei*, 55–61.

⁷¹ On January 8, 1866, Tsar Alexander II received a memorandum written by the minister of finance in favor of the exertion of greater influence on Central Asia, which listed among the supporters of such a project the names of a group of Russian capitalists, including owners of such prominent cotton ventures as Ivan Khludov & Sons, Savva Morozov & Sons, V. I. Tertyakov, and D. I. Romanovskii. See N. A. Khal'f, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii k Rossii: 60–90 gody XIX v* (Moscow, 1965), 211. On the general debate about Russian imperialism, see Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*, Alfred Clayton, trans., (Harlow, 2001), 193; Dietrich Geyer, *Der russische Imperialismus: Studien über den Zusammenhang von innerer und auswärtiger Politik, 1860–1914* (Göttingen, 1977).

⁷² *Moskva*, February 1, 1867, n.

transportation time was cut to two days. The government also created seed plantations, distributed improved seeds to local growers, and sent agronomists to help farmers improve agricultural techniques. At the same time, large cotton manufacturers from Lodz and Moscow erected cotton gins in Turkestan and sent out agents who advanced credit to local growers on the security of their future crop.⁷³ As a result, as early as the 1880s, a quarter of all cotton used in Russian cotton factories was grown in Turkestan and more than half by 1909, enough for one historian to call the province "the cotton colony of Russian capitalism."⁷⁴ Russia had turned into one of the most important cotton growing countries in the world, ranking fifth behind the United States, India, China, and Egypt.⁷⁵

Less spectacular but nonetheless important stories could be told about France, Germany, Britain, and Portugal as well.⁷⁶ In each, a major shift took place, as the world cotton industry came to be structured more by imperial states and their colonies, and less by the workings of the market organized by capitalists themselves. States intervened further by raising tariffs on cotton goods. As a result, export markets in colonies, both actual and informal, became dramatically more important: in 1820, Great Britain had exported 73 percent of its cotton textiles to Western Europe and the United States, but by 1896, only 24 percent went to those areas, while 76 percent were shipped to areas under formal or informal British control. Even for such a latecomer to capitalism and imperialism as Japan, the small but captive Korean market eventually became one of the most important outlets for Japanese textiles.⁷⁷

Throughout Europe, the move toward state intervention was largely initiated by cotton manufacturers, not cotton merchants, a fact that led the Manchester Cotton Supply Association to complain, that "it has been extremely difficult to obtain in Liverpool the smallest subscription to this object." Only a little more than 1 percent of their annual expenditures, they bemoaned, had come from that city.⁷⁸ In Germany as well, it was largely cotton manufacturers from Saxony and elsewhere who pressured the imperial government to support cotton growing in German East

⁷³ John Whitman, "Turkestan Cotton in Imperial Russia," *American Slavic and East European Review* 15, no. 2 (1956): 190–205.

⁷⁴ Whitman, "Turkestan Cotton," 201; Anlage zum Bericht des Kaiserlichen Generalkonsulats in St. Petersburg, December 26, 1913, R 150F, FA 1, 360, BA Berlin. The quotation can be found in P. I. Liashchenko, *Istoriia Narodnogo Khoziaistva SSSR*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1956), 542.

⁷⁵ Karl Supf, "Zur Baumwollfrage," in Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Baumwollexpedition nach Togo* [no date, but probably 1900], pp. 4–6, in R 150F, FA 1, 332, BA Berlin; Gately, *The Development of the Russian Cotton Textile Industry*, 169.

⁷⁶ The Portuguese government, for example, "on the occasion of the present state of things in America," offered cheap land and other encouragement to planters who might want to produce cotton in its African colonies of Angola and Mozambique as early as December 1861. See *LM*, January 17, 1862, 3. The French government encouraged cotton growing in Algeria. See *LM*, April 2, 1862, 3; June 17, 1862, 8. On Germany, see Beckert, "From Togo to Tuskegee."

⁷⁷ Peter Duus, "Economic Dimensions of Meiji Imperialism: The Case of Korea, 1895–1910," in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*; Ramon Hawley Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 152.

⁷⁸ Letter to the editors, Isaac Watts, Secretary of the Cotton Supply Association, Manchester, November 23, 1863 as printed in the *LM*, November 26, 1863, 7.

Africa and Togo, while in France, cotton manufacturers from the Alsatian city of Mulhouse agitated for colonial cotton production.⁷⁹

The new importance of imperial states to the worldwide web of cotton production, emerging in the wake of the Civil War, was quite a departure from the merchant-driven world of cotton of the early nineteenth century. Such a reorientation required great ideological effort to justify. The rationale for such a departure was partly strategic: as British Prime Minister Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Russell in 1861, "it is of the utmost Importance to us to get a regular supply of Cotton from Africa or India, because as long as we are dependent on America alone for our supply we are not politically in a condition to deal with the United States with free and independent action."⁸⁰

But this political argument was overshadowed by an understanding that the opening of a new source of labor and the construction of new forms for its extraction demanded decisive state involvement. For that reason, even *The Economist*, the world's leading exponent of free trade and laissez-faire capitalism, came to favor state involvement in securing cotton, especially from India. It was hard to justify these steps in terms of the laws of supply and demand, but eventually *The Economist* found a way. India was a place where economic laws simply did not function. "There appears to exist in many important parts of Indian society," *The Economist* noted, "very peculiar difficulties, which to some extent impede and counteract the action of the primary motives upon which political economy depends for its efficacy." In India, they continued, "the primitive prerequisites of common political economy . . . are not satisfied. You have a good-demanding Englishman, but, in plain English, not a good-supplying Indian." For that reason, "[t]here is no relaxation of the rules of political economy in the interference of Government in a state of facts like this. Government does not interfere to prevent the effect and operation of "supply and demand," but to create that operation to ensure that effect . . . There is no greater anomaly in recommending an unusual policy for a State destitute of the ordinary economical capacities, than in recommending an unusual method of education for a child both blind and deaf."⁸¹ India, *The Economist* was saying, was "blind and deaf" to "economic laws" and therefore in need of state initiative and coercion.⁸² As the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce Henry Ashworth put it in 1863, "we cannot afford to wait until price has done it."⁸³

Not only did states now play a decisive role in securing cotton labor in new territories, they also played a decisive role in securing new ways of extracting labor by laying unprecedented claim upon their subjects by enforcing the rules of the market. From Georgia to Berar, from Egypt to Brazil, governments and courts persistently undermined older collective claims to resources such as grazing and

⁷⁹ Sunseri, *Vilimani*, 1–25; *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse* 32 (Mulhouse, 1862): 347; Antoine Herzog, *L'Algerie et la Crise Cotonnière* (Colmar, 1864).

⁸⁰ Lord Palmerston to John Russell, Broadlands, October 6, 1861, Box 21, 30/22, Lord John Russell Papers, PRO. Similar arguments were also made by German colonial advocates.

⁸¹ *Econ*, October 4, 1862, 1093–94.

⁸² Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *Forty-Third Annual Report*, 37; *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., vol. 172 (1863), 1999–2001; Harnetty, "The Imperialism Of Free Trade," 333–49; Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty-Second Annual Report*, 11.

⁸³ Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *Forty-Second Annual Report*, 22.

hunting rights, forcing cultivators to dedicate themselves single-mindedly to the production of cotton. Colonial states created new kinds of property rights in land and they regulated cotton production and local cotton markets often in excruciating detail. Moreover, court-enforced lien laws allowed creditors to undermine cultivators' claim to the land, and enmesh them in a quagmire of debts, which forced them to grow ever more cotton. The systems of mutual dependence and personal domination that had characterized the countryside of Berar, Egypt, the American South, and elsewhere before the Civil War gave way to a world in which creditors backed by the state coerced cultivators to cultivate agricultural commodities for world markets. The imperialism of free trade that had allowed merchants great leeway in structuring the empire of cotton increasingly gave way to the enclosure of capital and capitalists in nation-states. These nation-states had a much greater claim on their citizens and subjects than ever before. States and capitalists in effect fused their respective goals of power and accumulation in novel ways, in turn leading to a new form of capitalist globalization.⁸⁴

AS A RESULT OF THE unprecedented commitment of states to secure the flow of cotton on behest of cotton industrialists, strikingly similar systems of labor spread around the globe. For rural cultivators themselves, this new integration into capitalist world markets presented enormous new opportunities, but also enormous new risks.

During the war, their gamble paid off, as the price of fair Surat cotton in Liverpool quadrupled from 1860 to 1864, benefiting not only the ubiquitous middlemen but also the cultivators themselves. Stories about Indian cotton growers putting silver wheels on their carts were no doubt exaggerated, but many contemporaries reported rising living standards among Indian, Egyptian, and Brazilian cultivators. Once world market prices declined in the wake of the Civil War (although at first remaining well above their antebellum level), however, and especially after the onset of the global depression of 1873, rural producers had a hard time making up for lost income, especially because falling prices made it ever more difficult to repay loans and make tax payments. Although historians disagree as to how much the fall in world market prices affected cultivators, at the very least, world market integration increased the economic uncertainty faced by people in remote corners of the world. Their incomes, and quite literally their survival, were newly linked to global price fluctuations over which they had little control. Moreover, as world market integration usually went along with social differentiation, a growing group of landless tenants and agricultural laborers, especially in India and Brazil, periodically faced life-threatening difficulties accessing food crops.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Charles S. Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era," in *AHR* 105, no. 3 (June 2000), 807–831; Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (New York, 1987), 69; Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914* (New York, 1993); Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century* 11.

⁸⁵ Todd, *World's Cotton Crops*, 429–32; Rivett-Carnac, "Report on the Cotton Department for the Year 1868–1869," 132; Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar*, 80. For Egypt see Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy*, 107, 159. For Brazil, see Barbosa, "Cotton in Nineteenth Century Brazil," 31, 95–102, 105–08, 142. For western Anatolia (which also witnessed a dramatic increase of cotton

This threat became most pronounced once world market prices for cotton plunged during the Depression of 1873. The price for Surat cotton, delivered in Liverpool, fell by 38 percent between 1873 and 1876.⁸⁶ Cultivators in Brazil, Egypt, and India, often highly indebted to local moneylenders, now faced plummeting returns on their cash crops. In India and Brazil, the problems were compounded by severe droughts that led to a rapid increase in food prices. Between 1864 and 1873, the amount of cotton that a peasant had to produce to buy a given quantity of Berar's most important food grain—jowar—doubled and it doubled once more by 1878. Perhaps even more significant, the relative price of food grains to cotton changed dramatically from year to year (changes of 20 percent or even 40 percent were not exceptional), introducing a new degree of uncertainty into rural producers' precarious lives.⁸⁷

Such uncertainty could at times become life threatening. By 1877 and again in the late 1890s, Berar as well as northeastern Brazil, witnessed the starvation of tens of thousands of cultivators, as cotton prices fell while food grain prices rose, putting food out of reach of many cotton producers. During the 1899–1900 famine, about 8.5 percent of the population of Berar died, with the greatest numbers of deaths occurring in districts most specialized in cotton production. In the town of Risod, a contemporary observed, people “died like flies.” In Brazil, 500,000 people allegedly starved or died of disease.⁸⁸ Landless agricultural workers suffered in particular, “for not only did they have to pay more for their food, but their wages were reduced from the competition” with workers from other regions. Famine was not caused by a lack of food (indeed, food grains continued to be exported from Berar), but by the inability of the poorest cotton growers to buy it.⁸⁹

Experiencing new uncertainty due to world market integration and pressured by

production for world markets during the Civil War), see Orhan Kurmu “The Cotton Famine and its Effects on the Ottoman Empire,” in *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*, Hurâ İslamoğlu-İnan, ed. (Cambridge, 1987), 169.

⁸⁶ Todd, *The World's Cotton Crops*, 429–432. (In nominal terms.)

⁸⁷ Data taken from “Index Numbers of Indian Prices 1861–1926,” No. 2121, Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1928, Summary Tables III and VI, IOL. On the new uncertainty introduced by world market integration see also Nelson, *Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Amraoti District*, 226. See also Rivett-Carnac, “Report on the Cotton Department for the Year 1867–68,” 52. Interestingly, already in 1790 the East India Company had anticipated the possibility of famine as a result of a greater concentration among peasants on cotton growing. See “Objections to the Annexed Plan,” November 10, 1790, 483–89, in Home Department, Missc., 434, IOL. A similar warning was issued in 1874. “Memo by the Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce, Fibres and Silk Branch to the Home Department, Calcutta, June 24, 1874,” in Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce Department, Fibres and Silk Branch, June 1874: 41/42, Part B, NAI.

⁸⁸ Anthony L. Hall, *Drought and Irrigation in North-East Brazil* (Cambridge, 1978), 4. He explicitly links the shift to cotton to the devastating impact of the drought.

⁸⁹ Barbosa, “Cotton in Nineteenth Century Brazil,” 105. He shows that Pernambuco was not self-sufficient in food, which created tremendous pressures on cotton farmers when the price for cotton fell and that of food grains rose. “The scarcity of 1896–97 was caused by high prices and not by failure of crops,” reported the Deputy Commissioner of the Akola District (in Berar) to the Indian Famine Commission. See Indian Famine Commission (Calcutta, 1901), “Appendix, Evidence of Witnesses, Berar,” 43, 53. For the mortality figures see Indian Famine Commission, “Appendix, Evidence of Witnesses, Berar,” 54. Total mortality between December 1899 and November 1900 was 84.7 per 1000. For the quotation see Indian Famine Commission, “Appendix, Evidence of Witnesses, Berar,” 213. On competition among workers, see Nelson, *Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Amraoti District*, 276. On famines in the late nineteenth century, see also Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London, 2001).

moneylenders, cotton growers in Brazil, India, Egypt, and also the southern United States rebelled. In Brazil, during the Quebra Quilos revolt of 1873–1874, cultivators, many of whom had only recently switched to cotton production, destroyed land records and refused to pay taxes that they could no longer afford as their incomes dropped precipitously in the wake of the global fall of cotton prices. In India, the Deccan Riots of May and June 1875 targeted moneylenders and merchants—figures who symbolized world market penetration. In Egypt, peasants joined the ‘Urabi revolt of 1882, drawn to the promise to “banish the usurer.” More than a decade later, cotton farmers in the southern United States built a political movement, populism, and demanded that the government relieve them of some of the economic pressures that had wrecked havoc with their lives. Throughout the world, however, cotton growers had been politically marginalized, limiting the impact of these rebellions.⁹⁰

Indeed, despite this resistance, cotton manufacturers, merchants, and government bureaucrats succeeded to a striking extent in reconstructing the empire of cotton in the wake of the American Civil War, even if not always on their own terms. This reconstruction was not the outcome of the gradual emergence of integrated world markets in agricultural products, but a sudden, violent transformation of the production of one of the industrial world’s central commodities. To be sure, changes would have come to the world of cotton even without the war, but it was the war that focused the attention of states and capitalists, allowing them to take radical steps.

The worldwide web of cotton production itself, however, was far from static, as it continued to evolve rapidly and unpredictably in the decades after the American Civil War. These changes, in turn, reinforced the departures initiated by the war itself. Perhaps most prominently, the position of the United States within the empire of cotton shifted as it became itself a major manufacturer of cotton yarn and cloth, in effect using an ever-higher percentage of its own cotton in its own factories—from around 20 percent before the Civil War to 35 percent after 1865. As a result, by 1890, 17 percent of all spindles in the world were now located in the United States, compared to only 11 percent in 1860. In 1900, the United States was indeed the world’s second most important cotton manufacturing power after the United Kingdom, counting 2.4 times more spindles in its factories than its nearest competitor, Germany. This new role of the United States in itself was an outcome of the war, which had destroyed the political power of Southern slaveholders and their vision of subordinated economic development, in effect subduing the world’s last powerful group of cotton growers. The political economy of continental industrialization now won out over the political economy of Atlantic trade.⁹¹

⁹⁰ On Brazil, see Roderick J. Barman, “The Brazilian Peasantry Reexamined: The Implications of the Quebra-Quilo Revolt, 1874–1875,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 3 (1977): 401–24; Armando Souto Maior, *Quebra-Quilos: Lutas Sociais No Outono do Império* (Sao Paulo, 1978). The pressure of raising taxes was also felt by Egyptian cultivators who lost in the process most of the profits that they had accumulated during the Civil War. See Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy*, 144. On the Indian riots see Neil Charlesworth, “The Myth of the Deccan Riots of 1875,” *Modern Asian Studies* 6, no. 4 (1972): 401–21; “Papers Relating to the Indebtedness of the Agricultural Classes in Bombay and Other Parts of India” (Bombay, 1876), “Report of the Committee on the Riots in Poona and Ahednagar, 1875.” Further (grain) riots took place during the famine of 1899–1900. See Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Famine Branch, November 1899, nos. 14–54, Part B, NAI; Ravinder Kumar, *Western India in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in the Social History of Maharashtra* (London, 1968), 186. On Egypt, see Richards, *Egypt’s Agricultural Development*, 42.

⁹¹ Hammond, *The Cotton Industry*, appendix; Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*.

Not only did the position of the United States shift, but also cotton industrialization proceeded at breakneck speed in continental Europe, especially in Germany and Russia, and eventually in Asia, especially in Japan and India. Rapid industrialization resulted in mounting global demand for cotton, and, perhaps most importantly, in increasing concerns among various states to secure access to that cotton, feeding the frantic global effort to dominate the world's cotton growing areas politically. These developments, in turn, reinforced the search for new sources of labor and new forms of labor control.⁹² (See Figure 5.)

⁹² This graph is based on the author's analysis of data on cotton spindles from nineteen countries (Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and the United States). Due to the dispersed and inconsistent nature of the sources, this is not more than an estimate. Some numbers have been extrapolated. For the numbers, see Louis Bader, *World Developments in the Cotton Industry, with Special Reference to the Cotton Piece Goods Industry in the United States* (New York, 1925), 33; Amiya Kumar Bagchi, *Private Investment in India, 1900–1939*, Cambridge South Asian Studies 10 (Cambridge, 1972), 234; Javier Barajas Manzano, *Aspectos de la industria textil de algodón en México* (Mexico, 1959), 43–44, 280; Belgium, Ministère de L'Intérieur; *Statistique de la Belgique, Industrie* (Bruxelles, 1851), 471; Pierre Benaerts, *Les Origines de la Grande Industrie Allemande* (Paris, 1933), 486; Sabbato Louis Besso, *The Cotton Industry in Switzerland, Vorarlberg, and Italy; A Report to the Electors of the Gartside Scholarships* (Manchester, 1910); George Bigwood, *Cotton* (New York, 1919), 61; *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 8 vols., H. J. Habakkuk and M. Postan, eds. (Cambridge, 1965), 6: 443; Kang Chao, *The Development of Cotton Textile Production in China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 301–07; Stanley D. Chapman, "Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry, 1770–1815," *The Economic History Review*, n.s., 23, no. 2 (August 1970): 235–266, 252; Louis Bergeron and Jean-Antoine-Claude Chaptal, *De l'industrie française: Acteurs de l'histoire* (Paris, 1993), 326; Melvin Thomas Copeland, *The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the United States* (New York, 1966), 19; *Cotton Facts: A Compilation from Official and Reliable Sources* (New York, 1878), see years 1878–1920; Richard Martin Rudolph Dehn, *The German Cotton Industry: A Report to the Electors of the Gartside Scholarships* (Manchester, 1913); Thomas Ellison, *A Hand-book of the Cotton Trade, or, A Glance at the Past History, Present Condition, and the Future Prospects of the Cotton Commerce of the World* (London, 1858), 146–67; Thomas Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain* (1886; New York, 1968), 72–73; D. A. Farnie, *The English Cotton Industry*, 180; Mimerel Fils, "Filature du Cotton," in *Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris*, 8 vols., M. Chevalier, ed. (Paris, 1868), 4: 20; R. B. Forrester, *The Cotton Industry in France; a Report to the Electors of the Gartside Scholarships* (London, 1921), 5; "Industrie Textile," *Annuaire statistique de la France* (Paris, 1877–1890, 1894); Michael Gately, "The Development of the Russian Cotton Textile Industry," 134; Statistisches Reichsamt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (1913), 34: 107; Aurora Gómez Galvarriato, "The Impact of Revolution: Business and Labor in the Mexican Textile Industry, Orizaba, Veracruz, 1900–1930," (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2000), 23, 45; Great Britain, Committee on Industry and Trade, *Survey of Textile Industries: Cotton, Wool, Artificial Silk* (London, 1928), 142; International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, *International Cotton Statistics*, Arno S. Pearce, ed. (Manchester, 1921), 1–32; International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations and Arno S. Pearce, *The Cotton Industry of India, being the Report of the Journey to India* (Manchester, 1930), 22; International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations and Arno S. Pearce, *The Cotton Industry of Japan and China, Being the Report of the Journey to Japan and China* (Manchester, 1929), 18–19, 154; Italy, Ministero Di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, "L'industria del Cotone in Italia," *Annali di Statistica*, series 4 (Rome, 1902), 100: 12–13; Italy, Ministero Di Agricoltura, Industria, e Commercio, *Annuario Statistico Italiano* (Rome, 1878–), see years 1878, 1881, 1886, 1892, 1900, 1904, and 1905–1906; S. T. King and Ta-chün Liu, *China's Cotton Industry: A Statistical Study of Ownership of Capital, Output, and Labor Conditions* (1929), 4; Sung Jae Koh, *Stages of Industrial Development in Asia: A Comparative History of the Cotton Industry in Japan, India, China, and Korea* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1966), 324–66; Richard A. Kraus, *Cotton and Cotton Goods in China, 1918–1936* (New York, 1980), 57, 99; John C. Latham, and H. E. Alexander, *Cotton Movement and Fluctuations* (New York, N.Y., 1894–1910); Maurice Lévy-Leboyer, *Les banques européennes et l'industrialisation internationale dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1964), 29; S. D. Mehta, *The Indian Cotton Textile Industry, an Economic Analysis* (Bombay, 1953), 139; B. R. Mitchell, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1971), 185; B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: Europe, 1750–1993* 4th edn. (London, 1998), 511; Charles Kroth Moser, *The Cotton Textile Industry of Far Eastern Countries* (Boston, Mass., 1930), 50; National Association of Cotton Manufacturers,

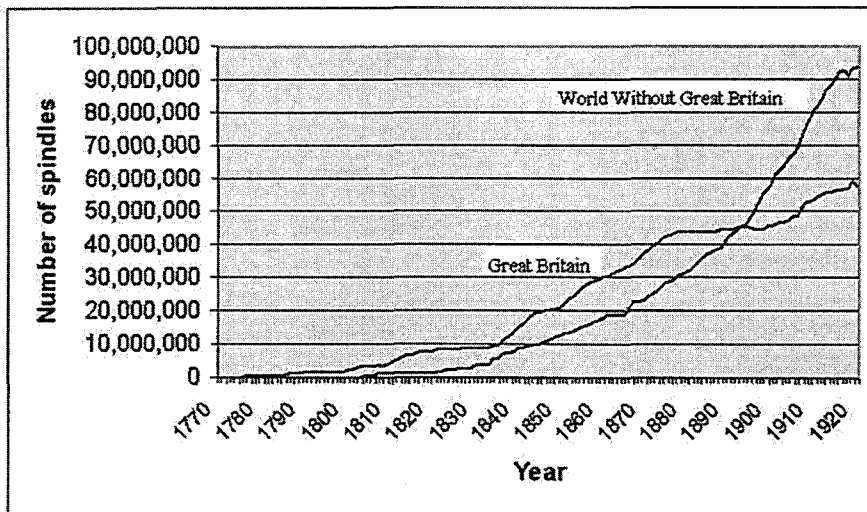


TABLE 3: Number of Factory Spindles, Great Britain and World Without Great Britain, 1770–1920.

“THE REBELLION,” OPINED THE *New York World* in 1865, “forms the boundary between the first great epoch and a new era in [cotton’s] history.”⁹³ Indeed, the disruptions caused by the Civil War years recast the empire of cotton. Its old and seemingly solid pillars—slavery, a powerful planter class in the American South, an industry structured on the relationship between Lancashire and the United States, and networks of trade dominated by merchants operating in relatively open markets—had been undermined and eventually destroyed by the American conflict. Cotton manufacturers and merchants along with government bureaucrats searched for new and viable combinations of land, labor, and state power to bring abundant quantities of inexpensive raw cotton to European factories. The new pillars of a transformed global political economy of cotton, which they hastily constructed during the war, solidified in the decades thereafter, with freedom, cultivators enmeshed in a quagmire of debts, diversification of raw cotton suppliers, and active state intervention to consolidate cotton supplies from colonial dependencies most

Standard Cotton Mill Practice and Equipment, with Classified Buyer’s Index (Boston, Mass., 1919), 37; Keijiro Otsuka, Gustav Ranis, and Gary R. Saxonhouse, *Comparative Technology Choice in Development: The Indian and Japanese Cotton Textile Industries* (New York, 1988), 6; Alexander Redgrave, “Report of Factory Inspectors,” in *Parliamentary Papers*, Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons (London, 1855), 69; Johann H. Schnitzler, *De la Création de la Richesse, ou, Des Intérêts Matériels en France* (Paris, 1842), 228; Stanley J. Stein, *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture*, 191; Guy Thomson, “Continuity and Change in Mexican Manufacturing,” in *Between Development and Underdevelopment: The Precocious Attempts at Industrialization of the Periphery, 1800–1870*, Jean Batou, ed. (Geneva, 1991), 280; John A. Todd, *The World’s Cotton Crops* (London, 1915), 411; Ugo Tombesi, *L’Industria Cottoniera Italiana alla fine del Secolo XIX (Studio Economico-Sociale)* (Pesaro, 1901), 66; United States, Bureau of Manufactures, *Cotton Fabrics in Middle Europe: Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland* (Washington, D.C., 1908), 23, 125, 162; United States, Bureau of Manufactures, *Cotton Goods in Canada* (Washington, 1913), 33; United States, Bureau of Manufactures, *Cotton Goods in Italy* (Washington, D.C., 1912), 6; United States, Bureau of Manufactures, *Cotton Goods in Russia* (Washington, D.C., 1912), 9–11; United States, Bureau of the Census, *Cotton Production and Distribution: Season of 1916–1917* (Washington, D.C., 1918), 88; United States, Bureau of the Census, *Cotton Production in the United States*, (Washington, D.C., 1915), 56.

⁹³ *New York World*, October 9, 1865, 1.

prominently among them. Manufacturers and state bureaucrats now shaped the empire of cotton, once dominated by planters, and slaves. Ostensibly stable antebellum global networks had been transformed beyond recognition. Capitalism, in Fernand Braudel's words, had once more demonstrated its "unlimited flexibility, its capacity for change and adaptation."⁹⁴

The new global political economy of cotton was the outcome of a struggle in which workers and slaves, peasants and sharecroppers, merchants and manufacturers, imperial rulers and government bureaucrats, soldiers and economists, played important roles. Often removed from one another by oceans, deserts, and mountain ranges, incapable of communicating with one another, and inhabiting religious, cultural, and social worlds that were all but mutually incomprehensible, these actors still encountered one another in their common desire to alter their own place within the worldwide web of cotton production. The global empire of cotton, torn asunder by the Civil War, was pulling together far-flung threads to create the warp and woof of a new global political economy.

⁹⁴ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, vol. 2 (New York, 1982), 433.

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“A Muse for the Masses”: Gender, Age, and Nation in France, Fin de Siècle

DAVID M. POMFRET

FOLLOWING THE CRITIQUE OF THE CONCEPT OF “separate spheres,” historical literature dealing with modern gender relations has centered more recently around the question of how far women were able to overcome marginality to appropriate identities beyond those prefigured by norms of domestic femininity.¹ While highlighting the exclusion of women from full citizenship and suffrage in modern times, scholars have also noted the extensive deployment of the female form as allegory in gendered representations of the nation.² The question of why bodies

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¹ The metaphor of “separate spheres” emphasized the occupation of different social domains by men and women. Supposedly, women occupied the private space of the home (where they performed reproductive and moral roles) while men occupied public space (immersing themselves in the market and the institutions of civil society) in the ideal of the rising middle classes of Europe and North America. More recently, scholars have reconsidered the value of this metaphor in historical research. Amanda Vickery, for example, raised the question of whether such a division can be located in contemporary ideology and society. Such criticism was the starting point for work highlighting the interconnectedness of the “public” and the “private” in modernity and examining the social conflicts inspiring attempts to legitimate and “naturalize” this dichotomy. Amanda Vickery, “Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women’s History,” *Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (1993): 383–414.

² Historians have begun to devote more attention to the role of how women’s bodies were used as symbolic sites in the political project of nation building, a project founded upon modern constructions of sex difference. See, for example, Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2000). Jo Burr Margadant has illustrated how images of women were central to narratives of the French nation during the July Monarchy. Margadant, “Gender, Vice and the Political Imaginary in Postrevolutionary France: Reinterpreting the Failure of the July Monarchy, 1830–1848,” *AHR* 104, no. 5 (1999): 1461–96. See also, for example, Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Ideas and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York, 1987); Susan Shiffrin ed., *Women as Sites of Culture: Women’s Roles in Cultural Formation from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot, 2002); Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore, Md., 1990). For a less recent but provocative and relevant discussion, see also Eric Hobsbawm, “Man and Woman in Socialist Iconography,” *History Workshop* no. 6 (1978): 121–38; Maurice Agulhon, “On Political Allegory: A Reply to Eric Hobsbawm,” *History Workshop* no. 8 (1978): 167–73. On the encoding of women’s marginality after 1789, see Joan W. Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, 1996). This process was evident not only in the European and North American contexts. For discussions of similar developments in Africa and the Middle East, see Beth Baron, “Nationalist Iconography: Egypt as a Woman,” in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni, eds. (New

excluded from the body politic were chosen to represent the nation has begun to be addressed, as has the extent to which such duties legitimated exclusion or extended the possibility of accessing new subjectivities and resources. Existing scholarship on the gendered iconography of the modern nation has suggested a contrast. In some countries, such as the United States, women were able to supplement purely symbolic roles to become, in the mid to late nineteenth century, a “visible and active presence in public ceremony,” while in others, such as modern France, women were apparently unable to assert themselves as an embodied official symbolic presence in public rituals after the early 1790s.³

Such an interpretation seems to accord well with views of the late nineteenth century as a period when European men sought to defend the traditional gender norms on which male authority rested. Evidence of such a reaction is not hard to find more generally, but scholars have argued that the social, political, and demographic conditions particular to France produced an especially vigorous defense in this context. This article reexamines the question of how women and men negotiated the accession of women to social and political rights and the responsibility of representing the body politic at the turn of the twentieth century. It does so by highlighting a cultural phenomenon, the *fête de la couronnement de la Muse du peuple* (the Festival of the Crowning of the People’s Muse). Through this event, young French women, contrary to received views, were able to establish an embodied presence at the heart of public celebrations of the French nation. This musical ceremony, created by the composer Gustave Charpentier, featured a new female icon, the Muse. Although it has received little attention from historians, the ceremony of the Crowning of the People’s Muse swept across France from Paris to the provinces after 1897, becoming a central feature of Bastille Day celebrations, local festivals, and commemorations. It engaged young females in a national public

York, 1997), 105–24; Helen Bradford, “Regendering Afrikanerdom: The 1899–1902 Anglo-Boer War,” in Blom, Hagemann, and Hall, *Gendered Nations*, 207–28. For a discussion of these issues in relation to the Asian context, see Joan Judge, “Talent, Virtue, and the Nation: Chinese Nationalisms and Female Subjectivities in the Early Twentieth Century,” *AHR* 106, no. 3 (June 2001): 1, 3.

³ For more on the success of women in appropriating the right to move in public space as part of political ceremony in the United States, see Ryan, *Women in Public*, 52. Scholars studying France have noted that women held central roles in the disorderly public celebrations of the revolution in the early 1790s. See, for example, Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (New York, 1985), 286–87. Mona Ozouf notes, however, that although “from the beginning women had aspired to take part in the festivals,” this aspiration “was so often rejected,” that their involvement remained “partial” at best. Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 101. After 1793, according to Joan Landes, “women were banned from active and passive participation in the political sphere.” Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 147. See also Madelyn Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992). On the sublimation of real women’s public visibility in French politics into symbolic duty in the form of Marianne, see Lynn Hunt, “Engraving the Republic: Prints and Propaganda in the French Revolution,” *History Today* (October 30, 1980): 17; Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 65. Maurice Agulhon, who examined the changing fortunes of Marianne as a visual representation of the republic, has argued that the American republic, “produced no female myth comparable to the French one,” but endowed women with an embodied public presence, while in France a concomitant of this powerful myth was the relinquishment of an embodied role for women in the public ceremonies of the republic. Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1780–1880*, Janet Lloyd, trans. (Cambridge, 1981), 182; Hobsbawm, “Man and Woman in Socialist Iconography.”

performance, attracting large amounts of municipal expenditure, reams of newspaper reportage, tens of thousands of spectators, and even a campaign to create a new national holiday.⁴

The study of this phenomenon offers new insights into several issues of broad relevance. First, it suggests how, why, and with what implications political elites used female bodies as public spectacle to represent the modern nation. In particular, at a time when the project of widening the electoral franchise and absorbing new social groups into civil society was gaining momentum, it shows how efforts to transcend damaging class divisions led republicans to elevate young females to new roles in civic ritual. Second, the selection by political elites of these Muses to perform in public on the grounds that they were “young” and “beautiful” is of special significance to this discussion. At the end of the nineteenth century, hopes that alarming trends toward “degeneracy” and “depopulation” might be reversed were pinned on efforts to raise the quantity and quality of the rising generation.⁵ This was also a time when intellectuals and politicians in Europe from left to right began more intensively to conceptualize youth as a potential force through which the regeneration of European societies might be effected. Scholars have shown greater sensitivity in recent years to the unstable and historically contingent process through which identity is constructed in relation to class, gender, and race. Since the 1960s, a considerable literature on the creation and historical evolution of various stages of pre-adulthood has emerged; however, historians working outside this field still consider only rarely how the variable of age has contributed to the shaping of social relations.⁶ As a component of identity

⁴ Music historians have referred to the *couronnement de la muse du peuple*, in particular, the earliest performances in Paris. See, for example, Mary Ellen Poole, “Gustave Charpentier and the Conservatoire Populaire de Mimi Pinson,” *19th Century Music* 20, no. 3 (1997): 237; Jane F. Fulcher, “Charpentier’s Operatic ‘Roman Musical’ as Read in the Wake of the Dreyfus Affair,” *19th Century Music* 16, no. 2 (1992), 168; Steven Huebner, “Between Anarchism and the Box Office: Gustave Charpentier’s ‘Louise,’” *19th Century Music* 19, no. 2 (1995): 136–60. The event is also discussed in Martine Segalen and Josselyne Chamarat, “La Rosière et la ‘miss’: Les ‘reines’ des fêtes populaires,” *L’Histoire* 53 (1983): 48–49. Save for one concise local study, the impact of the ceremony in the provinces has been largely ignored. Renée Martel, “De la muse du peuple à miss France,” *Saint-Etienne Histoire et Mémoire* 188 (1997): 73–82.

⁵ In France those under age twenty-one constituted 34.9 percent of the population, while in Germany the equivalent group was 43.7 percent. James F. McMillan, *France and Women, 1789–1914: Gender, Society and Politics* (London, 2000), 141. For a discussion of fears of depopulation in France, see Karen Offen, “Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism in Fin-de-Siècle France,” *AHR* 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 648–76. For a discussion of similar fears in Great Britain, see Pat Thane, “The Debate on the Declining Birth-rate in Britain: The ‘Menace’ of an Ageing Population, 1920s–1950s,” *Continuity and Change* 5 (1990): 283–305.

⁶ The historical study of life stages, generation, and age relations developed in the wake of the influential work by Philippe Ariès, *L’Enfant et la vie familiale sous l’ancien régime* (Paris, 1960). Although historians questioned Ariès’s method, his argument that childhood was a cultural construct was persuasive and inspired the development of a subfield of “youth history.” A number of scholars provided, subsequently, important insights into the ways in which modern and premodern societies represented and attributed meaning to pre-adulthood and how young people experienced this identity and its specific constituent life stages. Important examples of this scholarship include Natalie Zemon Davis, “The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France,” *Past and Present*, no. 50 (February 1971): 41–75; John R. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1700–Present* (New York, 1974); Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780–1930* (London, 1995).

experienced by all, age situates individuals within implicit or explicit hierarchies of power, further complicating gender, class, and race. In explaining the emergence of a new national icon of beauty and femininity conceived by elite males, sponsored by the state, and consumed by a mass audience, this article aims to demonstrate how age intersected with gender, class, and race in constructions of modern womanhood and national identity. It also aims to show how historians can, through sensitivity to this category, develop a methodology capable of illustrating the complex way in which it worked in conjunction with others to reproduce social relations. Third, concentrating on the relationship between age and gender, the article confronts the question of how women negotiated commodified urban culture and opportunities to appropriate new subjectivities and resources accessible by performing as the Muse. It considers how far this event, which was linked closely to practices of self-fashioning then being foregrounded in the construction of modern womanhood, presented a cultural challenge to traditional gender identities, or whether it worked to reinforce these instead.

It seems curious that the French fin de siècle produced an embodied female performance of the nation, given that historians have tended to read this context as one in which male anxiety over women's challenges to established norms of domestic femininity was particularly intense. Although the European fin de siècle has also been viewed as a period of confidence, commercial prowess, and cultural creativity, scholars have recently focused on crises accompanying symptoms of relative decline. Explained in racial terms but also in terms of "degeneration," "decadence," or "over-civilization," it has been argued that these crises caused especially acute concern in France, where demographic stagnation and the legacy of military defeat by newly unified and vigorous Germany reinforced perceptions of their gravity and prevalence.⁷ Historians have emphasized contemporaries' understanding of the crises of the fin de siècle in terms of a crisis of gender relations. Contemporary commentators made frequent reference to biological models in explaining evidence of "degeneration." Pathologies (neurasthenia, suicide, prostitution, and a worryingly low birth rate) were believed to be upsetting the balance of the social organism and undermining the "virility" of the French nation. The concomitant efforts of women to move beyond bourgeois models of domestic femininity and to claim social and political rights thus became a major source of conflict.⁸

⁷ On the Fin de Siècle, see Eugen Weber, *France, Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 9–11; Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1981); Christophe Prochasson, *Les Années électriques, 1880–1910* (Paris, 1991), 5–14. For a discussion of the pathologies of national decline, see Robert A. Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France: The Medical Concept of National Decline* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), chap. 5. French population levels rose only marginally from 36.1 million in 1871 to 39.6 million in 1914. This contrasted markedly with a 57.8 percent increase in the size of the German population during the same period. The French medical doctor, Bénédict-August Morel had helped to pioneer "degeneration theory" in the 1850s, theorizing connections between heredity, environment, medical pathologies, and decline. The population issue was debated with such regularity and intensity that medical discourse was bound into public discussions of degeneration. Max Nordau's work, *Degeneration*, published in 1892 and translated into French a year later, for example, was hugely influential. On degeneration, see Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c.1848–c.1918* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁸ For discussions of the perceived crisis of masculinity, see Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York, 1993); Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux*

Nevertheless, in the Crowning of the People's Muse, at a time when the gender order was apparently destabilized, women emerged to assume a leading role in republican political ritual. The individual responsible for conceiving this event was the composer Gustave Charpentier (1860–1956). Originally from industrial Tourcoing, Charpentier attended the Paris Conservatoire from 1879, studying with Jules Massenet from 1885. In 1888 the young composer departed to take up residence at the Villa Medici in Rome (having won the “Prix de Rome” the previous year). Charpentier did not allow the august environment in which he worked to stifle his penchant for anti-authority gestures. He took up residence in Montmartre, adopted a bohemian lifestyle and appearance and engaged in “nervous fellow traveling” with anarchists. With this in mind, it is no great surprise that he accepted the invitation of the illustrator Adolphe Willette to devise a finale for the carnival of the *vache enragée* (the “raging cow,” or *Vachalcade*), organized in Montmartre, in 1897.⁹ It was into this event with its riot of outrageous floats and costumes and antibourgeois theme that Charpentier brought his new work, the *Couronnement de la Muse*.

THOSE WHO WITNESSED THE FIRST PERFORMANCE of the crowning were agreed that it was a curious production.¹⁰ Part cantata, part mime, part ballet, the ceremony was set to a piece of music entitled *Le Couronnement de la Muse* (with solo voice, choir, and orchestral sections), elements of which were eventually integrated into the

(Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 11–12, 115–17, 186–96; Annelise Maugue, *L'Identité masculine en crise au tournant du siècle, 1871–1914* (Paris, 1987); Maugue, “L'Eve nouvelle et le vieil Adam,” in *Histoire des femmes*, vol. 4, Geneviève Fraisse, ed. (Paris, 1991), chap. 19. As prophecies of the “end of the family” haunted the bourgeois imagination, women who resisted the norms of domestic femininity and made claims for suffrage were decried as decadent “idols of perversity.” For a discussion of the expression of this crisis in fin-de-siècle literature and art, see, for example, Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven, Conn., 1991); Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Female Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (New York, 1986); Nicholas White, *The Family in Crisis in Late Nineteenth-Century French Fiction* (Cambridge, 1998), 17.

⁹ Steven Huebner, “Between Anarchism and the Box Office: Gustave Charpentier's Louise,” *19th Century Music* 19, no. 2 (1995): 141. The *Vachalcade* was held only twice, in 1896 and 1897, a fact attributed by Jerrold Seigel to the poor weather afflicting it in its second year. Seigel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830–1930* (New York, 1986), 338. In its mixture of elite and popular elements, the *Vachalcade* had much in common with earlier popular festivities, such as the *Carnaval* held during the week of Lent, which had reached its zenith in the 1830s and 1840s. “La Vachalcade,” *Le Petit Parisien*, April 15, 1897. For a more recent discussion of the *Vachalcade* see Nicholas Green, *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth Century France* (Manchester, 1990), 77; and Huebner, “Between Anarchism and the Box Office,” 152–55. Mary Garden, the Scottish-American soprano who took the lead in Charpentier's *Louise* in 1900, remembered him as “a real bohemian to whom money and fame meant nothing. He was satisfied if he had enough to pay for drinks for himself and his friends at the Rat Mort. He lived in a dirty little garret up on the *butte*. . . The production of his opera brought him nearly half a million francs, but he spent it all on the working girls of Montmartre.” Mary Garden, quoted in Michael T. R. B. Turnbull, *Mary Garden* (Aldershot, 1997), 24. See also André Himonet, *Louise de G. Charpentier: Étude historique et critique, analyse musicale* (Paris, 1922), 6–7.

¹⁰ *Le Petit Parisien*, covering dress rehearsals for the *couronnement* suggested the piece was “as curious as it is interesting.” “La Vachalcade,” *Le Petit Parisien*, April 15, 1897, 2. *L'Illustration* described it as “most original.” “La Fête populaire du centenaire de Michelet,” *L'Illustration*, July 30, 1898, 68. *La France*, discussing the Bordeaux performance, was moved to ask “Why all of these muses? What are they for? What big idea do they represent?” *La France*, June 25, 1901, Fonds Charpentier 362, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris (Hereafter, BHVP). All translations are by the author, unless otherwise stated.

second scene of the third act of Charpentier's then work-in-progress, the opera *Louise*. The event centered on a girl worker elected Muse for the occasion by female colleagues from the laundries of Montmartre. One rendition took place in 1897 at Montmartre's Nouveau Théâtre, and a more elaborate outdoor performance was planned for Place Blanche (though it was canceled owing to poor weather). In spite of this, the *couronnement* ceremony caught the attention and the imagination of the republican elite. Charpentier was invited to perform the piece before the Paris Hôtel de Ville, where, in 1898, the crowning was staged to commemorate the historian of the revolution Jules Michelet and to serve as a "curtain raiser" for Bastille Day celebrations. The event commenced with a procession to the stage, headed by the Muse. Once seated on her throne, where she remained throughout the ceremony, before a sizeable orchestra (and, beyond that, the crowd), a ballet act was performed before the Muse. During the ballet, the lead dancer, representing "beauty," placed a crown of roses upon the head of the enthroned girl. The recitation of a poem, "To the Muse," was followed by a mime act, during which a Pierrot, representing the "common man," performed "human suffering." The turning point in this performance came as the Pierrot, lying prone, perceived the girl, and, reanimated by her presence, knelt before her in exultation. With this, the Muse motioned the Pierrot to stand and join hands with the lead dancer. A vigorous flourish from the brass section then swept the performance to its dramatic conclusion.¹¹

In the decades that followed the first performances of the *couronnement* in Paris, provincial municipalities scrambled to stage the event. Charpentier, accompanied by an orchestra of hundreds, toured France, taking the ceremony to Lille in May 1898, Bordeaux in July 1899, Le Mans and Rouen and, in June 1900, to Niort. A month later, the Loire city of Saint-Etienne staged the festival. Before World War I, it was performed in many more urban centers, including Montpellier in 1904, Amiens in 1906, and Nancy in 1909. Cities organized repeat performances. Lille conducted two crowning ceremonies in 1898 and 1899, for example, as did Lens in 1903 and 1913, while Saint-Etienne staged the fête thrice, in 1900, 1902, and 1906. Although the core performance (which almost always took place in central squares before city halls) changed relatively little, with repetition it became more elaborate. Festival organization committees formulated variations on Charpentier's original template, spending significant amounts on performances. Processional itineraries grew longer and more complex, incorporating elaborately decorated floats, delegations of civic dignitaries, and champagne toasts at the city hall and prefecture.¹²

¹¹ In the earliest Paris performances, the poem "To the Muse" began with the lines: "O beautiful one! Chosen sister! Eternal inspiration," but in Saint-Etienne Paul de Champville's work "To the Muse" began with the words, "Cheerful and responsible girl worker, O muse you have no need for a crown, the workshop bench is the noblest throne." Saint-Etienne poem, 1118, Archives Municipales de Saint-Etienne (Hereafter, AMSE). Notably, Jules Michelet had expressed strong views on the symbolic centrality of women to the republic. For a discussion of Michelet's views on women and the republic, see Judith F. Stone, "The Republican Brotherhood: Gender and Ideology," in *Gender and the Politics of Social Reform in France, 1870–1914*, Elinor A. Accampo, Rachel G. Fuchs, and Mary Lynn Stewart eds. (Baltimore, Md., 1995), 32–35.

¹² By way of illustration, Saint-Etienne's municipal council allocated 49,000 francs to the event in 1902. "La Fête nationale," *La Loire Républicaine*, July 16, 1902, Archives Départementales de la Loire (Hereafter, ADL); Saint-Etienne Letter, Mayor of Saint-Etienne to Mayor of Romans, March 11, 1903, 1116, AMSE.

Organizers, commentators, and observers linked the figure of the Muse closely to the idea of the French nation. The crowning became the centerpiece of celebrations of national heroes such as Michelet. In some cases (notably that of Saint-Etienne), the performance of the Muse was introduced into Bastille Day celebrations, displacing the military review. Although the crowning was not always incorporated into the festivities of the national day, it was often framed by stirring renditions of the national anthem, and journalists and music critics writing in mass-circulation newspapers attributed national significance to the phenomenon. In a nation apparently in danger of being eclipsed permanently by more vigorous external challengers, those searching for a remedy to the pathologies besetting France identified Charpentier's compositions as "virile" and "truly French" and saw the performances as a means through which "a happy awakening of the national spirit" could occur.¹³ The crownings also had a strong local emphasis. In a period when interest in municipalization (the transfer of the provision of urban amenities into the hands of the city government) intensified, councilors and journalists also used the event to express civic pride and to showcase the achievements of their cities.¹⁴ However, Paris and other large urban centers were points of comparative reference within an unofficial national hierarchy as municipalities vied with each other for the prestige of being part of Charpentier's itinerary. Provincial Muses elected as representatives of their cities were invited to grand ceremonies in Paris, notably during the exhibition year of 1900. By this time, in a move indicating the seriousness with which the event was regarded, elections of the Muse were beginning to be taken out of the hands of candidate-electors and turned over to municipal selection committees. These committees deployed police agents to conduct stringent background checks ensuring that candidates were "genuinely" virtuous young working-class women. One former Muse recounted how:

To be certain of their qualities they demanded information from neighbors, the shopkeepers of the neighborhood, the whole city. On the stage they questioned me, asking what I did for a living, if I was dependent upon my parents, and so on.¹⁵

Candidates' reputations became the subject of rumor and gossip constructed from intrusive police interviews with neighbors. One girl in Saint-Etienne was, for example, rejected for her "deplorable" behavior as she was said to have "numerous lovers" and to return home "every day very late at night."¹⁶

¹³ The perceived "Frenchness" of Charpentier's music was an important pillar upon which the unifying potential of the Muse was built. Gérard de Lacaze-Duthiers saw Charpentier as "rediscovering the true French tradition which decidedly could not be accommodated to the Wagnerian yoke." Alfred Bruneau observed in the *couronnement* the "beauty of a virile music and the grace of a young woman." Bruneau was, like Charpentier, a former pupil of Jules Massenet. Lacaze-Duthiers, *Ville de Châlons-sur-Marne Fête de couronnement de la muse*, 14 juillet 1903; Gustave Charpentier et la muse du peuple (Châlons-sur-Marne, 1903), 8–9; Bruneau, "La Muse de Paris—et son poète," *Le Figaro*, July 25, 1898, 1.

¹⁴ William B. Cohen, *Urban Government and the Rise of the French City: Five Municipalities in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1998), 241–54; "Les muses départementales," *Journal du Mans*, July 26, 1899, Fonds Charpentier 361, BHVP; "Les Muses à l'exposition," *Le Matin*, September 8, 1900.

¹⁵ "La Muse du peuple," *La France*, July 18, 1899, Fonds Charpentier 423, BHVP; "La Doyenne des reines de beauté qui recevait par jour 65 lettres d'amour retourne, à 71 ans, des manteaux à 100F la pièce," *Paris-Hebdo*, September 18–21, 1952.

¹⁶ Saint-Etienne Police Report, Central Police Commissioner, "Antoinine Palle," 1906, 1118, AMSE.

From Paris to the provinces, this oeuvre produced a centripetal, integrative effect, drawing thousands of onlookers into city centers. Municipal councilors worked to ensure that a significant number of “the people” observed “their” Muse. One newspaper estimated that a cumulative one million spectators had witnessed the event by 1903, and, in general, reports indicated that this “popular” performance did bring together socially diverse crowds of male and female observers. The republican press wasted no opportunity to highlight the unifying potential of the Muse.¹⁷ In a nation torn apart by the Dreyfus Affair, a political cadre fighting internal enemies used this fête to surmount tensions and instabilities through the symbolic invitation of diverse political factions back into an abstract national community. Thus this phenomenon was more significant, and its impact wider, than historians have previously suggested.¹⁸

It is not immediately apparent, however, why this event in particular, with its overtones of the carnivalesque, should have found favor with the many municipal governments that sponsored it. Such an oeuvre seemed somewhat at odds with the style of recently reinvented traditions of French republican ritual. Bourgeois organizers had expunged much of the bacchanalian effusiveness associated with festivals of the Second Empire from mass public celebrations of the republic that had recommenced in France in 1880. Elements of the carnivalesque certainly persisted in public ritual into the late nineteenth century, as in the case of the Lenten festivals of the Boeuf Gras and Mi-Carême in Paris. These events, as well as many provincial trade fairs, featured “queens” elected from the various markets and laundries of the city on which Charpentier, with his bohemian leanings, drew in preparing his “consolatory” work. The Muse also seems to have something in common with the *rosières*, central figures in a prerevolutionary festive tradition that persisted into the twentieth century in which young females were chosen because of their virtue to represent their village or town. Although these carnivalesque precursors informed—and continued to exist alongside—Charpentier’s creation, a number of factors made the latter more suitable for elevation to the status of a new national icon in fin-de-siècle France.¹⁹

¹⁷ Councilors and the press, keen to read the benefits of their endowment into the reactions of those who observed it, paid a great deal of attention to the crowd’s response and read this as betraying the reception of the event’s implicit message. For the *Républicain de l’Ouest*, for example, “the people were not capable of understanding the symbolism” but, at the climax of the performance, “a shudder, nevertheless, shook [them].” “Chronique sur le couronnement de la muse,” *Le Républicain de l’Ouest*, June 14, 1900, 2.

¹⁸ Although the few historians who have commented on the phenomenon have tended to focus only on the Paris events, the work was truly national, performed in more than a dozen cities in a decade. One report noted, “in six years fourteen muses have been crowned.” Report cited in “Les Fêtes de la Muse—a Liège,” *Journal*, July 21, 1903, Fonds Charpentier 363, BHVP. References were made in the republican press to the “thousands of curious bystanders,” crammed into central city squares, or “curious onlookers massed in great numbers.” An estimated 60,000 people observed the event during Bastille Day in Saint-Etienne in 1902. “L’Election de la muse,” *Le Progrès du Nord*, May 17, 1898; “Le Couronnement de la reine des ouvrières,” *L’Echo du Nord*, June 13, 1899, 2. In this way, the *Fête de la Muse* appears to have much in common with another spectacle, the Tour de France established in 1903, which also offered the French a vision and sense of their nation through urban spectacle and the newspaper press. The muse festival was also performed outside France, in Belgium and Algiers, and was discussed in the English press. “Les Fêtes de la Muse—a Liège,” *Journal*, July 21, 1903, Fonds Charpentier 363, BHVP; *Daily Telegraph*, July 6, 1901, Fonds Charpentier 362, BHVP.

¹⁹ The rather starchy slate of events drawn up for republican festivals included reviews of troops and gymnastics performances by military preparation societies. Still, greased pigs and other popular

It was no coincidence that the Festival of the People's Muse flourished during and after the divisive Dreyfus Affair, at a time when forces of collectivism were in the ascendant in France. The Dreyfus Affair boosted socialism nationwide, the rude health of which was exemplified by the inclusion of Alexandre Millerand, the first socialist to participate in high government, in René Waldeck-Rousseau's cabinet in 1899 and by steps by the socialist movement toward national integration.²⁰ These developments coincided with the rise in the late 1890s of the doctrine of solidarism espoused by the prominent republican politician Léon Bourgeois, which envisaged the achievement of national solidarity and an end to class conflict through social justice, wider access to education, and practical, state-led reform. For several reasons, Charpentier's oeuvre resonated with the socially progressive, solidaristic outlook of an increasingly influential cadre of left-oriented republican councilors and enhanced their willingness to bankroll its performance. The Muse was well suited to become an icon "of the people," a secular representation of the national collective, in ways that her precursors were not. In appearance and style, the Muse evoked associations with the goddesses of Reason and Liberty of the revolutionary era, which appealed to left republicans. The use of an aesthetic at once populist and classical enabled Charpentier to distance this icon from the overtly monarchical coding of the "queens" and the strongly clerical and aristocratic overtones of the festivals of the *rosières*.²¹ This political cadre was also keen to reinforce the

entertainments did not disappear entirely from view during Bastille Day festivities. For more on republican festivals, see Charles Rearick, "Festivals in Modern France: The Experience of the Third Republic," *Journal of Contemporary History* 12 (July 1977): 450–56. For more on the beauty contests centering on the Paris laundries, see Alain Faure, *Paris carême-prenant: Du carnaval à Paris au XIX^e siècle, 1800–1914* (Paris, 1978), 134–36. Spring rituals held to celebrate fertility involving "queens" dated back to the late medieval period. For more on the custom of selecting *rosières* in the *fête de la rose* that flourished in France from the 1760s, see Sarah C. Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 68–85, 102–08, 130; Segalen and Chamarat, "La Rosière et la 'miss,'" 47; Segalen and Chamarat, "Les Rosières se suivent et ne se ressemblent pas," *Centre d'Animation de l'Histoire de Nanterre* (1979): 8.

²⁰ Following the Dreyfus crisis, René Waldeck-Rousseau brought together a leftist coalition of radicals, socialists, and moderates that gave the republic an unusual spell of stability (with only two cabinets in five years). Moves toward greater integration included the unification of the Confédération Générale du Travail and Bourses du Travail movement in 1902, and Jean Jaurès's success in unifying the six competing segments of the French socialist movement. Outside Paris, at a municipal level, this was also a period of remarkable advancement for the socialist movement. In Bordeaux, for example, in 1900, a republican list containing seven socialists was elected in its entirety. For details, see Louis Desgraves and Georges Dupieux, eds., *Bordeaux au XIX^e siècle* (Bordeaux, 1969), 333–34. In Lille, socialists won control of the municipal council thanks to an agreement with the radicals in 1898. This is covered in Louis Trenard and Yves-Marie Hilaire, eds., *Histoire de Lille: Du XIX^e siècle au seuil du XXI^e siècle* (Lille, 1999), 75–76. In Saint-Etienne, the socialists took overall control in 1900 of a council headed by an anarcho-syndicalist mayor, Jules Ledin. For an account of the socialist victory, see Jean Merley ed., *Histoire de Saint-Etienne* (Toulouse, 1990), 214.

²¹ Picking up on Charpentier's populist turn, Gérard de Lacaze-Duthiers explained that "a muse, is . . . less solemn, but is as dignified" as a "queen," appearing "more human, closer to us." Lacaze-Duthiers, *Ville de Châlons-sur-Marne*, 17–18. Liberty had been portrayed in the revolutionary iconography of womanhood as a virtuous daughter figure. Aspects of the visual style of performance of the muse—her proximity to the Hôtel de Ville, the enthronement, the gestures of deference—had much in common with the festival of the Triumph of Reason held on November 10, 1793. This point was not lost on contemporary commentators. For more on Liberty, see Joan B. Landes, "Representing the Body Politic: The Paradox of Gender in the Graphic Politics of the French Revolution," in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, Sara E. Melzer and Leslie W. Rabine, eds. (New York, 1992), 32. See also Stéphane Michaud, *Muse et madone: Visages de la femme de la révolution française aux apparitions de Lourdes* (Paris, 1985). Notably, opera decor featured in the Festival of Reason of

legitimacy of its newly discovered influence by democratizing access to the “highest peaks of art.” Charpentier’s allusions to the possibility of “elevating” the people through artistic public ritual resonated strongly with those who hoped that by aestheticizing the “everyday” a reciprocal transformation of daily life would occur.²² The integration of the *couronnement* into celebrations of the republic at the city level, then, was suggestive of the broader ambitions of progressive councilors to reconfigure republicanism, overcome class conflict, and “elevate” the masses.

Given its bacchanalian origins, anarchist undertones, and progressive republican patronage, the Festival of the People’s Muse was remarkable for its success in drawing favorable comment from a broad spectrum of observers. Representatives of the moderate (and even the militant) Left were enthusiastic. In the street processions accompanying the crowning, trade unionists and socialists were conspicuous by their presence. One socialist journal contrasted “this veritable civic and popular festival” with “the savage and patriotic rejoicing” of the usual July 14 and insisted, “the Triumph of the Muses must become a popular and national institution celebrated annually on a fixed date.”²³ In Paris, prominent intellectuals acclaimed the event. For Gérard de Lacaze-Duthiers, a libertine academic with anarchist sympathies, the work was “plainly and clearly revolutionary,” drawing as it did “on the life of the crowd, on the life of the people.”²⁴ Even conservative critics of the republic found little to oppose here, in terms of either content or imagery, and much to praise. *Le Figaro*, which had taken up the anti-Dreyfusard cause in 1897, referred to the “poetic and charming idea, of giving to the people of Paris a Muse drawn from their own number,” while *L’Intransigeant*, the daily from which Henri Rochefort attacked the republican government, found the display “a true success” and the Muse “charming.”²⁵ Provincial arbiters of taste were no less impressed. *Lille Artiste*, for example, found it “a touching idea to represent the popular ‘Muse’ using young girls” while *La Vie Illustrée* labeled her “the heroine of the day.”²⁶ Even

November 1793, as did “members of the Opera ballet and music from the Opera repertory.” Hunt, “Engraving the Republic,” 14; Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 65. Another similarity lay in the rapid spread of the ritual from Paris to the provinces. Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 63–64. Huebner, “Between Anarchism and the Box Office,” 153–55. On the *rosières’* associations with the French aristocracy, see Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, 72–73.

²² Republican press reports identified the disbursement of “beauty” for the benefit of the urban masses as the proper responsibility of socialist-influenced city council. Initial enthusiasm for a festival which, as one councilor put it, was “endowed with a solemnly artistic, popular and moral character,” thus owed much to hopes that this might have an enlightening effect on those who viewed it. New conceptions of art as having a social function and of improving the taste of the workers were disseminated by intellectuals, in particular Camille Maclair, who advanced such views in regular contributions to the debate on the democratization of beauty and luxury in the pages of the *Revue Bleue*. Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982), 158–67; Conseil Municipal de Bordeaux, *Conseil municipal de Bordeaux, procès-verbaux des séances* (Bordeaux, 1899), 267; “Le Couronnement de la muse,” *Le Républicain de l’Ouest*, June 5–7, 1900, 2.

²³ Saint-Etienne Newspaper Extract, *L’Aurore*, July 17, 1902, 1116, AMSE.

²⁴ Lacaze-Duthiers, *Ville de Châlons-sur-Marne*, 9, 15.

²⁵ “L’Election d’une muse,” *Le Figaro*, July 11, 1898, 1; “Le Couronnement de la muse,” *L’Intransigeant*, July 26, 1898, 2. *L’Indépendance* of Cambrai, for example, explained the event in 1911 as “a work of art, the beauty and value of which has never been contested by anyone.” *L’Indépendance*, August 8, 1911, Fonds Charpentier 362, BHVP. Even after the rather racy plot of the opera *Louise* was revealed in February 1900, few dissonant voices were heard.

²⁶ Saint-Etienne Newspaper Extract, *La Vie Illustrée: L’Univers Illustré réunis*, 197, July 25, 1902, 280, 1116, AMSE; “La Muse Lilloise,” *Lille Artiste*, June 1, 1898, 2.

the Catholic press, which usually ignored or directed vitriol toward republican festivities, had little negative to say about the Muse herself and attested to her popularity.²⁷ The vast majority of journalists commenting on this cultural phenomenon were men, but female commentators, such as those writing in the pro-feminist newspaper, *La Fronde*, also found the Muse “extremely agreeable” and the event a “real triumph.”²⁸

The arrival of the Muse as a focus for celebrations of the nation foregrounded the feminine in the embodied representation of the republic. However, when this window of opportunity finally emerged for the involvement of actual female bodies in public rituals, it was not adult women who were able to take advantage of it, but girls, or “young women.” The age of the performers was perhaps the most notable feature of the *couronnement*. By informing the selectors of the Muse to accept only those between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, organizers excluded the mature female body from this spectacle. Even the use of the title Muse (in place of queen) was significant in allowing the allegorical potential of a more youthful femininity to be explored. Why then did representatives of local and national government sanction the creation of a new, girlish icon of the French nation when republicans had already appropriated, from 1792, the figure of Marianne to serve as the symbolic embodiment of the republic?

THE CREATION OF A YOUNG FEMALE ICON of the French nation owed much to the fact that the womanly body was perceived by the late nineteenth century as a problematic site for political representation. The female body had been identified in the nineteenth century as an ideal visual representation of the nation as a “natural” unity. The image of Marianne, symbol of the republican nation-state, was ubiquitous in France. In her late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century incarnations, Marianne had often taken on a youthful appearance. In the mid to late nineteenth century, however, she developed a more mature and maternal aspect. By the 1890s, the voluptuous, matronly Marianne was beginning to be seen as the symbol of an older, more conservative republic, less relevant to the new left and a target for the invective of those on the non-republican right.²⁹ Aside from the specific political connotations of Marianne, the potential of the mature female body to represent social unity diminished as this form became an important site on which

²⁷ While ambivalent at best about the crowning ceremony, which was perceived as “revolutionary” and “pagan,” Catholic spokespersons were at pains to explain that they did not wish to criticize the Muse herself. Pro-Catholic newspapers poked fun at the festival floats and raised doubts as to councilors’ motives for sponsoring the event, but conceded that the performance itself was remarkably popular. In some cities, editorial staff from pro-Catholic newspapers even attended meetings held by the organizing committee of the municipal council. *L’Indépendance*, August 8, 1911, Fonds Charpentier 361, BHVP; “Le ‘Couronnement de la Muse,’” *La Croix du Nord*, June 6, 1898, 2. Notes from meeting of organizing committee members, June 30, 1902, 1116, AMSE.

²⁸ “La Muse de Paris,” *La Fronde*, July 11, 1898, 1.

²⁹ The poet Paul Verlaine dwelt on the tiredness of Marianne’s image in the sonnet, “A Bust for the Town Halls” of 1881 in which he suggested that “Marianne is very old, getting on for a hundred . . . now she is a garrulous crone with thin hair and no teeth.” This translation of Verlaine and further discussion of the evolving appearance of Marianne can be found in Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 178–79. See also Hunt, “Engraving the Republic,” 17.

fin-de-siècle anxieties about male status were inscribed. Such anxieties centered on several threatening incarnations.

First, the term, "New Woman," was used to describe and deride educated, independent, dandyish women who dared to disrupt the bourgeois ideal of domestic femininity.³⁰ In addition to the New Woman, feminists seeking improved social and political rights also emerged as a focus of concern among male elites. The movement for women's rights in France was chronically fragmented but had impetus and was showing signs of coherence by the late 1890s.³¹ One congress, in 1896, drew a politically diverse audience and even inspired the creation of a daily newspaper, *La Fronde*, which became an important mouthpiece of the women's movement. Both the New Woman and the feminist, but particularly the former, though the two were often elided, were ruthlessly pilloried. Although scholars have tended to emphasize the attack on the androgenous New Woman, the over-powerful, matronly mother figure was also a focus for bitter criticism.³² As women challenged the gender order, the image of the nurturing woman—the voluptuous Marianne, the mother-protector of the republic—so useful in fashioning a narrative

³⁰ The "New Woman" was a widespread phenomenon but formed part of an especially forceful critique in the French case, articulated in such literary vehicles as the *Journal des débats*, *Revue des deux mondes*, *La Plume*, *La Revue*, *La Nouvelle Revue*, and others. For the "New Woman" in the French context, see Debora L. Silverman, "The 'New Woman,' Feminism and the Decorative Arts in Fin-de-Siècle France," in *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, Lynn Hunt, ed. (Baltimore, Md., 1991), 144–63; Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 63–74, 193–206. Mary Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts: The New Woman in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Chicago, 2002), 11–15; Michael Wilson, "'Sans les femmes, qu'est-ce qui nous resterait?' Gender and Transgression in Bohemian Montmartre," in *Body Guards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity*, Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub, eds. (New York, 1991), 195–222. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Discourses of Sexuality and Subjectivity: The New Woman, 1870–1936," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey Jr., eds. (New York, 1989). On the "New Woman" in the Anglo-Saxon context, see Ruth Brandon, *The New Women and the Old Men: Love, Sex and the Woman Question* (London, 1990); Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York, 1990); Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman as Androgyne: Social Disorder and Gender Crisis, 1870–1936," in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985), 245–96.

³¹ From 1889 to 1900, twenty-one feminist periodicals were established and three international feminist congresses were held, but real success in achieving convergence between the various women's leagues did not arrive until 1908–1909. For more on these developments and on the links between demographic crisis and the feminist challenge, see Offen, "Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism," 648–75. For a detailed discussion of the growth and consolidation of French feminism before 1914, see Steven C. Hause, *Women's Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic*, with Anne R. Kenney (Princeton, 1984); Laurence Klejman and Florence Rochefort, *L'Égalité en marche: Le Féminisme sous la troisième république* (Paris, 1989). On this theme, see also George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York, 1996), 104; McMillan, *France and Women*, 204.

³² This figure formed part of a panoply of female caricatures representing those supposedly eroding male virility in public and private. While the "New Woman" was castigated for her rejection of reproductive "duties," the old mother, a symbol of declining fertility (to whom suspicions of clerical conservatism easily attached), was considered to be complicit in national decline, having been part of a generation of women who had produced too few babies. For more on such images, see Honoré Daumier, *Intellectuelles (bas bleus) et femmes socialistes* (Paris, 1993); Michelle Perrot, "The New Eve and the Old Adam: Changes in French Women's Condition at the Turn of the Century," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, Margaret Randolph Higonnet, et al., eds. (New Haven, Conn., 1987), 59. For a contemporary discussion of this "menace," see Georges Deherme, *Le Pouvoir social des femmes* (Paris, 1912), 238–75. On the "New Woman" in the English context, see John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), 152–53.

of the birth of the French republic, could no longer easily serve its function of empowering the male political subject.

The New Woman and the feminist were high-profile targets for male ire partly because a real challenge to gender norms appeared to spread beyond the realm of political discourse. *La Fronde*, for example, drew attention to the success of women in taking on new roles in a variety of professional contexts.³³ Meanwhile, lower on the social hierarchy, the electrification of industry threatened to make the cheap, semiskilled female worker an attractive alternative to the skilled male.³⁴ The growing presence of *adult* women in the non-domestic workplace was the subject of a vicious critique. Men, especially those with skill working in industries hit by structural decline, mobilized a discourse eulogizing the housewife and constructing married female workers as parasites—on the grounds that, by doubling the income of one household, they supposedly halved that of another.³⁵ These challenges to the established gender order help to explain why the adult female body was overlooked in the search for a new national icon. It is still necessary, however, to consider why Charpentier's vision of *young* women generated such acclaim from those who viewed it.

The appeal of the young female body in the fête owed much to the vagueness of contemporary constructions of young womanhood and the marginality experienced by those living through this life stage. As women began to appropriate greater social, economic, and political liberty, the identity "woman" became more densely layered with political meaning. For young women or "girls," in contrast, this process was much less marked. Young women continued to experience social, political, and economic marginality before marriage. The labor of this group cost little. Young women were poorly unionized. In the middle-class ideal, young women's involvement in the work force was temporary. While the married female worker emasculated the male worker both by the act of working and by taking away the livelihood of another family, the young female worker did not jeopardize the breadwinner's wage, or his authority. As adult French women made a strong case for admission to the body politic (raising republican fears that they would cast votes for clerical parties), young women, and in particular those in their teens, had no hope of gaining such a right. Thus the marginality of young females endowed this life stage with a relative iconic vacuity compared with that of adult womanhood.

To be sure, this is not to say that modern European societies did not invest

³³ Women began to command respect and authority in new professional domains, notably in public sector work, as in the case of the school mistresses, labor administrators, and inspectresses discussed in Linda L. Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France: Gender and Public Administration since 1830* (Cambridge, 2000), chaps. 1–4; Clark, "Bringing Feminine Qualities into the Public Sphere: The Third Republic's Appointment of Women Inspectors," in Accampo, Fuchs, and Stewart, *Gender and the Politics of Social Reform*, 128–56; Rachel G. Fuchs, "France in a Comparative Perspective," *ibid.*, 183–87.

³⁴ According to one historian, the gradual "feminization" of the tertiary sector of the economy formed "perhaps the most striking change in the pattern of women's employment." At 20 percent of the total nonagricultural workforce, married women in the late nineteenth century were a significant presence in work spaces dominated by men. In France the percentage of married women who worked was among the highest in Western Europe. Perrot, "The New Eve and the Old Adam," 52.

³⁵ Deliberations on this issue at the meeting of the Confédération Générale du Travail in 1898 produced a discussion of the return of women to home and hearth as an ideal solution to this "problem." *X^e Congrès National Corporatif (IV^e de la Confédération Générale du Travail), tenu à Rennes les 26–30 septembre et 1 octobre 1898, Compte rendu des travaux du congrès* (Rennes, 1898).

young womanhood with specific meanings. In fact, among the performers selected to be the Muse, most were drawn from age ranges then beginning to be associated more strongly with the concept of "adolescence." This cultural construct was, in the late nineteenth century, being extended across class lines. It is critical to remember that in this period the notion of adolescence referred to much more than just sexual maturation. Certainly, physical change was used to assert the commonality of this age-related experience, but the desire to recognize and extend the dependency of young people between school and marriage owed much to perceptions of social and sexual vulnerability and of the need to reverse national decline. Popular literary representations of adolescence identified it as a time of storm and stress and the adolescent body as intrinsically vulnerable and malleable. Around the turn of the century, scholars in France, as in other European countries, worked up the ideas of the American psychologist G. S. Hall, to afford new scientific legitimacy to such views.³⁶

In many European countries, intellectuals and politicians of different ideological persuasions were at this time beginning to explore the idea of youth as a potentially regenerative force.³⁷ As European society aged, in France, the country with the smallest proportion of people under age twenty-one, particularly acute concerns over national degeneration and the reproduction of the social body persisted. Claims that the vitality of the adolescent could be harnessed and used to regenerate French society and politics were commonly heard. Reformers worked to extend institutionalized dependency in the form of "youth movements" to those experiencing this life stage.³⁸ However, while commentators agreed that adoles-

³⁶ For two important expressions of contemporary French opinion on adolescence, see Gabriel Compayré, *L'Adolescence, études de psychologie et de pédagogie* (Paris, 1909) and P. Mendousse, *L'Âme de l'adolescent* (Paris, 1909). For a discussion of the idea (and institutionalization) of adolescence in France, see Agnès Thiercé, *Histoire de l'adolescence, 1850-1914* (Paris, 1999). The attribution of new importance to adolescence was a widespread phenomenon in Europe and the United States around the turn of the twentieth century. For a discussion of the development of this life stage in the British context, see John Springhall, *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960* (Dublin, 1986); Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth: Age, Class and the Male Youth Problem, 1880-1920* (Oxford, 1990). On the "schizoid" tendencies of the fin-de-siècle adolescent self, see Bill Schwarz, "Night Battles: Hooligan and Citizen," in *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity*, Mica Nava and Alan O'Shea, eds. (London, 1996), 176-207. For a discussion of adolescence in the Austrian context, see J. R. Wegs, "Working-class 'Adolescence' in Austria, 1890-1930," *Journal of Family History* 17, no. 4 (1992): 439-50. On Germany, see Gillis, *Youth and History*. On the United States, see Joseph Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York, 1977). The fin-de-siècle emergence and development of adolescence as a literary theme has been discussed by Justin O'Brien, *The Novel of Adolescence in France* (Oxford, 1939); John Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Adolescent Idea: Myths of the Young and the Adult Imagination* (New York, 1981).

³⁷ On the political left, efforts were made by unionists to set up educational wings, and revolutionary, "collectivist," and socialist student groups also emerged in the 1890s. Into the early twentieth century, reactionary forces, especially the Catholic church, reinvigorated their own extensive networks of social contact with young people, while conservative nationalist writers elevated the regenerative potential and national significance of "youth" to new heights. Agathon [Henri Massis and Alfred de Tarde], *Les Jeunes gens d'aujourd'hui, le goût de l'action, la foi patriotique—une renaissance catholique, le réalisme politique* 4th edn. (Paris, 1913); Gaston Ragéot, "A Propos de la jeunesse d'aujourd'hui," *Annales Politiques et Littéraires* (February 1913): 113-14; Ferdinand Antonin Vuillemet, *Les Sophismes de la jeunesse* (Paris, 1910).

³⁸ Great efforts were made by republican activists, in particular those working within the Ligue d'Enseignement, to enroll adolescents in after-school societies. These societies were admitted, after 1890, in larger numbers to perform in Bastille Day celebration schedules. The Muse, in this way,

cence was a distinct and potentially regenerative life stage located between childhood and adulthood, the term lacked the age specificity that it often connotes today, especially when used to refer to females. As inheritors of greater political and economic rights, male “adolescents” were assigned considerable importance, and the boundaries of male adolescence were defined and policed carefully, but the boundaries of female adolescence remained relatively indeterminate.³⁹ Some believed that female adolescence terminated at age twenty-one, the age of civil majority, but for others marriage was the decisive rite of passage defining the upper limit of this transitional phase, since with marriage, women’s dependency was assumed to be transferred from father to husband and the threat posed to property by sexual delinquency diminished. Young females in France often remained dependent on their parents until marriage, and parental consent was required in order to marry before age twenty-five. On average, young working-class girls in France tended to marry in their mid-twenties.⁴⁰

In the production of a Muse to represent “the people,” organizers of the crowning ceremony selected from young women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. This reinforces the validity of understanding the *Fête de la Muse* as a performance, broadly speaking, of “adolescence.” Indeed, it is possible to see the actual performance of the Muse as the enactment of adolescent status. The sight of the Muse chaperoned by the serried ranks of municipal councilors was suggestive of the protective impulse evidenced in state legislation and republican voluntary work. The attributes of these young women portended their idealized departure from the stage, a ritual realization of the exchange of workplace for marital home and motherhood, as per the bourgeois ideal, triggered by the crowning—itsself a symbol of the transition from pre-adulthood to adulthood. Nubile, marginal, naive, and vulnerable, the Muse was the focal point of a spectacle in which the brevity and ambiguity of her own adolescence was articulated.⁴¹

The creation of the Muse allowed the iconic vacuity of female adolescence to be

formed part of a wider movement to reinvigorate republican festivals (by then struggling to recapture the imagination and interest of the public) through ritual performance by the young. For details of the institutionalization of adolescence in France, see Kathleen Alaimo, “Shaping Adolescence in the Popular Milieu: Social Policy, Reformers and French Youth, 1870–1920,” *Journal of Family History* 17 (1992): 419–38; David M. Pomfret, *Young People and the European City: Age Relations in Nottingham and Saint-Etienne, 1890–1940* (Aldershot, 2004), 103–52.

³⁹ This was reflected in terminology. When it had first come into common usage earlier in the nineteenth century the term, *jeune fille* (young girl), had been used to refer to young, single women from the haute bourgeoisie. By the late nineteenth century, contemporaries sometimes used the terms *jeune fille* and *jeune femme* (young woman) interchangeably. See, for example, Fémina Bibliothèque, *Pour être belle* (Paris, 1913), 12. For a discussion of the vagueness of the upper and lower boundaries of adolescence (and in particular female adolescence) in France, see Thiercé, *Histoire de l'adolescence*, 20–24, 161–63.

⁴⁰ Alaimo, “Shaping Adolescence in the Popular Milieu,” 425.

⁴¹ Most of the girls selected to perform as Muses were between sixteen and eighteen years old. Thus, when one scholar refers to the Muse as a “proletarian woman,” he ignores the important role played by the variable of age in explaining the cultural significance of this phenomenon. Huebner, “Between Anarchism and the Box Office,” 152. It is worth noting that Charpentier’s work *Louise* played upon the key theme of adolescent rebellion and that, as an artistic movement, *verismo* (with which Charpentier’s work was identified) emphasized characteristics often attributed to both adolescents and the lower classes in social commentary. In this vision, workers were seen as, “‘more natural’ men and women, whose emotions were closer to the surface and hence more intense than those of effete upper class city dwellers.” On this see Dona De Sanctis, quoted in Helen M. Greenwald, “Realism on the Opera Stage:

exploited for political ends. However, the success of this image is perhaps surprising when contemporaries' anxieties about girlhood, as well as womanhood, are taken into consideration. Around the turn of the century, as new patterns of work eroded established forms of parental surveillance, fears were expressed about girls' potential to indulge in greater autonomy, sexual delinquency, and the leisure culture of the large city. A new and deplorable kind of girl who failed to conform to bourgeois norms of acceptable behavior was identified. The popular press intensified its focus on exemplars of this lamentable type into the early twentieth century, for example, in coverage of the so-called *apaches*. Girls who moved with these gangs of poor "delinquents," roaming the dilapidated suburbs of Paris, were seen as representatives of the unfortunate autonomy and moral lassitude that seemed to be afflicting girls more generally.⁴²

While young women emerged as a troubling element of the social body in this period, they retained their potential appeal as icons of national unity for a number of reasons. First, the scientific and medical discourses that informed debate about adolescents encouraged commentators to attribute moral failings to the "adolescent condition." Young females were seen to display the potential for the individual to be corrupted by environment and culture. However, their very malleability encouraged reformers and advocates of state intervention to retain faith in the conviction that these girls could be "rescued" and redirected for regenerative purposes.⁴³ A similar urge was announced in newspaper reports describing the Muse. These often employed a romantic bourgeois rescue plot in which the honest, good, simple, poor young girl was liberated from the depredations of her own proletarian culture. Anxieties about the "New Girl" derived from and helped to reinforce notions of young women's vulnerability and hence also reinforced the acceptability of the (rescued) young female body as spectacle. Female adolescence remained vague enough and evocative enough to admit multiple readings while assumptions of a

Belasco, Puccini, and the California Sunset," in *Opera in Context: Essays on Historical Staging from the Late Renaissance to the Time of Puccini*, Mark A. Radice, ed. (Portland, 1998), 280.

⁴² Adolescent female "delinquency," particularly sexual delinquency, became an intense focus for attention in this period in France, as elsewhere. See, for example, Anne-Marie Sohn, *Chrysalides: Femmes dans la vie privée (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)* (Paris, 1996). For a discussion of the *apaches*, see Michelle Perrot, "Dans la France de la belle époque: Les 'Apaches', premières bandes de jeunes," in *Cahiers Jussieu: Les Marginaux et les exclus dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1978), 387-407. At this time, concern also began to crystallize around the figure of the "girl mother" (*filles mères*) whose transgressive behavior and fatherless offspring ruptured the ideal family and threatened the nation. On the *filles mères*, see Rachel G. Fuchs, "Morality and Poverty: Public Welfare for Mothers in Paris, 1870-1900," *French History* 2, no. 3 (1988): 298-301; Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany, N.Y., 1984); Yves Roumajon, *Enfants perdus, enfants punis: Histoire de la jeunesse délinquante en France. Huit siècles de controverses* (Paris, 1989). For a discussion of concern over young females in the American context during this period, see Ruth M. Alexander, *The Girl Problem: Female Sexual Delinquency in New York, 1900-1930* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995); Regina G. Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945* (New Haven, Conn., 1993); Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995); Kathy Lee Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, 1986).

⁴³ A survey of prominent writers' views of recent changes in young women's lifestyles, though often producing sharply critical opinions, was notable for the fact that the majority of those interviewed still felt it worthwhile to articulate their ideal of the French girl and to offer their views on how this ideal might be realized. "Le Type idéal de la jeune fille française," *Fémina*, February 1, 1908, 54.

natural, age-related vulnerability prevented moral outrage from precluding its production as spectacle.

THE CONTEMPORANEOUS EMERGENCE OF A NUMBER of literary, theatrical, and operatic works recasting the figure of the rebellious girl in a more favorable light also helped to mitigate the more troubling aspects of female adolescence. At a time when anarchism was influential in artistic circles, individuals such as Charpentier celebrated these girls' spirited and youthful contravention of stuffy bourgeois norms as a regenerative force. Their dynamic—but usually tragic—heroines frequently were cast as opponents of their parents, and particularly of their mothers.⁴⁴ French writers, who had begun to engage with this theme in the 1880s, retained their fascination for autonomous and feisty young female characters.⁴⁵ As another product emerging from this vital cultural scene, the Muse was endowed with the vivacity of the feisty modern girl of page and stage but renounced, in the manner of the *rosière* and the carnival queen, any overt challenge to traditional norms of domestic order. Complemented and vocabulized by scientific and medical professionals, these flights of the male imagination posited the adolescent body as a potentially regenerative force, which could be rescued, rehabilitated, and deployed against the urban pathologies besetting France.

The image of the young woman, though conflicted, seems to have generated a powerful protective desire among male observers. This image was especially useful to those progressives and solidarist sympathizers who identified the need to extend new rights to women in the battle against depopulation. Such a move was highly controversial at a time when feminists were threatening to make incursions into the male-dominated political sphere. Thus, as several scholars have noted, it was carried out by stealth. The state forged an alliance with women offering piecemeal welfare legislation in exchange for the raising of healthy republican children. However, a concomitant of this endeavor was the stripping away of the traditional authority of the paterfamilias and the admission of women to public roles.⁴⁶ This

⁴⁴ The eponymous protagonist of Charpentier's *Louise*, for example, was a young working-class seamstress, feisty, impulsive, and contrarian, who rejected parental constraints to throw herself into the cultural tumult of Montmartre, a free love relationship, and the freedoms of the city streets. Similar themes of autonomy and resistance to the authority of the family can be found in a number of other operas in this period. These included, for example, Giacomo Puccini's *La Bohème* (1896), *Madama Butterfly* (1904), and *La Fanciulla del West* (1910) and Pietro Mascagni's *Iris* (1897).

⁴⁵ From the 1880s, a number of French writers endowed young female characters with tendencies to willful independence that often produced tension in relations between daughters and their parents. Early examples included Emile Zola, *Germinal* (Paris, 1885); Marcel Prévost, *Les Demi-Vièges* (Paris, 1894). In George du Maurier's hugely popular novel, *Trilby* (1894), the vitality of an independent and promiscuous orphan girl was snuffed by bourgeois convention. For more on this theme, see Clifford H. Bissell, *Les Conventions du théâtre bourgeois contemporain en France, 1887–1914* (Paris, 1930), 114–18; Roberts, *Disruptive Acts*, 22, 32–34, 79.

⁴⁶ Between 1880 and 1914, a slew of legislation granted women new legal rights. Reforms in 1881 and 1886, for example, gave women the right to set up savings accounts without their husbands' intervention or authorization. In 1884, the right to divorce was reintroduced. In 1907, married women gained the right to use their own earnings as they wished. McMillan, *France and Women*, 152. Although this piecemeal approach has led historians to identify France as comparatively backward in developing welfare provision when contrasted with other European countries and the United States, according to Rachel Fuchs, "an early, if uncoordinated, introduction of welfare measures" occurred. In this

potentially destabilizing move necessitated careful efforts to negotiate men's support. Adolescent females were useful in making such an appeal as they represented a vulnerable age group for the protection of which republican legislators had already introduced a raft of legislation. This included, for example, the education law of December 21, 1880, which extended republican secondary schooling for girls to destroy the influence of the church among them. Labor legislation passed in 1874 and 1892 excluded girls under age twenty-one from working in mines, pits, and quarries and from performing night shifts in factories. These girls, like their representative, the Muse, were future mothers in the bourgeois ideal. As one commentator explained, "The Muse of Gustave Charpentier is our sister today, she is the mother of tomorrow."⁴⁷ Linking sisterhood and motherhood, the Muse offered republicans a vision of femininity through which they might encourage men to extend their acceptance of state protection from girls to women, even as this eroded the status of the paterfamilias.

Men were encouraged to read the Muse not only through an affective, paternal paradigm. Cultural producers identified the falsely homogeneous, falsely apolitical identity of female adolescence as a useful field into which narratives of desire could also be projected. The contours of a second, related inscription of the crowning as a titillating bourgeois fantasy of consuming the sexualized body of the vulnerable, exotic "other," can also be discerned in official and newspaper discourse. At a time when concerns over adolescent female sexuality were expressed forcefully, the idea of a pure, unsullied daughter of the workers was endowed with overtones of regenerative barbarism and rare exoticism. In pursuit of the "exotic," *Lille Artiste* ventured into the poorer quarters of the city, to the "humble" household of another newly elected Muse. There, "in a small lodging where the seven young girls of Mme Dassonville were cramped together [was] our Muse . . . very much resembling Werther's Charlotte."⁴⁸ The same journalist found it difficult to:

convey in a few strokes of the pen her pleasing slenderness, her sweet and sad dusky face while her delicate ear is like a perfect jewel box in white pearl . . . white, all white like her young girl's soul, ignorant of all the immorality of existence.⁴⁹

This account, with its confusion of binaries, duskiness and paleness, is suggestive of the fetishization of the image of working-class adolescent femininity. The idea that amid the dirt and degeneracy of the slums the middle class might find some potentially regenerative, "savage" force was inscribed prominently in this pseudo-

revisionist view, the republic can in fact be seen as "a European leader in designing family policies and allowances." Fuchs, "France in a Comparative Perspective," in Accampo, Fuchs, and Stewart, *Gender and the Politics of Social Reform in France*, 159–61.

⁴⁷ "La Muse du Peuple," *L'Indépendant*, July 23, 1911, Fonds Charpentier 361, BHVP.

⁴⁸ The reference to Goethe's classic novel of adolescence is noteworthy, as are the voyeuristic overtones of this bourgeois observer's account of his penetration of the inner domestic recesses of the working class "slum" districts in search of workers' daughters. "La Muse Lilloise," *Lille Artiste*, June 1, 1898, 2.

⁴⁹ In a similar vein, reporters were careful to explain that the "Muse Noire" of Lens (designated thus to represent the local coalmining industry) "while black has very white skin." One newspaper expressed parents' anxieties at the potential of the male gaze to render their girls "deflowered in image" or "undressed" in public during these events. *Événement*, June 20, 1901, Fonds Charpentier 362, BHVP; "La Muse Lilloise," *Lille Artiste*, June 1, 1898.

ethnographic narrative.⁵⁰ The reading of the young Muse as the dusky “other,” an unstable presence in the faubourg beyond the urban “pale,” was instrumental in mapping onto her body an erotic charge. Men were encouraged to interpret their weakness for this exotic vision of female adolescence as a reassuring sign of their own virility. Class, race, and convention rendered taboo (and thereby heightened) what was read as a healthy, invigorating desire for the objectified body of the girl.⁵¹ These narratives of the imagined pursuit and conquest of the “savage” femininity of girl workers on the margins of the big city offered men a reminder of their duty to desire.

If age was essential in making girl workers’ bodies acceptable as sites for political representation, another critical element of this spectacle was beauty. Physical appearance, to a significant extent, determined selection. Organizers required electors to “give your preference to the most beautiful [candidate],” and local newspapers noted the preference for girls who were “tall and beautiful.”⁵² Precisely what was meant by “beautiful,” of course, was a matter for debate. French intellectuals, observing the democratization of “beauty” and “luxury” in modern times, speculated as to the meaning and significance of these concepts. Morality was often discussed in relation to beauty, but greater attention was beginning to be paid to purely aesthetic considerations. Literature on hygiene and health emerged as an important influence on new standards of beauty. “Objective” norms of beauty based on rules defining ideal proportions, derived from the “eternal” norms evinced in classical art, were formulated and formalized by hygienists and health experts.⁵³ French commentators, accustomed to interpreting the ills of the nation in organic

⁵⁰ Lacaze-Duthiers evoked a similar idea a few years later in his claim that, “a muse . . . will be the most delicate, the most healthy, the most lively.” Lacaze-Duthiers, *Ville de Châlons-sur-Marne*, 18. The search for the regenerative girl was cast in the kind of narrative form then being employed in French accounts of encounters with the “exotic” in the colonial context. In France, in the aftermath of the Dreyfus Affair, women who moved beyond fixed and admissible subject positions inspired racially coded condemnation. In particular, “the Jew” and the “New Woman” were linked as cultural constructs through characteristics of race and gender. The former was constructed as a rootless, effeminate element in the social body while the latter broke (or “wandered”) free of her domestic roots through her cosmopolitanism. Both supposedly weakened the national organism by breaking traditions constituting the “eternal” France. In France, the writer and journalist, Marcelle Tinayre, for example, viewed such women as “wandering Jews, whose position cannot be defined, and to whom one refuses respect.” In this context, the young Muse appeared as a provocative figure, racialized and wandering between autonomy and dependence, but her age made this a “natural” tendency, part of her vulnerability, and in this way protected her against censure. Marcelle Tinayre, “Ménages d’artistes,” *La Fronde*, March 3, 1898, quoted in Roberts, *Disruptive Acts*, 113.

⁵¹ On “patriarchal patriots” and the crisis of male virility, see Offen, “Depopulation, Nationalism and Feminism,” 669.

⁵² “Mazas ou Charenton—élection de la muse de Paris,” *L’Intransigeant*, July 12, 1898, 1; “Couronnement de la Muse du Peuple,” *Tribune Républicaine*, July 4, 1906, ADL.

⁵³ In relation to the influence of the classical aesthetic on modern notions of beauty, it is worth noting that the Muse appeared on stage dressed in long white ceremonial robes, a conspicuous reference to the origins of the norms of “elemental” beauty that the girls were chosen to represent. For an early discussion of the classical influence upon modern notions of beauty, see Auguste Debay, *Hygiène et perfectionnement de la beauté humaine. Dans ses lignes, ses formes et sa couleur. Théorie nouvelle des aliments et boissons, digestion—nutrition, art de développer les formes en moins et de diminuer les formes en trop*, 4th edn. (Paris, 1864), 9–17, 33. Michael Hau has examined this process in the case of Germany. Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890–1930* (Chicago, 2003), 33. On the links between Social Darwinism and fin-de-siècle theories of the nature of beauty, see Kurt Bayertz, “Biology and Beauty: Science and Aesthetics in Fin-de-siècle Germany,” in *Fin-de-Siècle and Its Legacy*, Mikuláš Teich and Roy Porter, eds. (Cambridge, 1990), 278–96.

terms also began to elide health and beauty, drawing on models from antiquity to represent new norms of both. The result of these deliberations, to which the *Muse du peuple* was a contribution, was not a stable or fixed vision, nor a representation of the "average" body. It was, rather, an ideal that women and men, antifeminists and feminists, not only accepted but celebrated. For all the claims by organizers that beauty was eternal, through the process of exhibition and dissemination that was the *couronnement*, standards of beauty were reconsidered, reconfigured, and refined.

It was no coincidence that the modern beauty pageant, which helped to institutionalize and formalize these notions, emerged at this time. However, while beauty contests in many countries, notably the United States, remained closely bound to commercial interests, in France, through the *couronnement*, representatives of the state integrated this phenomenon directly into celebrations of the nation.⁵⁴ The state, the police, the media, the family, and young females were entwined, through the event, in a network reformulating, reinforcing, demonstrating, and eliding ideas of youth, beauty, and health. Like the representations of nation, modern concepts of beauty, in spite of contemporaries' assertions to the contrary, were not "eternal" (nor had they been simply "retrieved" from classical antiquity). Both nation and beauty were, rather, reformulated through a complex process into which the state, the individual, and various consumer industries were drawn. As the "New Woman" rendered problematic the role of women as iconic representatives of national culture, tradition, and "timeless national memory," so the eternal nation was reasserted through its staged association with eternal beauty.⁵⁵ In the crowning ceremony, both concepts were fused purposely. Hence, while historians have emphasized the importance of the young, militarized male body to the late nineteenth-century revival of ritual in Europe, it is worth noting that at the same time the French led the way in turning the beauty contest, of which the crowning ceremony was effectively the finale, into an equivalent and similarly didactic demonstration of fit and healthy female specimens of the "race."

The elevation of the individual girl to symbolic centrality on the basis of her youth and beauty worked to reassure the male spectator in one more important way. The Muse undercut efforts by French feminists to use feminine beauty to achieve political aims. Marguerite Durand, editor and founder of *La Fronde*, urged women

⁵⁴ In the United States, "Lafayette Girls" had been selected in the early nineteenth century from each state to celebrate the visit of the French hero of the War of Independence. In 1854, P. T. Barnum organized the exhibition of photographic beauty contests, an idea taken up in the press. In 1880 the "first beauty contest of record," the Miss United States beauty pageant was held in the resort of Rehoboth Beach, Delaware. These contests, in spite of the name, proliferated mainly along the eastern seaboard of the United States and were organized with a view to boosting tourism. The first national photographic contest was held in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1905, with 40,000 entrants. Later, regional competitions were unified in the first Miss America event held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1920 (the same year in which the journalist, Maurice de Waleffe, organized the inaugural Miss France contest). The Miss World pageant, which commenced in 1951, brought together international competitors for the first time. For a brief historical overview of the American context, see Colleen Ballerino Cohen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje, eds., *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power* (London, 1996), 3–5. For a more detailed discussion, see Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (Chicago, 1984), 250–61.

⁵⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983); Alon Confino quoted in Silke Wenk, "Gendered Representations of the Nation's Past and Future," in Blom, Hagemann, and Hall, *Gendered Nations*, 66.

to recognize physical beauty as a vital component of what would become a more distinctively French version of the strong woman, less blatantly threatening, and more attractive to men than the Anglo-Saxon "New Woman."⁵⁶ To those republicans who nurtured hopes of a fertile alliance between women and the state, however, such a move was troubling, as it placed greater emphasis on women as individuals deriving power from their appearance, rather than as "moral equals" meeting maternal responsibilities for the good of the national collective.

The select few who had become "women who counted" in fin-de-siècle France, Durand among them, represented a destabilizing force for this very reason.⁵⁷ Famous actresses, however, having been castigated as charlatans for their capacity to destabilize femininity and cheapen morality through the portrayal of both for commercial gain, were beginning to be rehabilitated, endowed with respect, and invoked as paragons of luxury and beauty.⁵⁸ These women had achieved prominence through the use of many assets, including beauty. However, youth, if defined in terms of age, was not one of them.⁵⁹ The democratization of beauty, of which the Muse formed a part, brought youth and beauty within reach of older women, but at the same time it relegated their beauty to the status of a simulacrum, constructed in comparative relation to that of youth. Advice manuals of 1892 had argued that, "age alone does not destroy beauty," but by the eve of World War I, beauty "experts" were more inclined to claim that at age forty a woman might, at best, have "the face of a twenty-year-old."⁶⁰ The Muse was, like the "women who counted," an unstable but alluring presence at the heart of modern spectacle. By introducing this younger paragon of femininity, republicans helped to shift contemporary norms of beauty down the age spectrum, pushing out of reach of adult women the very weapon Durand argued should be used to advance feminists' claims to political power.

While the Muse bore the stamp of male fantasy, she was a complex invention and, ultimately, her performance was about more than submissiveness and domes-

⁵⁶ In the same vein, Durand had famously made claims for the debt owed by French feminism to her blonde hair. For more on Durand and the feminist celebration of beauty, see Roberts, *Disruptive Acts*, 44–70. For a discussion of feminists' invocation of democratic notions of beauty in the context of the United States, see Lois Banner, *American Beauty*, 206–08. According to Banner, in the United States ethical definitions of beauty remained more important to feminists who perceived the dangers that claims for democratic access to physical beauty held for their cause.

⁵⁷ The "disruptive" tendencies of the most high profile female theater star, Sarah Bernhardt, are discussed in Roberts, *Disruptive Acts*, 15, 55, 165–78.

⁵⁸ With the erosion of the highly eroticized image of the actress and the "chastening of the stage," according to Lenard Berlanstein, "theatregoing became an increasingly feminised cultural event." Berlanstein, *Daughters of Eve: A Cultural History of French Theater Women from the Old Regime to the Fin-de-Siècle* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 161–67.

⁵⁹ In 1900, Marguerite Durand was thirty-six years old, Sarah Bernhardt was fifty-six, and Julia Bartet (star of the Comédie-Française) was forty-six, Jeanne Granier (actress and opera singer) was forty-eight, Jane Hading (actress) was forty-one. Berlanstein, *Daughters of Eve*, 8, 166, 197.

⁶⁰ Mathilde Pokitonoff, *La Beauté par l'hygiène: Son développement et sa conservation* (Paris, 1892), 1; Fémina Bibliothèque, *Pour être belle*, (Paris, 1913) 32; Ernest Monin, *Pour le beau sexe: Causeries d'un vieux spécialiste* (Paris, 1914), 300. In her revisionist history of Victorian fashion styles, Valerie Steele has argued that older women were able to exploit erotic dress forms, emphasizing bodily concealment and the undergarment, to preserve their sexual allure. However, by the turn of the twentieth century, changes in dress style served to introduce more distinctive forms of appearance for young women, reflecting in fashion the developing acknowledgement of this group's age-specific allure. Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era through the Jazz Age* (New York, 1985), 221–34.

ticity. As women began to exploit the recognition of motherhood as a public duty to assert their right to act as public individuals, the dominant coding of the public individual as male was being eroded.⁶¹ As we have seen, this gave rise to tensions that helped to dissuade organizers from inviting individual adult women to perform in public ritual. Although they sanctioned the production of a spectacle of adolescent femininity, this too was shot through with subversive elements. During her performance, the Muse occupied space traditionally coded masculine. In the penetration by the marginal Muse of the male-coded public spaces of town hall and prefecture, it is possible to see inverted the picaresque tour of the middle-class male journalist to the faubourg. Marina Warner reminds us that “otherness is a source of potential and power; but it cannot occupy the centre,” yet here (albeit temporarily) the Muse did exactly that.⁶² The androgenous qualities of the Muse were often commented on. Newspaper correspondents made much of the slimness, the *unwomanliness*, of the Muse, and Charpentier himself alluded to a hermaphroditic potential latent within the Muse in references to her as a kind of “priest man god.”⁶³ The Muse possessed the power to emasculate through her movement in “male” space and her androgynous appearance, though age and fantasy were critical for the admission of such transgressions. As Muses, inspiring, otherworldly creatures, often dressed for the performance in long classical robes, these young women appeared as wanderers between worlds, placed above and beyond everyday struggles. (See Figure 1.) Where previously the ability to situate “the feminine” beyond history had encouraged its use in imagery as a focus for the love of the nation, in troubled times, this image was now, through dress, more explicitly decoupled from the present and fused with youthful femininity. The “empowered” female body was allowed to move into male space only as a festive deity, and only because it was an adolescent body and thus assumed to be fragile, frail, and unthreatening—except to itself. In this way, an acceptable vision of the unwomanly woman was constructed and disseminated in public, where it offered a limited and controlled enactment of transgressive, public femininity.

THE CLAIMS MADE BY ORGANIZERS TO BE elevating “the people” through displays of moral and eternal beauty were made in a context where concerns over the capacity for commerce to corrupt republican virtue were elevated. It seems rather surprising,

⁶¹ Women were consigned in this Enlightenment paradigm to the status of subordinates or adjuncts. Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), 3–4, 9–10, 18–19, 44–47.

⁶² This argument runs counter to that of Silke Wenk, who states that “the public visibility of women . . . occurs outside of the space where politics is negotiated.” Wenk, “Gendered Representations of the Nation’s Past and Future,” 65. Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*, 293. According to George Mosse, “when woman left the place assigned to her in the division between the sexes, she became an outsider as well and presented one of the most serious and difficult challenges to modern masculinity.” Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 102.

⁶³ “Préface pour programme,” Fonds Charpentier 423, BHVP, cited in Huebner, “Between Anarchism and the Box Office,” 152. Charles Chincholle, for example, described how these girls were “elegantly slim.” “L’Election d’une muse,” *Le Figaro*, July 11, 1898, 1. In her underdeveloped state, the Muse was notably androgenous. In the medical discourse of this period, the adolescent was often referred to using the neuter pronoun, it. On the androgenous woman, see Mauge, *L’identité masculine en crise*, 106–13.



FIGURE 1: The Muse as otherworldly wanderer, Virginie Grousseau, 1902. Reproduced with kind permission of the Archives Municipals de Saint-Etienne.

then, that municipal councils sanctioned, and even encouraged, the commercial exploitation of the Muse phenomenon. Purveyors of luxury goods rushed to dress the Muse or to add their wares to the list of presents to be given to victorious candidates, associating their products with the transient beauty of these young women. Newspapers extended to urban dwellers opportunities to purchase and possess the image of the Muse. (See Figures 2 and 3.) In Lille, one publication offered a "superb portrait of the Lille Muse [on] de luxe paper . . . at a price of 10 centimes" to each reader.⁶⁴ Councilors discussed the event in terms of its capacity to boost local business. The youthful female body was produced for public consumption as a commercial spectacle in a highly visual process linking central and local government to the marketplace via the media and new technologies such as photography. Beauty was returned to "the people" as a commodity.

The encouragement of this outcome should be considered in light of the contemporary critique of commercial culture and its influence on constructions of womanhood. By the late nineteenth century, new urban practices and spaces of bourgeois consumption had emerged in Europe and North America, affording female city dwellers opportunities of greater public mobility through the assumption of the identity of consumer. Access to luxury burgeoned in an era ushering in new forms of mass consumption. In France, conservative commentators inveighed against what they identified as an aesthetically defective commercial culture linked to a cultural crisis, the social and political dimensions of which threatened to undermine the French nation. These critics decried the augmented presence (and visibility) of women in commercial space. Such spaces, in their view, drew women away from the domestic realm, corroded the maternal instinct and substituted it with the hysterical desire to consume. At a time of demographic weakness such distractions were potentially cataclysmic. Through her avid consumption of "tasteless" mass-produced department store goods, the bourgeois woman, in the view of critics, epitomized the myopia, philistinism, and arrivisme of a republic that could not be trusted to uphold the reputation of French aesthetic excellence.⁶⁵

The commercialization of the *couronnement de la muse* provided a useful weapon in the republican rearguard action against this elitist critique. The Muse may have elevated the workers, but as a phenomenon bridging culture and commerce she also emerged as an icon of taste epitomizing the potential aesthetic maturity of the bourgeoisie. Defenders of the republic were keen to "transform and aestheticize the middle class relation to worldly goods by educating the taste of the

⁶⁴ "La Muse Lilloise," *Lille Artiste*, June 1, 1898, 3. In Cambrai, for example, the Muse and her ladies-in-waiting received garments from the high-quality fashion houses of the city. "Journée du 15—le couronnement de la muse," *L'Indépendant*, August 17, 1911. Prizes offered in Lille included such items as a "silk robe from Galeries Lilloises, two superb illustrated books by Librairies Allandier, a basket of ribbon by Modes Parisiennes, a purse by Phénix" and so on. "La Fête de la muse—A Lille," *Le Réveil du Nord*, May 31, 1898, 2.

⁶⁵ This thesis is put forward convincingly in Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001). On the rise of the department store and the dangers that lay therein, see also Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869–1920* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); Elaine S. Abelson, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (New York, 1989). The notion of luxury was complicated in this period as the number of consumers increased. These developments raised questions of established bourgeois modes of consumption and prompted experiments with new ways of consuming. Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds*, 109–10.

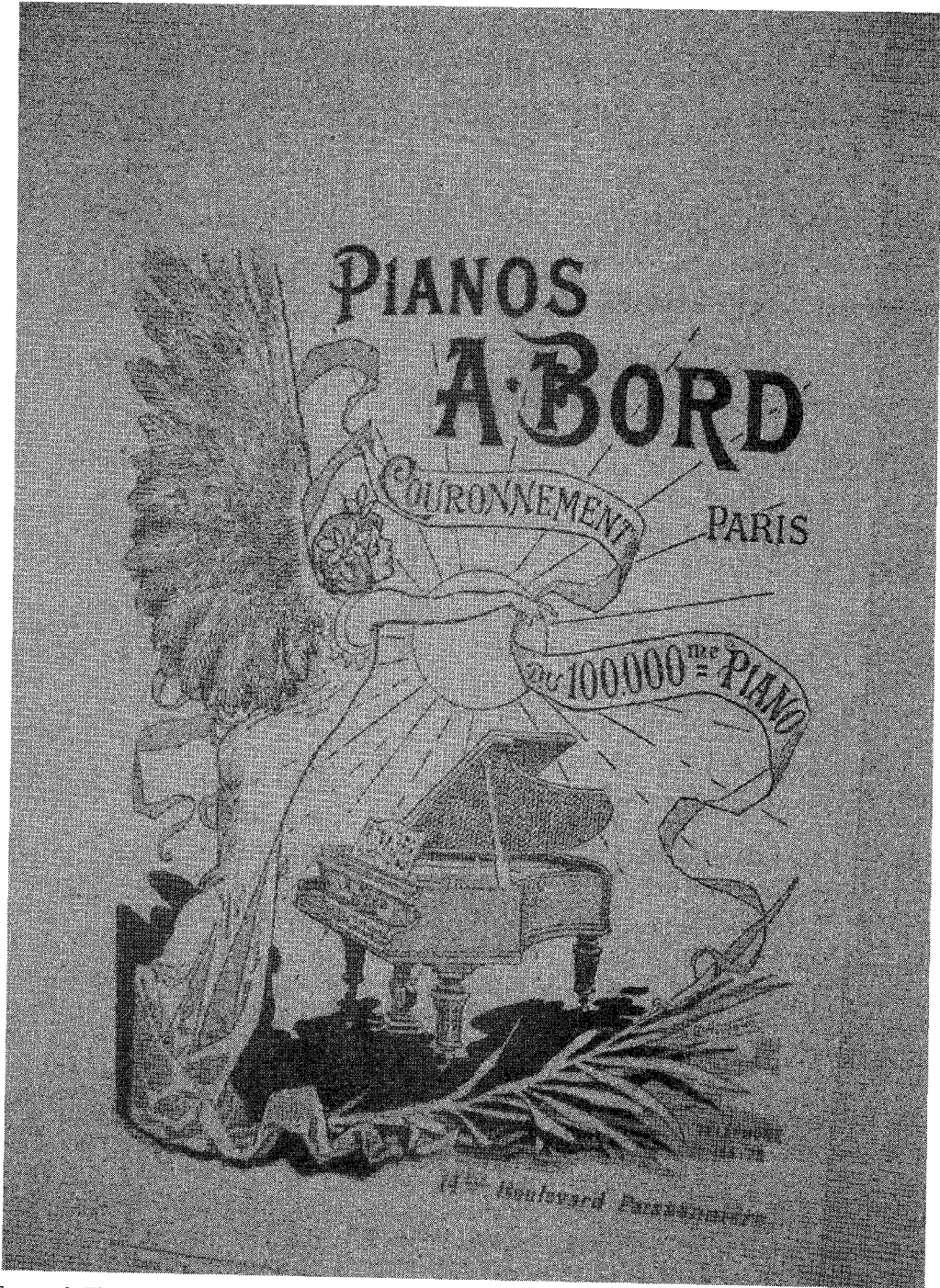


FIGURE 2: The Muse as marketing tool, "crowning" Bord's 10,000th piano. Reproduced with kind permission of the Archives Municipals de Saint-Etienne.



FIGURE 3: Consuming the image of the Muse, Ernestine Curot, 1898. Reproduced with kind permission of the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris.

bourgeois consumer.”⁶⁶ Age was once again important in allowing the Muse to fulfill this role. The adolescent, posited as residing naturally in a state of leisure, made an apposite glyph for consumerism while her youthful “savage” purity provided a counterpoint to the supposed vanity and materialism of the bourgeois woman.⁶⁷ Untainted by consumerism, the Muse was portrayed as deriving her status from labor rather than material wealth. Photographic portraits of these girls often depicted them at work in the domestic context. (See Figure 4.)

Other photographs, however, showed the Muse as an incarnation of that supposed oxymoron, bourgeois taste, complete with the chic outfit and accessories of a modern bourgeois girl. (See Figure 5.) In this guise, the working-class girl represented the salvation of established bourgeois modes of consumption and a defender of the materialist woman. The latter was identified by some republicans as a potentially potent ally against the spiritual woman. The lesson to be drawn from

⁶⁶ Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market*, 85.

⁶⁷ One might wonder why children, a group defined similarly, were not chosen as the focus of this spectacle. In considering this, it should be noted that though advances had been made in realizing the bourgeois view of childhood as dependent, these had been won through the highly contentious education reforms of the 1880s, which had alarmed Catholics (who fought against the loss of prestige and influence these changes entailed) and workers (many of whom contested the idea of a non-working childhood). As a critical site on which the battle for the future of the nation was fought, childhood therefore made a less suitable focus at this time for a festival of national unity. Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian Britain: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1941* (Stanford, Calif., 1990), 243.



FIGURE 4: The Muse as domestic worker, Virginie Grousson, 1902. Reproduced with kind permission of the Archives Municipals de Saint-Etienne.

this spectacle was clear. While beauty was “eternal,” taste could be acquired—by the girl-Muse, by the republic, itself an adolescent capable of further maturation, and by the bourgeois consuming this imagery. This was, in the end, a ritual of reversal. While the girl worker was elevated to a position of lay nobility, the bourgeois consumer was transformed from acquisitive materialist to aesthete. By sponsoring this transmogrification, the republic reasserted its claims to political authority through the display of aesthetic sensibility. Style magazines and the press of Paris and the provinces scrambled to establish themselves and, by association, their reader-consumers as connoisseurs of the *couronnement*. By doing so, they anointed themselves arbiters of taste. Thus it can be seen that the civilizing influence of taste operated not only through rituals of the marketplace, as Lisa Tiersten has suggested, but also through the marketing of ritual.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market*, 3. In this way, it can be seen that although, as Elinor Accampo

Young women appear to have been captivated by the idea of participating in this event. Although the eventual winner was admitted into the heart of republican ritual dressed as a bourgeois male fantasy, and although the selection process to be negotiated was tiring, traumatic, and often humiliating, large numbers of young women contested the right to become the Muse. In Paris, several hundred girls applied to become candidates in 1898. A year later, the public election of the Muse in Bordeaux was said to have “excited the interest of all the young girl workers in the main ateliers,” with contestants, “enrolling in great numbers.”⁶⁹ In 1900, 1,500 young hopefuls crammed into Saint-Etienne’s Prado Hall for the election. As young women elected their own representatives, in a broad sense, the assumption of this role as a political icon made real women participants in the political process of representing the republic.⁷⁰

For those young women involved, there was a price to be paid. Elections were so fiercely contested that they regularly descended into scenes of tumult. One round of voting in 1898, for example, “produced a wave of protest . . . such that it was in the midst of a veritable charivari that they proceeded to the second” and, as cries of “down with number sixty-nine!” resounded from one side, chants of “down with the rue de la Paix!” and “your firm paid for your dress!” echoed from the other.⁷¹ The actual performance was no less stressful. According to one Muse, when the procession “left rue St. Sébastien my heart was thumping; if I had had the wooden step to get down from my throne I would have run for it.”⁷² Organizers sought a performer tough enough to handle the intense demands of the event. As one commentator insisted, “she must not be timid because it would be ridiculous to see her cry when the Mayor presented her to the city.”⁷³ If the ideal Muse was expected to be demure, simple, and happy to relinquish her crown, the success of those who won the right to wear it owed much to tenacity, fortitude, and guile.

Why did these young women compete? Material gain certainly may have motivated some. In certain cities, prizes took the form of savings accounts (worth

has suggested, the state “used middle-class women to moralize working women in the public sphere,” it also utilized working-class women to moralize women across the class divide. Accampo, “Gender, Social Policy and the Formation of the Third Republic,” in Accampo, Fuchs, and Stewart, *Gender and the Politics of Social Reform*, 21.

⁶⁹ “Mazas ou Charenton—élection de la muse de Paris,” *L’Intransigeant*, July 12, 1898; “La Muse du peuple,” *La France*, July 18, 1899, 3.

⁷⁰ Denied the right to elect men (or women) to govern them, young women were afforded the right, through the simulacrum of suffrage that formed part of the event, to elect aesthetic representatives. The event was interpreted in several daily newspapers as a “feminist ceremony” and a means through which “feminism has taken a great step forward.” “Causerie,” *Petite Gironde* n.d., Fonds Charpentier 361, BHVP; “L’Election du Mans,” *Journal du Mans*, July 15, 1899, Fonds Charpentier 361, BHVP.

⁷¹ “Pour la jeunesse,” *Le Figaro*, July 9, 1898, 1. The reference to the premodern, carnivalesque charivari is notable. Electors were encouraged to select a candidate who was hardworking, humble and dedicated to her family. Ideally, the Muse would project these values in spite of material impoverishment. In the selection process, young candidates skillfully manipulated this gendered discourse of honorable impoverishment and female sacrifice to portray themselves as deserving daughter-martyrs and to attack other candidates as less than deserving. “La Muse de Paris,” *La Fronde*, July 11, 1898, 1. Charpentier later recalled seemingly interminable rounds of voting in 1897, as the girls, all candidate-voters, repeatedly cast their ballots for themselves. “Le Couronnement de la Muse,” Fonds Charpentier 430, BHVP; “M. Gustave Charpentier qui dirigea jusqu’à ce jour plus de cent couronnements de ‘sa’ muse évoque pour nous des souvenirs,” *Excelsior*, July 2, 1933.

⁷² “Les Fêtes Desrousseaux,” *Le Progrès du Nord*, June 10, 1898, Fonds Charpentier 360, BHVP.

⁷³ Newspaper Extract, *Le Stéphanois*, 1900, 7C17, AMSE.



FIGURE 5: The Muse as an icon of consumer taste. Reproduced with kind permission of the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris.

400 francs for the winner in Saint-Etienne, in 1902). Given that a young woman dressmaker in France earned between 1.50 and 3 francs per day, one local newspaper considered it obvious that, “the happiness of the Muse and her maids of honor owes much to the thought of the superb prizes that will be offered to them.”⁷⁴ However, the pursuit of financial incentives was far from being the participants’ only motive, as suggested by the growing number of candidates rejected on the grounds that their parents were too wealthy. The role of Muse was also attractive as it represented the kind of aspirational space into which larger numbers of young women were already moving. The Muse identity resonated with young women’s own concurrent experience of repositioning vis-à-vis the commercial sector, derived from changes in work practice and new educational and employment opportunities. Even city girls with little disposable income were becoming more frequent and more sophisticated consumers of spectacle, surrounded as they were by the department store, the theater, the press, the advertising hoarding, the exhibition, and the cinema.⁷⁵ The figure of the Muse legitimated, facilitated, and represented the accession of younger women from even the poorest backgrounds to practices of mass consumption. Although very few actually succeeded, the competition to be Muse placed victory within tantalizing reach of large numbers of young women.

This perception owed much to the contemporary “democratization” of beauty. Although the classicizing garb worn by the Muse was intended to elevate her beyond fashion into the domain of the “eternal,” this political staging of adolescent working-class femininity was quickly infused with commercial significance. The industries of fashion and beauty and sections of the print media forged closer links through and beyond the crowning ceremony, rendering standards of physical beauty more visible and accessible. The burgeoning beauty advice literature of the period—like the event—linked achievement to a willingness to subject one’s body to disciplines of beautification. As the art of applying cosmetics was extended from the theatrical realm to the everyday lives of “ordinary” girls, “scientific beauty institutes” were being established in Paris. The substitution of photographs for lithographs was enabling newspapers and magazines to mass-produce representations of beauty at a level of unprecedented detail. The expansion of the ready-made garment trade and the fashion industry was bringing smart styles within reach of girl workers. The possibility that beauty might be democratized was, thus, extended even as advertisers promised the elevation of the individual above the mass through

⁷⁴ “Les Fêtes de la Muse,” *Loire Républicaine*, July 10, 1902, 3, ADL. Notably, a high proportion of those who enrolled as candidates in the competition to become the Muse were factory workers. “Mazas ou Charenton—élection de la muse de Paris,” *L’Intransigeant*, July 12, 1898, 1; Saint-Etienne Police Reports, Fête de la Muse du Peuple, 1900–1906, 1115, ASME.

⁷⁵ On the rise of mass culture, see Patrick Brantlinger, “Mass Media and Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Europe,” in Teich and Porter, *Fin de Siècle and Its Legacy*, 98–114; Vanessa Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998). On advertising and its links with artistic and commercial culture, see Marjorie A. Beale, *The Modernist Enterprise: French Elites and the Threat of Modernity, 1900–1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1999), 11–47. Studying the United States, Susan Glenn has drawn attention to the process through which theater, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, provided a space in which women could investigate possibilities for self-promotion and self-realization. Glenn, *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

the very same means. The *couronnement* formed part of a more broadly developing consciousness that the body, its performance, and appearance, might be shaped for success in modern urban society.⁷⁶

The *fête de la Muse* offered young females a catalyst for the real life achievement of the empowerment implicit in the promise of fin-de-siècle spectacle and consumption. Victory translated into the (temporary) embarkation upon an odyssey of social elevation, a chance to sample the exotic pleasures of power—drinking champagne in refined company, occupying civic space, traveling, wearing fine fabrics, and experimenting with bourgeois consumer practices. Although they were supposed to relinquish their crown and status after only a day, some Muses used the experience as a springboard for social, financial, and professional success. The mother of one Muse claimed the event generated “superb opportunities” for her daughter, while another Muse, Berthe Dassonville, was offered 10,000 francs by a brewer for the right to use her image.⁷⁷ Ernestine Curot, Muse of Paris at age seventeen, described how, “for a year the title, Muse, gave me the greatest pleasures . . . I was everywhere, I oversaw [ceremonies], I smiled, I traveled.”⁷⁸ Curot claimed to have received up to sixty-five marriage proposals per day following her performance. Among her suitors:

The most persistent was the Italian prince, Vilaris . . . Mother hastily delivered me to his luxurious residence. He was thirty-eight years old, but he scared me with his long dark beard. After dining, he showed us his bedroom, his bed, a four-poster bed, surrounded by a collection of revolvers. Mother seemed decided, but in front of all this, taken by panic, I ran off.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ From the 1880s in France, as elsewhere, a new kind of advice literature emerged to counsel women on the economic and social management of beauty. It was believed to be especially important for young women to adopt the beauty practices espoused by experts because, as possessors of the intrinsic beauty of young womanhood, they supposedly had a greater chance of prolonging this beauty through body discipline. See, for example, Paul Marrin, *La beauté chez l'homme et la femme: Les Moyens de l'acquérir et de l'augmenter*, 15th edn. (Paris, 1891); Dr. Luiggi, *La Beautyculture* (Paris, 1893), 3–5; Y. H. Khamed, *Vénus biblion arcanes physiologiques. La Beauté conservée et restituée par la science* (Paris, 1899), ii–iv; O. De Jalin, *Les Secrets de la beauté* (Paris, 1904); Comtesse de Tramar, *Que veut la femme? Être jolie, être aimée, et dominer* (Paris, 1911), 5–10, 18, 23–24; Fémina Bibliothèque, *Pour être belle*; Monin, *Pour le beau sexe*. These practices and the literature that supported them were legitimated through their endorsement by the stars of page, stage, and screen. For more on the extension of fashionable clothing to the girl worker in this period, see Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 77–78, 157. Consciousness of the need for body maintenance was also being raised in other areas at this time and spaces for the cultivation of the body were opened up in the form of hygienic sports clubs. See for example, Alaimo, “Shaping Adolescence,” 426; Thiercé, *Histoire de l'adolescence* 176; Mary Lynn Stewart, *For Health and Beauty: Physical Culture for Frenchwomen, 1880s-1930s* (Baltimore, Md., 2001), 13; Jacques Thibault, “Les Origines du sport féminin,” in *Les Athlètes de la république: Gymnastique, sport et idéologie républicaine*, Pierre Arnaud, ed. (Toulouse, 1987), 336. Michael Hau's work on the “life reform” movement in Germany and Michael Anton Budd's work on bodybuilding in Britain illustrate similar moves toward “body culture” elsewhere in Europe. Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*; Michael Anton Budd, *The Sculpture Machine: Physical Culture and Body Politics in the Age of Empire* (Basingstoke, 1997).

⁷⁷ One young woman was also offered 300 francs per month by the Gaité-Rochecrouart and Divan Japonais simply to make a brief appearance on stage. “Les Muses de départements,” *Les Débats*, July 17, 1921, Fonds Charpentier 361, BHVP; “Représentations populaire du couronnement de la muse,” *Le Progrès du Nord*, June 13, 1898, Fonds Charpentier 361, BHVP.

⁷⁸ “La Doyenne des reines de beauté” BHVP. The Lilloise Muse of 1898 received two return tickets to Paris courtesy of the Compagnie du Chemin de Fer du Nord. “La Fête de la muse—A Lille,” *Le Réveil du Nord*, May 31, 1898, 2.

⁷⁹ “La Doyenne des reines de beauté,” BHVP. Other Muses used the publicity they received to

Victory offered the chance to become the focus of attention, to win the envy and respect of neighbors, peers, and other *ordinary* citizens, and although this national spectacle was very much the product of male desire, young women were eminently capable of inscribing their own aspirations upon it and of exploiting it as a site for the construction of their *individual* desires.

Still, in many cases, parental influence remained a substantial obstacle to the realization of more ambitious dreams of social mobility. Dassonville recalled how her “mother did not wish to hear the word [Muse],” and insisted after the event “that I was once more plain and simple Berthe Dassonville,” a fact underlined by her return to work as a laundry woman.⁸⁰ Forty years later, in a letter to Charpentier, Dassonville’s niece confirmed that after the performance, her aunt had “simply gone back to her life caring for her mother,” adding, “the one adventure of her whole life was this festival, which she told me about so often.”⁸¹ Even in such cases, young women whose lives and working experiences were characterized by poor pay, dangerous conditions, and constant drudgery could, it seems, derive hope, self-respect, and a kind of power from this event and from the practices of beauty implicit within it.

The experience of being the Muse could change lives, but the ability to develop new subjectivities and to tap new sources of self-knowledge was extended to only a tiny number, briefly, and at a price. For every Muse there were thousands of disappointed candidates forced to reflect on the inadequacies that had ruined their chances of success. The particularities of bodily appearance requisite for victory were brought into sharper focus through competition. Fears that physical inadequacy might precipitate failure were evident in the behavior of candidates who, “awaiting the vote . . . checked each other over, compared each other . . . with the competition and asked each other with a certain anxiety . . . what were their chances?”⁸² The event accentuated and engendered anxiety about appearance. The contest also had the potential to break down networks of female social solidarity in the neighborhood and workplace. In an article in *La Fronde*, Marie-Louise Néron described girls, “hiding their disappointment with laughter which sounds false” and “throwing long, envious stares” toward those who had won.⁸³ Winners, borne to success on the double exclusion of being young and female, often bore the brunt of resentment aroused in those forced to live a triple exclusion of being young, female, and not quite beautiful enough. Asked of her experience as Muse, one young woman replied, “If you only knew how they made me suffer . . . the insults, the scandalmongering.”⁸⁴ While organizers sought to harness the potential of youthful femininity to engender a sense of social unity, the competition to become Muse in fact undercut worker solidarity and introduced a new source of divisive desperation

launch successful careers in show business. One became a singer, for example, and another, Geneviève Felix (elected Muse of Montmartre), a little later, became a silent movie actress. “Les Muses de départements,” BHVP.

⁸⁰ “Les Fêtes Desrousseaux,” *Le Progrès du Nord*, June 10, 1898, Fonds Charpentier 361, BHVP.

⁸¹ Letter, Hélène Raumes to Gustave Charpentier, May 30, 1948, Fonds Charpentier 432, BHVP.

⁸² “Mazas ou Charenton—élection de la muse de Paris,” *L’Intransigeant*, July 12, 1898.

⁸³ “La Muse de Paris,” *La Fronde*, July 11, 1898, 1.

⁸⁴ “Les Fêtes Desrousseaux,” BHVP.

in working-class neighborhoods. To an extent, also worked to impoverish the ambitions of girl workers in urban neighborhoods by encouraging them to perceive "success" as being sought properly in the realm of artifice and physical appearance.

Given the popularity of the Muse, the questions remain as to why the event never became the focus of a new national day as some had hoped, and why it had already begun to fade from its earlier prominence by 1914. In fact, public performances of the *couronnement* continued into the mid-twentieth century and by the time Charpentier died in 1956, an estimated one thousand crownings had taken place in French cities.⁸⁵ Into the 1930s, some commentators continued to lament the failure of the Festival of the People's Muse to become a separate national holiday. However, by this time the *couronnement* had become, in effect, a sideshow and a small-town event. The decline of the Muse owed something to the loss of political impetus by progressive moderate and leftist councilors who had bankrolled the performance and declining confidence in the project of elevating the masses through art. A tense international context also helped to tip the balance in republican festivals back toward reassuring displays of herculean masculinity. Perhaps the most important influence behind the demise of the Muse, however, was the "mainstreaming" of French feminism. In the late 1890s, while the true nature and extent of the feminist threat remained unclear, the Muse phenomenon had emerged and flourished. By 1914, however, it was apparent that French feminism was not likely to reach the "extremes" of militancy demonstrated by its northern European and North American variants, nor the kind of mass influence achieved in Germany, for example. As the French feminist movement's emphasis on difference rather than equality became more apparent and the campaign for woman suffrage became "almost fashionable," the political relevance of the crowning ceremony also diminished.⁸⁶

FORMED AT THE CONFLUENCE OF DESIRES to regenerate the nation and to confront challenges to the gender order upon which the modern idea of the nation was based, the "people's Muse" drew acclaim from diverse audiences at the turn of the twentieth century. At a time when "mass evasion of the ideal of domestic virtue was an open secret," and politicians worked to extend the partnership between women and the French state, the Muse emerged as a male-generated vision of femininity capable of countering disruptive performances of womanhood, salvaging traditions of domestic femininity, and averting "national emasculation."⁸⁷ This rearguard action was mounted in the realm of spectacle—the realm from which "disruptive"

⁸⁵ Segalen and Chamarat, "La Rosière et la 'Miss,'" 49; "Gustave Charpentier, gloire nationale," *La France du Sud-Ouest*, July 3, 1930 Fonds Charpentier 318, BHVP; "Le Couronnement de la Muse," Fonds Charpentier 442, BHVP. The last performance of the crowning ceremony to which reference is made in the Fonds Charpentier was held in Liévin on June 23, 1963.

⁸⁶ On the "moderate" and "consensual" turn of the French suffrage movement (centering around the Union française pour le suffrage des femmes) see Hause, *Women's Suffrage and Social Politics*, 132–45; McMillan, *France and Women*, 215. The decline of the *couronnement* from its prewar heights coincided with what has been seen as the rolling back of French feminism during and after World War I. Perrot, "The New Eve and the Old Adam," 59–60.

⁸⁷ Berlanstein, *Daughters of Eve*, 161.

performances of empowered femininity had often emerged. In a context where women's explorations of new ways of being women raised possibilities of a multivalent femininity, the Muse fused this diversity in full view of mass audiences into a single docile body, sealing fissures opened by disjunctive behaviors, and homogenizing the views of "acceptable woman." The Muses of classical times were supposedly born of a liason between Zeus and Mnemosyne, the goddess of Memory. In certain respects, the modern French Muses represented the desires of bourgeois men to monumentalize norms of femininity and to anchor tradition in the national memory, at a time when these norms and traditions were being challenged. As women attacked values represented as universally binding, an elite struggling to restore social harmony, to absorb women's claims for social rights, and to counter depopulation anointed *young* women as its ritual representatives.

The iconic power of young womanhood or female adolescence rested upon the social, economic, and political marginality of those to whom these categories referred. While representing the national community, the Muse also emerged as an emblem against which the masculine was defined. The ideal Muse was chosen for her capacity to exude an attractive sexual vulnerability, reassuring the core anxieties of men. The youth, beauty, and traditionalism of this vision of femininity thus constituted a rare basis for agreement across sectarian and ideological lines. While this vision of unity incorporated references to sources of social divisiveness—the androgenous, individual, public woman—it also helped to mediate between the contradictions inherent in the invitation of women to take up more prominent public roles. The Muse was a highly unstable presence at the heart of modern ritual, a product of fin-de-siècle tensions that saw femininity idolized and loathed simultaneously. In this ambiguous figure, qualities of physical fragility and fortitude were combined. Through the accordance of greater visibility to women and their admission to new spaces and subjectivities, republicans sanctioned a partial revision of norms of domestic femininity with a view to countering degeneration. Thus efforts to prevent depopulation in fin-de-siècle France went beyond attacks on "deviant" women, the extension of welfare legislation, and the opening of professional opportunities to women. They extended also to the state-sponsored creation of alluring visions of femininity produced for consumption by both women and men.

Although performing the nation did not endow these young women with access to full citizenship, through the creation of the Muse the French political elite, unwittingly, opened up routes to new female subjectivities. This may have amounted to a new feminine civic symbolism, but it allowed young women to succeed where women had failed, by appropriating an embodied public presence at the center of civic spectacle. A group marginalized on account of their sex, class, and age found social importance reflected in their own juniority, which in turn emerged as a potential basis on which to mount a challenge to the exclusions imposed upon them. This cultural product was unmistakably a male invention, but the young women thrust into the long defunct duty of embodying the republic, as an incarnation of inclusivist nationalism, performed more than just the duty of inhabiting exemplary bodies in a conservative bourgeois spectacle. Through their

genuine presence in culture, politics, and commerce these girls contributed to the blurring of public and private that accompanied the rise of the socially interventionist state.⁸⁸

This article has sought to explain how, as the demographic boom of the nineteenth century tailed off and Europeans struggled with the consequences of what they perceived as decadence, degeneration, and over-civilization, age became a more important component in the representation of the modern nation. As the case of the Muse shows, elites were highly sensitized to the importance of age and gender as fields through which their claims to power in the modern nation-state might be legitimated and challenges to the social order might be resolved. The figure of the Muse saw the French nation classed, raced, and gendered —ambiguously in each case. It was also, however, “aged,” through association with the inherently ambiguous category of adolescence. Age was used to fragment the feminist challenge to tradition and male authority, and to dampen mass male resistance to the burgeoning alliance between women and the republican state. While historians have challenged gender and race blindness in studies of the modern nation, they have tended to reproduce a certain blindness to the significance of age in power relations. As this article has suggested, through the adoption of a methodology foregrounding age as a social variable it is possible to cast new light upon historical change and to reconsider the enduring assumptions (many generated during this period) through which the highly politicized nature of pre-adulthood was, and still is, concealed.

The crowning provided a focus for a debate about bodily aesthetics in the French context that was conducted more broadly in Europe and North America during this period. In the specific context of France, sensitivity to the transgression of established norms imperiling the nation was sufficient to produce the demonstration (and elision) of age, beauty, and health as a focus of mass spectacle. Although it slipped from political ritual, however, this vision of youthful femininity did not disappear. Instead, in France and elsewhere it acquired still greater cultural relevance into the interwar years as a new paradigm of health and beauty to which all women were expected to conform.⁸⁹ Young female bodies were invested with new significance in the commercial and political realm in an era marked by more intensive state-led drives to promote bodily health and “racial hygiene.” The integration of the youthful female body into spectacle in fin-de-siècle France, can thus be seen to have prefigured the emphasis laid on this aesthetic by fascist regimes during the interwar period and the wartime mobilization of the “eternal feminine” by the Vichy state.⁹⁰ From the figure of the Muse, positioned somewhere between the barricades, the boutique, and the boudoir, emerged the fault lines of prominent twentieth-century themes—the iconic power of the young female body, its exploi-

⁸⁸ Accampo, “Gender, Social Policy and the Formation of the Third Republic,” 10, 21–22.

⁸⁹ The pushing of beauty norms down the age spectrum was a phenomenon witnessed in European and North American society beginning in the late nineteenth century and developing to new levels of prevalence after World War I. The figure of the modern, young beauty reemerged with striking monotony in such forms as the “postcard girl,” the “flapper,” the “Gibson girl,” “Miss World,” and many others. Richards, *Commodity Culture of Victorian Britain*, 240–44.

⁹⁰ Francine Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political Sociology of Gender* Kathleen A. Johnson, trans. (Durham, N.C., 2001), 313.

tation for political and commercial ends, and the opportunities for individual empowerment that lay therein.

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Sacred Sound and Sacred Substance: Church Bells and the Auditory Culture of Russian Villages during the Bolshevik *Velikii Perelom*

RICHARD L. HERNANDEZ

Blow the trumpet in Zion, declare a holy fast, call a sacred assembly. Gather the people, consecrate the assembly . . . Let them say, "Spare your people, O LORD. Do not make your inheritance an object of scorn, a byword among the nations. Why should they say among the peoples, 'Where is their God?'"

Joel 2:15–17¹

In iron there is a summons
Ringing and dreadful,
Cast-iron movement of the masses;
To the accompaniment of metallic peals
It seethed, rose up in rebellion,
And began to sparkle in a maelstrom of eyes.

Mikhail Gerasimov, "Canticle of Iron," 1917²

A SMALL GROUP OF Bolshevik activists from the Bol'she-Polianskii district (*raion*) Communist Party Committee arrived in the village of Novoe Pokrovskoe in the Russian Central Black Earth Region on January 17, 1930.³ They had come for the church bells. Someone from among the village faithful spotted their approach and

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¹ All biblical quotations are taken from *The Holy Bible, New International Version* (Colorado Springs, 1984).

² "V zheleze est' zovy / Zveniashe-grozovy, / Dvizhen'e chugunnoe mass; / Pod zvony metalla / Vzburilo, vosstalo, / Zaiskrilos' v omutakh glaz." From Mikhail Gerasimov, "Pesn' o zheleze" in *Proletarskie poety pervykh let sovetskoi epokhi*, Z. S. Papernyi, ed. (Leningrad, 1959), 188. I thank Terence Emmons and Richard Schupbach for help in translating this poem. All translations in this essay are my own except where noted otherwise.

³ The Central Black Earth Region—arguably the Soviet Union's most important agricultural center outside of Ukraine—was a relatively large administrative territory created in 1928 out of the

managed to climb the bell tower before it was too late. The bells loudly sounded the alarm during the ensuing scuffle between parishioners and activists. More and more villagers rushed to the scene in response to the tocsin, shouting their indignation not only at the plan to remove the bells, but also at the recently imposed collective farm (*kolkhoz*). Once the crowd reached menacing proportions and threatened the activists with physical, even mortal, harm, they wisely fled. Having won the battle, villagers then organized themselves to guard the church should the defeated activists return for another attempt at the bells. Indeed, a second attempt was made only a few days later, except this time officials from higher up the Bolshevik hierarchy arrived, hoping that a more authoritative delegation would force the village's acquiescence. Nevertheless, this delegation faced yet another angry crowd, hastily assembled at the sound of the tocsin. The crowd's list of complaints against Bolshevik policies now expanded beyond the bells' confiscation and the establishment of the collective farm to include the excessive "insurance" payments required by the regime for the church as well as the arrest of the local parish priest.⁴

In many respects, the conflict in Novoe Pokrovskoe mirrors episodes in other locales that experienced cultural upheaval under modernizing regimes. Following the French revolutionary precedent, political conflicts in such places inevitably coalesced around religious beliefs and practices, which were viewed by the modernizers as obstacles to rationality and progress and by believers as a primary means for understanding and responding to the modernizers' assault. In recent years, a rich body of literature has brought the religious aspects of the modernizing project much more into the historical foreground. Thanks to such work, we are able to take the religious commitments of historical actors more seriously in order to show how they were challenged, changed, or reinforced under the pressures of new social realities. In many cases, participants seized on symbols that encapsulated the substance and stakes of the religio-political conflict—crucifixes in Nazi Germany, statues of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the Second Spanish Republic, clerics in revolutionary Mexico, to name just a few. These and other analogues all have their own sets of particularities within the more universal context of militant modernity.⁵

former Voronezh, Tambov, Orel, and Kursk provinces in south-central Russia. Unless indicated otherwise, all places mentioned in this essay are located in the Central Black Earth Region.

⁴ *Tsentral'noye dokumentatsionnoye upravleniye po istorii Voronezhskoi Oblasti* [Center for the Documentation of the Contemporary History of the Voronezh Region] (hereafter TsDNIVO), fond 2, opis' 1, delo 1075, list 1.

⁵ On the religious aspects of the French Revolution, see Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990). I found the following works revealing about religious conflicts under later modernizing regimes. For Germany, see Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria 1933–1945* (Oxford, 1983) and David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany* (Oxford, 1993). For several works on Spain, see Mary Vincent, *Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic: Religion and Politics in Salamanca, 1930–1936* (Oxford, 1996); José M. Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1987); Bruce Lincoln, "Revolutionary Exhumations in Spain, July 1936," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 27, no. 2 (April 1985): 241–60; Frances Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875–1975* (Oxford, 1987); William A. Christian, *Moving Crucifixes in Modern Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); Christian, *Visionaries: The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996); and Julio de la Cueva, "Inventing Catholic Identities in Twentieth-Century Spain: The Virgin Bien-Aparecida, 1904–1910," *Catholic Historical Review* 87, no. 4 (October 2001): 624–42. While literature on religio-political conflict in revolutionary Mexico is plentiful, much of it focuses only on the personalities and military aspects of

Yet, while much light has been shed on so many of these cases, the symbol at the heart of the conflict in Novoe Pokrovskoe remains elusive. Confiscating church bells would seem to be a small, even tangential part of the Bolsheviks' broader ambition to bring the Russian countryside into the new socialist age. While the regime's *Velikii Perelom* or "Great Turn" of 1928–1932 nominally advanced along two economic tracks—rapid urban industrialization and the forced collectivization of agriculture—"building socialism" certainly entailed much more than mere economic change. It necessarily constituted a war of cultures. Indeed, Bolshevik activists self-consciously viewed themselves as the vanguard of a militantly modern New Way of Life (*novyi byt*) at mortal odds with an Old Way of Life (*staryi byt*).⁶ Although some otherwise excellent works have recently and thoughtfully highlighted religion's key role in this war, they focus mostly on the church, the clergy, or the icon as the principal symbols of contention, giving only brief attention to church bells.⁷ However, more than has been assumed, these ancient instruments were important to the history of the *Perelom* as a comprehensive revolution of the senses.

To be sure, much of the explanation for the sparse treatment of bells and their sounds in contexts like the *Perelom* lies in the nature of the subject itself. Unlike other ecclesiastical arts, the auditory culture of the church bell has nearly

the *cristero* rebellion. For works that explore the spiritual and symbolic aspects of modernization in Mexico, see Pamela Voekel, *Alone before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 2002); Alan M. Kirschner, "A Setback to Tomás Canabal's Desire to Eliminate the Church in Mexico," *Journal of Church and State* 13 (1971): 479–92; Ramón D. Chacón, "Salvador Alvarado and the Roman Catholic Church: Church-State Relations in Revolutionary Yucatán, 1914–1918," *Journal of Church and State* 27 (1985): 245–66; Matthew Butler, "Keeping the Faith in Revolutionary Mexico: Clerical and Lay Resistance to Religious Persecution, East Michoacán, 1926–1929," *Americas: A Quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History* 59, no. 1 (July 2002): 9–32; Adrian A. Bantjes, *As If Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution* (Wilmington, Del., 1998); and Bantjes, "Idolatry and Iconoclasm in Revolutionary Mexico: The De-Christianization Campaigns, 1929–1940," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 13, no. 1 (winter 1997): 87–120.

⁶ These phrases became stock expressions in Bolshevik political jargon during this period. See Lynne Viola, *Peasant Rebels under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Peasant Resistance* (New York, 1996), 44 and William Husband, *Godless Communists: Atheism and Society in Soviet Russia, 1917–1932* (DeKalb, Ill., 2000), 69–70.

⁷ Scholars who have addressed religious aspects of the *Velikii Perelom* include Lynne Viola, Gregory Freeze, William Husband, Sheila Fitzpatrick, and Daniel Peris. Glennys Young has written in a similar vein about the years prior to the *Perelom*, the New Economic Policy period. While all of their studies offer insights into the importance of bells, I hope that the present essay builds upon them sufficiently to be worthwhile. See Viola, *Peasant Rebels under Stalin*; Gregory Freeze, "The Stalinist Assault on the Parish, 1929–1941," in *Stalinismus vor dem zweiten Weltkrieg: Neue Wege der Forschung*, Manfred Hildermeier, ed., (Munich, 1998), 209–32; Husband, *Godless Communists*; Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village after Collectivization* (New York, 1994); Daniel Peris, *Storming the Heavens: The Soviet League of the Militant Godless* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998); and Glennys Young, *Power and the Sacred in Revolutionary Russia: Religious Activists in the Village* (University Park, Penn., 1997). It should be noted that English-language scholarship in Western fields has also given little attention to bells. Indeed, all the works listed above pertaining to modernizing regimes in Germany, Spain, and Mexico rarely mention the instruments. Writing about France, Alain Corbin avers that while "many studies have been devoted to the thousand or so bread riots that occurred in the nineteenth century . . . disputes over bells have inspired no more than a handful of obscure articles." Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, Martin Thom, trans. (New York, 1998), xx. Corbin's own work in this regard is exceptional.

disappeared from modern hearing. As Alain Corbin explains, the peals of bells that have

become for us the sound of another time, were *listened to*, and evaluated according to a system of affects that is now lost to us. They bear witness to a different way of being inscribed in time and space, and of experiencing time and space.⁸

His emphasis on the act of listening locates our difficulty precisely. Bell ringing and other sounds, as historical artifacts, remained extremely ephemeral at least until the advent of recording technologies. Not only did they disappear within seconds of their production, but their meanings often vanished with them. Moreover, our own cultural situation is marked by a burgeoning variety of sounds that vie for our attention and perhaps more so by the relatively new ascendancy of mass-produced print media. It is difficult to comprehend from such a vantage point the degree to which people have, in ages past and in many parts of the world even today, depended on distinct aural signs to decipher the meaning of their lives.⁹

Thus cultural upheavals sponsored by aggressive, and sometimes even moderate, modernizing regimes must have had important, if neglected, auditory aspects. This essay aims to reveal more about the auditory components of the Russian *Velikii Perelom*. It first explains what church bells and their aural signs meant for Russian villagers and the activists who brought the Bolshevik Revolution to the countryside. Namely, this centers on the regime's attempt to establish its own authority over and against that of a traditional way of life sustained by religion in general and church bells in particular. Next, it examines how the significance of bells typically played out in moments of conflict between villagers and Bolshevik agents. It then explores how the regime responded to traditional auditory culture and to the physical artifact of the bell itself. Finally, it offers an evaluation of the bell's overall importance in rural politics during the *Perelom*.

UNTIL THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION nearly succeeded at consigning bells and bell ringing to oblivion, they constituted a uniquely shared patrimony and experience for Russian villages. Bells served as the authoritative voice of the village's Old Way of Life because of their sacrality and their functional monopoly over sounds heard by everyone in the village. They thereby contributed to and reinforced social cohesion and identity. More specifically, their authority grew out of a complex matrix of three interrelated elements of village life: its liturgy, its defense, and its system of

⁸ Corbin, *Village Bells*, xix. Ivan Illich eloquently writes of a personal experience along similar lines. See Ivan Illich, "The Loudspeaker on the Tower, 2001," pp. 1–2, 9, Illich's essay is available in electronic form from various websites, including <http://www.russianbells.com/interest.html>. See also Edward V. Williams, "Aural Icons of Orthodoxy: The Sonic Typology of Russian Bells," in *Christianity and the Arts in Russia*, William C. Brumfield and Milos M. Velimirovich, ed., (Cambridge, 1991), 3. For a similar observation about bells in late medieval Europe, see Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch, trans. (Chicago, 1996), 2.

⁹ Corbin highlights the several challenges that modern life poses to the old bell culture in *Village Bells*, 298–308. The work of Walter Ong is helpful here, though it focuses specifically on the sounds of oral speech and the importance of oral tradition in the West until recent times. Ong contends, for example, "Hearing rather than sight had dominated the older noetic world in significant ways, even long after writing was deeply interiorized." Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1995), 119. See also Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 71–73.

symbolic representation.¹⁰ It is important to note that none of these elements can be reduced to either a spiritual or a mundane dimension. Instead, they effectively demonstrate that the sacred-secular dichotomy remained largely irrelevant to rural Russians. Indeed, from the Bolshevik point of view, the Old Way of Life's "confusion" of sacred and secular lay at the very heart of what needed to change during the *Perelom*.¹¹

For Russian villagers, bells were, most obviously, instruments of religious power and authority. During the ceremony by which a Russian church bell is consecrated, for example, a bishop or priest sprinkles the instrument with holy water and recites several relevant Psalms. He then reads from the Old Testament book of Numbers:

The LORD said to Moses: "Make two trumpets of hammered silver, and use them for calling the community together . . . When you go into battle in your own land against an enemy who is oppressing you, sound a blast on the trumpets. Then you will be remembered by the LORD your God and rescued from your enemies. Also at your times of rejoicing—your appointed feasts and New Moon festivals—you are to sound the trumpets over your burnt offerings and fellowship offerings, and they will be a memorial for you before your God. I am the LORD your God."¹²

This passage, in the context of a bell's liturgical consecration, implies a direct analogy between biblical trumpet and church bell. It thereby yields several insights into the instrument's sacred functions.

The text assigns the bell the unique task of aurally marking the community's worship and movement through liturgical time—the auditory complement to the church's visual focus of prayer. Bells regularly called the far-flung faithful together for communal prayer at the church, thereby exercising authority even over parishioners' physical movements.¹³ Those unable to obey the summons could, nonetheless, participate from afar in their community's worship since the bells

¹⁰ The theological and anthropological significance of church bells has been well explicated elsewhere. Nevertheless, a brief summary of what the bells meant, especially to rural Russians, is necessary here as a preliminary to what follows. In this regard, I found Percival Price, *Bells and Man* (Oxford, 1983); Williams, "Aural Icons of Orthodoxy;" and Edward V. Williams, *The Bells of Russia: History and Technology* (Princeton, N.J., 1985) to be invaluable. Also helpful were Illich, "The Loudspeaker on the Tower"; Roman Lukianov, "Bells of Russia," *The Bell Tower* 57 (1999): 19–24; and James Billington, *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture* (1966; New York, 1970).

¹¹ This essay is part of a larger study of religion and rural politics under the Bolsheviks. See Richard L. Hernandez, "Religious Politics and Political Religion: Rhetoric and Symbol in the Russian Village during the 'Velikii Perelom,' 1928–1932" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 2002).

¹² Numbers 10: 1–10. For the Russian Orthodox rite of blessing or consecrating a church bell (*chin blagosloveniiia kampana*), see *The Great Book of Needs: Expanded and Supplemented*, trans. from Church Slavonic with notes by St. Tikhon's Monastery, vol. 2, *The Sanctification of the Temple and Other Ecclesiastical and Liturgical Blessings* (South Canaan, Penn., 1998), 183–92. This rite has remained substantially unchanged since at least the nineteenth century. See Williams, *Bells of Russia*, 124–25.

¹³ See Price, *Bells and Man*, 80–83; Williams, "Aural Icons," 5; and Corbin, *Village Bells*, 119. The Islamic call to prayer essentially mirrors this function. Like the original function of bells in Christian monasteries (see Price, *Bells and Man*, 116–19), the Muslim call summons the faithful to prayer at several appointed times during the day. Mohammed, in fact, considered several means of calling Muslims to worship—including the primitive bells of Christians. In the end, he decided that only the human voice was worthy of such an exalted task. Christian bell ringing was thenceforth generally suppressed under Islamic rulers as an obvious rival to the muezzin. See Price, *Bells and Man*, 65, 83; Williams, *Bells of Russia*, 11; and Illich, "The Loudspeaker on the Tower," 5, 8–9.

effectively extended the walls of the church as far as their peals could be heard.¹⁴ For those actually present at the church, bells uniquely expressed and embellished their corporate worship. Over a lifetime of liturgies and processions, intimate associations would form between villagers' individual spiritual lives, the life of their community, and the cherished tones of their church bells.¹⁵ These tones were no mere background music, however. They gave shape and rhythm to the village's experience of time. In addition to announcing the weekly services, bells marked the annual cycle of liturgical seasons and signaled life's most important watersheds through subtle variations in their chiming patterns.¹⁶

Yet, before entrusting it with the task of marking the community's liturgy, the passage from the book of Numbers designates the bell as a sign and means of divine protection. While bells called the community to worship, they also called it to battle against an invading enemy, and promised that God himself would fight and prevail.¹⁷ A plethora of enemies threatened the spiritual and physical well-being of Russian villagers, and bells afforded some form of defense against most of them. Although church authorities often discouraged such beliefs, for centuries pious Christians held the peals of bells to be capable—through sheer physical power as well as inherent thaumaturgical properties—of cleansing the air of demons, pestilence, and storms.¹⁸

In addition, earthbound emergencies like fire, flood, or an impending military attack required an efficient means of communicating alarm within a village.¹⁹ In these moments, a bell's logically prior authority to convoke sacred assemblies

¹⁴ Lukianov, "Bells of Russia," 21. "The Christian bell welds people into a fraternity of prayer . . . as far as the bell can be heard and felt it incorporates those who listen into a common acoustic space." Illich, "The Loudspeaker on the Tower," 7.

¹⁵ Lukianov suggests that for those "who made an effort to live their daily lives in accordance with God's commandments, the call to prayer was a welcome relief from the harsh realities of daily existence. Bells called people to another world, the heavenly world of beauty in the churches. The churches for them were heaven on earth, places where salvation was being taught, where sins were being forgiven and one was sanctified." Lukianov, "Bells of Russia," 21. See also Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 38–39.

¹⁶ It is important to note that, up to the time of *Perelom*, rural communities in Russia continued to organize their lives mainly around the annual agricultural and liturgical cycles marked by bell ringing. They were far less interested in the chronological precision offered by clocks—devices increasingly emblematic of urban modernity and industrial labor patterns. For more on the transition from rural and religious time keeping toward the modern organization of time, see E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present*, no. 38 (December 1967): 56–97.

¹⁷ See also Nehemiah 4:20: "Wherever you hear the sound of the trumpet, join us there. Our God will fight for us!"

¹⁸ Small hand-held bells and those sewn into clothing as amulets commonly featured among non-Christian religions long before Christians adopted much larger versions for use in their churches. As a result, several centuries before metal bells became hallmarks of Christianity, the fourth-century Church Father St. John Chrysostom preached against the idea that they have magical or spiritual powers as a superstitious holdover from paganism. His exhortation notwithstanding, the Russian Orthodox Church has preserved the notion, even while christianizing and stripping it of pagan overtones. See Price, *Bells and Man*, 78–79, 100, 124–29; Illich, "The Loudspeaker on the Tower," 4; and Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 39. For a contemporary Russian assertion that bell ringing acts against disease, see Tatiana Kharlamova, "Kolokol'nyi zvon lechit depressiiu: v kakom ukhe zvenit," *Zdorov'e: Semeinyi nauchno-populiarnyi zhurnal* 11 (2001). While it is not surprising to find analogous beliefs among French Catholics in the revolutionary and postrevolutionary years (see Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred*, 38, and Corbin, *Village Bells*, 101–02), belief in the physical power of bell ringing to dispel storms and disease ironically persisted even among such Enlightenment luminaries as Francis Bacon and René Descartes. See Price, *Bells and Man*, 129.

¹⁹ See Lukianov, "Bells of Russia," 21 and Corbin, *Village Bells*, x, 193–94, 201.

allowed it to serve the more utilitarian end of organizing a community's defense, which returns us to the original, historical meaning of the consecration text from Numbers. Before assigning the trumpet its liturgical tasks, God instructs Moses to use it to muster Israel's defenses against invaders.²⁰ As we shall see, church bells dramatically continued to fulfill this function for Russian villagers as they faced invaders bent on destroying their traditional identity and way of life during the *Perelom*.

The Numbers passage also implies that the sacred instrument proclaims the word and will of God. Drawing on the many biblical images of trumpets as heralds of past, present, and future salvation, Russian Orthodoxy has uniquely endowed bells with prophetic power.²¹ According to a theory adumbrated as early as the fourth century by the Eastern Church Father St. John Chrysostom, bells unite the church on earth with the host of heaven in prayer that transcends time and place.²² In other words, bells bring eschatological reality to bear on the present moment. "In Russia our motherland," wrote a nineteenth-century cleric named Leonid, bell ringing

has its own significance and deep meaning, even an acoustical one between our time and the more distant—the past and future . . . the clamor and harmonious ringing of bells is a proclamation of the Gospel, its exultation to the ends of the universe, and reminds us of the angel's trumpet on the final day.²³

Notice his emphasis on the ability of the peals to suffuse both time and space with the Gospel. By evoking the angel's apocalyptic proclamation, this cleric suggested that bell ringing might even be construed as the voice of God himself.²⁴

All these religious ascriptions enabled the bell to define and even embody the village in ways that few other objects could. Bells delineated the territorial boundaries of a community through sounds that radiated outward from the church.

²⁰ Numbers 10:1–28 is directly relevant to the organization of ancient Israel as a "fighting force." See Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, vol. 4a of The Anchor Bible, William Foxwell Albright and David Noel Freedman, eds. (New York, 1993), 303.

²¹ See Williams, "Aural Icons," 4–5. For several other biblical images of the prophetic trumpet, see Exodus 19:16–20:18; Leviticus 23:24, 25:9; Ezekiel 33; Matthew 24:29–31; 1 Corinthians 5:51–52; 1 Thessalonians 4:16; and Revelation 8–11. The bell's lineage may also reach back to biblical cymbals. See Psalm 150:5, for instance. Lukianov, "Bells of Russia," 19.

²² Corbin, 102. To be sure, Chrysostom had in mind not metal bells, which he railed against as pagan, but the resonant planks of wood known as *semantrons*. These primitive "bells" co-existed on an equal basis with true bells in Russian church culture as late as the seventeenth century and still serve certain functions in monastic life today. See Price, *Bells and Man*, 80–83, 103–106 and Williams, *Bells of Russia*, 10–17. My thanks to John Burnett for bringing the continued use of the *semantron* to my attention.

²³ *Pis'ma sviatogortsia k druž'am o Sviatoi Gore athonskoi*, pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1850), 78–80 as cited in Williams, "Aural Icons," 5. A slightly different translation is cited in Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 39.

²⁴ See Price, *Bells and Man*, 127. Williams finds the beginning of such apocalyptic overtones in Russia as far back as the eleventh century. Williams, "Aural Icons," 5–6. Other examples include seventeenth and eighteenth-century Old Believer sectarians utilizing church bells to signal their apocalyptic self-immolation as the tsar's "legions of Antichrist" approached to suppress their religion. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 40.

Hearing them meant that you belonged to the community. Not hearing them precluded you from easily knowing about, much less participating in, communal life. Moreover, apropos of their place in worship and prayer, bells produced the voice of the community as a whole even while they constituted the voice of God.²⁵

Even before it aurally sacralized territory or solemnized worship, however, a bell uniquely represented the community it would eventually serve. Villages sometimes, for example, acquired bells in order to commemorate decisive events in their history.²⁶ They might memorialize these events by inscribing relevant images and texts on the bell during its casting. The casting itself, a process as solemn and prayerful as the subsequent consecration rite, also symbolized the community.²⁷ In the days before industrial production, bells were traditionally cast on site by itinerant artisans. The entire village normally participated in this momentous event by showing the bell founder great hospitality and furnishing him with labor and supplies. Metal, the most important ingredient, of course, came from the villagers themselves in the form of old pots, mugs, and other scraps. Melting these contributions together made the bell a tangible, if mysterious, embodiment of the village.²⁸

This symbolism was so potent in Russia that the bell eventually served “at large” as a peculiar bearer of Russian national identity long before the Bolshevik Revolution produced alternative symbols for this purpose.²⁹ Indeed, while many of the functions and symbolic meanings of bells discussed above are not unique to Russia, devotion to bells has been more pronounced there than in other societies—

²⁵ Price avers that this was not a contradiction but rather a logical outworking of the bell’s theology. See Price, *Bells and Man*, 127.

²⁶ The same memorializing task was also taken up in Russian iconography and chapel building. See Vera Shevzov, “Miracle-Working Icons, Laity, and Authority in the Russian Orthodox Church, 1861–1917,” *Russian Review* 58, no. 1 (January 1999): 26–48 and Shevzov, “Chapels and the Ecclesial World of Prerevolutionary Russian Peasants,” *Slavic Review*, 55 no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 585–613.

²⁷ Maurice Baring provides a vivid eyewitness account of a solemn bell casting in an early twentieth-century Russian village. See Baring, *Russian Essays and Stories* (London, 1908), 80–88. Another illustration, albeit in a medieval setting, can be found in Andrei Tarkovsky’s classic film *Andrei Rublev* (Mosfilm Studio, 1966). “Because no amount of earthly effort assured success in the founding of a bell, prayer, invocations, and benedictions traditionally preceded the moment when the metal began to flow into the mold. These prayers placed the casting results in the hands of God.” In some instances, industrial foundries continued these practices. Williams, *Bells of Russia*, 119–21. See also Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 39. Regarding Russian bell inscriptions, see Williams, *Bells of Russia*, 105–13.

²⁸ See Price, *Bells and Man*, 213–16 and Corbin, *Village Bells*, 80–93. Of course, the advent of industrial bell production fairly well destroyed the older communal practice of casting bells. Even in the age of mass production, however, Russian villagers often took a keen interest in the selection, purchase, and tuning of their bells. See Lukianov, “Bells of Russia,” 23.

²⁹ See Williams, *Bells of Russia*, 173–76 and Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*, vol. 2, *From Alexander II to the Abdication of Nicholas II* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 80–91. Many Russian literary and political figures of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries valued the bell as a symbol of the “democratic” and free cities of medieval Russia. The bells in these cities summoned, and thus came to symbolize, the city assembly (*veche*). The most famous case involved the ancient city of Novgorod, whose assembly bell Moscow silenced and confiscated in 1478. See Williams, *Bells of Russia*, 41–42. Thus, Alexander Herzen, one of the greatest figures of Russia’s pre-1917 revolutionary tradition, named his famous illegal journal “The Bell” (*Kolokol*) in 1857. Less than twenty years later, another member of Russia’s revolutionary pantheon, Petr Tkachev, took a much more militant tone in publishing a journal called “The Alarm Bell” (*Nabat*). Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 41–42.

including those where Orthodox Christianity predominates—making it “the most bell-studded country in Christendom.”³⁰ Indeed, Russian congregations were rarely satisfied with only one or two bells. The relative importance of these instruments in Russian church culture is also indicated by the fact that they tended to be larger and their ringing louder and much more elaborate than in the West. In contrast to Protestant and Roman Catholic houses of worship, aside from the human voice, no other instrument could be heard in Russian churches.³¹ Moreover, the distinctive Russian style of chiming (*zvon*) that developed in this context—variously described as “hypnotic” and “cacophonous”—unlike other ecclesial art forms, belonged to ordinary Russian believers as their own creation.³²

Ringing church bells certainly served as “aural icons” or “bronze voices” of the Old Way of Life that Bolshevik activists sought to destroy during the *Velikii Perelom*.³³ Religious believer and Bolshevik activist alike understood bells to be a linchpin in the cultural sensibilities that the regime wanted desperately to reconfigure. It should not surprise us, then, that the instruments became hotly contested objects in the Russian village of the 1920s and 1930s. Indeed, the exceptional degree of reverence that ordinary Russians had for their bells goes far toward explaining why the Bolshevik campaign against them displayed an equally exceptional degree of intensity and zeal.³⁴

For their part, Bolshevik activists felt deep resentment at the continued ringing of church bells in their midst. When the bells chimed, activists often heard this as an affront and taunt, as an article appearing in the Central Black Earth Region’s newspaper, *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, in April 1929, illustrates. In the town of Belgorod, a large crowd gathered on April 6 for the consecration and inaugural ringing of a huge new church bell. Local believers had taken up a collection among themselves in order to purchase the bell for 3,500 rubles—a shockingly large sum to Bolshevik minds. The whole episode, the newspaper’s correspondent averred, proved that when local atheists remained badly organized, the “churchmen [became] insolent.”³⁵ At a conference on collectivization held in January 1930, one

³⁰ Illich, “The Loudspeaker on the Tower,” 9. One of the primary reasons for the relative neglect of bells in Orthodox lands outside of Russia is that most of these lay under non-Christian, mainly Islamic rule during the period when ecclesiastical bell culture developed and spread elsewhere. Christians under Islamic rulers were generally forbidden to offer any sound that competed with the call of the muezzin or had the potential to inspire Christians to revolt. For the details of this and other factors contributing to Russia’s unique devotion to bells, see Price, *Bells and Man*, 95–106, 190–98.

³¹ See Price, *Bells and Man*, 88, 106, 190–98; Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 38–39; and Williams, *Bells of Russia*, 52. There are also aspects of the place of church bells in the West that do not transfer well into the Russian context. In Roman Catholic Europe, for instance, the church bell daily called villagers to pray the Angelus wherever they stood at particular times of the day. This daily ritual is without analogy in Russia. See Williams, *Bells of Russia*, 128–40 and Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 39–40.

³² “At a little village church where one ringer plays all the bells he may be an untutored *muzhik* [peasant] and yet the beauty of his ringing may surpass that of a master ringer at a large city church or one associated with a palace. This is because *zvon*-ringing was a purely folk creation, developed and preserved by simple but sensitive people.” Price, *Bells and Man*, 197. See also Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 39.

³³ I owe these phrases to Williams, “Aural Icons,” 3.

³⁴ For the argument that antireligious movements mirror the character of the religious traditions they reject, see Colin Campbell, “Analysing the Rejection of Religion,” *Social Compass* 24, no. 2 (1977): 339–46.

³⁵ *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, April 14, 1929, 3.

rural activist complained that he was not only extremely frustrated at the lack of class consciousness among “poor” and “middle” peasants but also resented having to suffer the “intolerable” indignity of church bells ringing in his ears even as he conducted his work. The activist subsequently bemoaned the fact that collectivization existed more as a paper fiction than as an established reality in the village.³⁶ In this, he echoed the *Voronezhskaia Kommuna* article above by suggesting that the bell produced a ringing, taunting reminder that the regime was failing to achieve its vaunted social goals in stark contrast to the local parish community’s continued existence and, sometimes, even vitality.³⁷

Perhaps more than the presence in the village of the church building itself, whose symbolic threat was inherently limited by its solidity and localization, the bell infuriated Bolsheviks because they could neither avoid its chiming taunts nor be sure of the extent to which these insidious sounds actually influenced villagers’ secret thoughts and public habits. Indeed, Bolshevik complaints betray the degree to which the bell’s active authority continued to intrude into village life in tangible ways. *Voronezhskaia Kommuna* and other newspapers regularly published vague cries of protest that bell ringing “interfered with the work of Soviet institutions.”³⁸ In some instances, these institutions may have been so physically proximate to the peals that they truly were subject to the bells “power to deafen.”³⁹

Most of the time, however, the issue was not so much the ostensible noise as it was the fact that bells gave temporal structure to the very liturgical seasons and holidays that the regime labored so creatively to efface and supplant.⁴⁰ Petr Karlovich Zarin, the head of the Central Black Earth Region’s League of the Militant Godless, for instance, lashed out in 1929 at the “unbridled bell ringing” that would accompany the celebration of Easter, a time in the liturgical calendar notable for extravagant peals. Antireligious activists, Zarin insisted, must do everything possible to bring this intolerable chiming to an end.⁴¹ A central issue in

³⁶ TsDNIVO, f. 2, op. 1, d. 918, l. 25.

³⁷ In revolutionary Mexico too, occasionally “it was not the Church that fell silent but the state, its voice drowned out by the sacred music [of bells] which proclaimed the Church’s continued survival as the local institution par excellence.” Butler, “Keeping the Faith,” 24. Indeed, it appears that state control over bell ringing in Mexico remained uneven at best in some localities. See Butler, “Keeping the Faith,” 30.

³⁸ *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, December 24, 1929, 4. For other examples, see also *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, April 25, 1929, 5; *Bezbozhnik u stanka*, September 30, 1928 and December 23, 1929; the journal *Bezbozhnik*, no. 18, 1929, 16–17; and the newspaper *Bezbozhnik*, October 27, 1929, 3.

³⁹ I owe this formulation to Corbin. See his *Village Bells*, 211. Indeed, bell ringing in Russia was famously loud. A Dutch visitor to Moscow at the turn of the sixteenth century, for instance, commented that the ringing there made it impossible to “hear one another in conversation.” Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 38. Charges of excessive noise are what motivated civic and ecclesiastical authorities to control bell ringing in Mexico City decades before the revolutionary regimes of the twentieth century took up the cause. See Anne Staples, “El abuso de las campanas en el siglo pasado,” *Historia Mexicana* 27 (1977): 177–93. When bell ringing in the Spanish Republic could not be suppressed on the basis of secularization, officials sometimes succeeded under legislation that prohibited “noise from private buildings.” See Vincent, *Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic*, 186–87.

⁴⁰ For an excellent treatment of the effort to replace religious holidays with Bolshevik equivalents during the *Velikii Perelom*, see Malte Rolf, “Constructing a Soviet Time: Bolshevik Festivals and Their Rivals during the First Five-Year Plan: A Study of the Central Black Earth Region,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 1, no. 3 (2000): 447–73.

⁴¹ TsDNIVO, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1152, l. 106. Uniquely prominent in Russian Orthodox Easter celebrations, bell ringing proclaims Christ’s resurrection and the promise that all believers will rise from the dead at the end of time. So strong is Easter week’s association with bell ringing in Russia that

the struggle over the calendar was the efficiency or rationalization of labor. Bolshevik rhetoric about religious holidays usually centered on their waste of valuable labor time—witness, for example, the campaign to remove Sundays and feast days from the calendar by switching from a seven to a five-day “uninterrupted workweek.”⁴² Bolshevik activists detested bell ringing because it encouraged villagers to organize their work and leisure around a resounding proclamation of Christian liturgical time, rather than the regime’s own calendrical schemas and conceptions of time.⁴³

The fact that the bell reinforced traditional, religious identity and practice over and against Bolshevik identity and practice clearly required a response from the regime. Accordingly, for example, a resolution passed on December 15, 1929 by the All-union Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) explicitly gave local authorities the power to control bell ringing. The resolution cited the struggle over the authoritative marking of time as the main motivation behind the policy:

In connection with the new distribution of labor processes within the framework of the uninterrupted work week (which raises anew the question of bell ringing for religious purposes), give the power to regulate bell ringing (in performance of religious services) to city soviets and district executive committees.⁴⁴

This decree furnished official authority for what, in fact, had been taking place sporadically since the Revolution of 1917 and more regularly since 1928, when local activists began agitating for an all-out campaign against church bells through petition drives, resolutions, and the kinds of public complaints mentioned above.⁴⁵

Such “grass-roots” efforts to silence, and eventually to confiscate, church bells were coordinated by several agencies in a wide variety of contexts. As the primary organization officially charged with the antireligious struggle in the prewar period, the League of the Militant Godless was not above serving as chief “rabble-rouser” in these efforts.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, as we shall see, other Bolshevik institutions eagerly took up the cause. Even school children were pressed to join the chorus of voices demanding the silence of the counterrevolutionary instruments.⁴⁷ Images of

it has been nicknamed “Peal Week” (*Zvonilnaia*). See Price, *Bells and Man*, 115, 197; Williams, “Aural Icons,” 6; and Lukianov, “Bells of Russia,” 22. The League of the Militant Godless was the most prominent Bolshevik antireligious organization of the 1920s and 1930s. (See Peris, *Storming the Heavens*, for a comprehensive study of the League’s history.) The Central Black Earth Region was home to an especially fervent branch. Zarin, in particular, wrote prodigiously on antireligious topics for the central and regional press and relentlessly lobbied for vigorous dechristianization policies.

⁴² See Freeze, “The Stalinist Assault,” 216, and Husband, *Godless Communists*, 89–90, 93–94. The same concerns regarding the unwarranted interruption of work arose in nineteenth-century France as well. See Corbin, *Village Bells*, 119.

⁴³ Bolshevik attempts to manage festival celebrations aimed precisely at monopolizing the social interpretation of time. See Rolf, “Constructing a Soviet Time,” 449. For the importance of time more generally in Bolshevik ideology, see Stephen E. Hanson, *Time and Revolution: Marxism and the Design of Soviet Institutions* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997).

⁴⁴ *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* [State Archive of the Russian Federation] (hereafter, GARF), f. 5263, op. 1, d. 2, l. 16, as cited in Freeze, “The Stalinist Assault,” 216.

⁴⁵ For summaries of these tactics, see Freeze, “The Stalinist Assault,” 217, and Peris, *Storming the Heavens*, 83.

⁴⁶ Peris, *Storming the Heavens*, 83. For examples, see *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, May 29, 1929, 3 and GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 44, l. 72.

⁴⁷ For several examples drawn from the anti-Christmas campaign of 1930, see TsDNIVO, f. 37, op.



FIGURE 1: A crowd gathers around a bell toppled from the Cathedral of the Dormition in Iaroslavl', 1929. Reprinted from *Storming the Heavens*, by Daniel Peris (Cornell University Press, 1998); reproduced with kind permission of the publisher.

confiscated and broken church bells surrounded by smiling, triumphant citizens became standard illustrations for antireligious propaganda.⁴⁸ (See Figure 1.) In still

1, d. 252, ll. 24, 27. In these cases, the children also voted against the use of Christmas trees and in favor of converting churches into Soviet cultural institutions.

⁴⁸ "Workers of many cities in the USSR carry out the decision to confiscate bells from churches!" reads the caption under one such photo. *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, November 23, 1929, 1. These images effectively produced the "double disgrace" typical of iconoclasm: "exposing, first, the bankruptcy of [the faithful's] most cherished beliefs and, second, their impotence in the face of their enemies' assault." Lincoln, "Revolutionary Exhumations in Spain," 256.

other cases, local Bolshevik authorities simply ordered a halt to the bell ringing, even in legally functioning churches. The Podgorenskii district executive committee chairman did exactly that in the days leading up to Easter of 1929. Later, though, his superiors frankly called the move a “blunder” since, having deprived villagers of their precious bell ringing on this most solemn holiday, it succeeded in triggering an Easter day riot of some 200 people in the village of Saprino.⁴⁹

AS THE REFERENCE to rioting suggests, Bolsheviks had good reason to be anxious over the threat to their authority posed by church bells. While the conflict between villagers and the regime’s rural activists over collectivization became increasingly violent, activists learned that the bell was more than a reminder of the village’s older religious sensibilities or even a mechanism for perpetuating religious belief and practice. It also served villagers as a powerful political weapon against the full range of Bolshevik policies. This explains the dire warnings from the League of the Militant Godless about Easter celebrations in 1929. Taking aim at the traditional, communal expression of joy at Easter and mixing aural with visual metaphors, the League’s central council evoked an image that surely struck fear into the hearts of rural Bolshevik activists: “Behind the exultant chiming of Easter bells hides the cunning face (*khitroie litso*) of the enemy.”⁵⁰ Unlike other propaganda images of the enemy, this one was not entirely a figment of paranoid Bolshevik imaginations. Nevertheless, visual representations of the counterrevolutionary significance of bells tended to be embellished with exaggerated details like the use of firearms, which, on the contrary, were more a hallmark of Bolshevik rule than of peasant resistance. (See Figure 2.)

Indeed, “cunning” would be a good word to describe villagers’ ingenious use of bells to convoke assemblies that directly competed with the regime’s own organizational efforts. An episode in a village in the Moscow hinterlands on December 22, 1929 clearly illustrates how the dynamic relationship between the sacred and secular enabled villagers to challenge Bolshevik political legitimacy.⁵¹ The village soviet (*sel'skii soviet*) had planned for the kind of meeting that was fast becoming a ritual across the country, during which villagers would ostensibly “discuss collectivization.”⁵² Despite, or rather because of, the soviet’s plans, the local parish council (*tserkovnyi soviet*) planned its own meeting to coincide with that of the collectivizers. Just as the collectivization meeting was to begin, bell ringing summoned parishioners to the church. Some 300 villagers obeyed the call, thereby significantly reducing the collectivizers’ intended audience. Although the archival

⁴⁹ TsDNIVO, f. 104, op. 1, d. 55, l. 43.

⁵⁰ GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 17, l. 98b.

⁵¹ All details about this incident are from a report dated January 8, 1930 in GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 69, l. 80. Unfortunately, the source does not identify the name of the village.

⁵² I use the term “soviet” (*soviet*) here to distinguish the Bolshevik organ of state power from any other, non-state “council” (*soviet*). In actuality, the “discussions” held at collectivization meetings were little more than opportunities for Bolshevik activists to intimidate and harangue peasants into joining the collective farm. See Lev Kopelev, *The Education of a True Believer*, Gary Kern, trans. (New York, 1980), 228–36; Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 146–47.



FIGURE 2: A Soviet caricature of clergy preparing a counterrevolutionary assault. By N. Kogout, from the November 1928 issue of *Bezbozhnik u stanka* ("The Godless at the Workbench"). Reproduced with kind permission of the Hoover Institution Library.

record does not include much information about what exactly occurred at the church, the meeting there clearly included the very discussion of collectivization that the Bolsheviks had advertised as their own agenda. We can infer this from the fact that villagers returned en masse from the church assembly to the village soviet headquarters shouting their refusal to join "your collective farm."

By itself, the mere occurrence of this rival meeting, which the reporting activist pointedly objected was "without permission," undercut the authority of local Bolshevik agents. The regime's activists could hardly muster an assembly of peasants, let alone sign them up for a collective farm. Adding insult to injury, the church council even challenged official authority by mimicking the regime's own political language. To be sure, the institution of the parish council (*tserkovnyi soviet*) significantly predates the revolutionary appropriation of the previously neutral term council/soviet (*soviet*).⁵³ Nevertheless, because the Bolsheviks had given the term

⁵³ See Gregory Freeze, *The Parish Clergy in Nineteenth-century Russia: Crisis, Reform, Counter-reform* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), 252–59. For the role of parish councils more generally within peasant resistance to the Bolsheviks, see Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 144, and Young, *Power and the Sacred*, 251.

such a strong political coloring by the time of the *Perelom*, its usage by villagers in an ecclesiastical context must have implied an ironic correspondence with and direct challenge to Soviet authority (*Sovetskaia vlast'*) in general and the Bolshevik-dominated village soviet (*sel'skii soviet*) in particular.⁵⁴ In any case, as we have seen in this instance, such political competition was often made possible by the ingenious mechanism of bell ringing.

Episodes in the villages of Uryv and Goldaevka in Ostrogozhskii district manifested a different interplay between the sacred and secular aspects of the bell's place in village politics. Although villagers in the district had already faced determined efforts on the part of the regime to take their grain and enlist them into a newly formed collective farm, it was not until Bolshevik officials attempted to close down the parish church and confiscate its bells that villagers responded swiftly and dramatically. Until then, they had avoided a direct confrontation over the regime's activities, which included the investigation and arrest of those caught "hoarding" their own grain or slaughtering their own livestock. In early 1930, however, Bolshevik activists triggered an episode of violence whose basic features were repeated throughout the Russian countryside during the *Perelom*.⁵⁵ At the end of January, charged with closing the Church of the Dormition and removing its bells, a brigade of activists made a surprise visit to Uryv. A small group of mostly women at the church confronted the brigade. At first they beseeched the activists to spare the church and its bells. Then, after having failed at argumentation, the women resorted to ringing the bells as a summons for the whole community. In doing so, they managed to convert a limited skirmish between the brigade and a few religious believers into a full-scale battle involving the entire village.⁵⁶

The narrative of events includes important details that bring into greater focus the complex role of bells within village power struggles. First, the women protesters in Uryv were not technically in a position to produce on their own the peals that called the community together. This responsibility and skill lay with Kirill Markovich, the parish bell ringer (*zvonar'*). Naturally, parishioners' high esteem for the art of bell ringing translated into respect for the ringer, who acted as the community's delegate in fulfilling this sacred task. Indeed, residents of Uryv

⁵⁴ Although the institution of the revolutionary soviet (*soviet*: council) had a lineage going back to the Revolution of 1905, only with the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 would it become the basic unit of authority for a revolutionary state. In addition to playing on the term *soviet*, the parish council described here also borrowed from the regime's bureaucratic language in order to lend its proceedings more legitimacy. Russian rural believers were not limited, however, to the positive co-optation of Bolshevik language. The fact that *soviet* means both "council" and "counsel" also allowed fortuitous Bible verses to double as damning political slogans. Members of the *Fedorovtsy* sect, for instance, ingeniously adorned their homes with the first verse of Psalm 1: "Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel (*soviet*) of the wicked." For examples, see GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 60, l. 14 and John Fletcher, *The Russian Orthodox Church Underground: 1917–1970* (London, 1971), 114–15. To be sure, modernizing regimes ever since the French Revolution have had to contend with the ironic co-optation of their political language. See, for example, Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred*, 184.

⁵⁵ Space limitations allow the examination of only a few such episodes. In addition to other incidents mentioned in this essay, relatively well documented cases can be found in the political police files of the Central Black Earth Region. Brutal revolts in the villages of Korshevo and Sukhaia Berezovka, Bobrovskii district in March 1930, for example, displayed many of the same features discussed here. See TsDNIVO, f. 9353, op. 2, d. P-10083, t. 10, l. 248.

⁵⁶ The details of this episode are drawn from Petr Markovich Tereshchenko, *Uryv, Zemlia Voronezhskaia: Entsiklopediia gorodov i sel* (Voronezh, 1993), 80–82.

believed they had an excellent bell ringer in Markovich, with whom they were so familiar that they affectionately dubbed him “Kireem-Mareem”—a clever onomatopoeic play on his name that reflected his reputation as a jokester.⁵⁷ The fact that he pulled the ropes that sent the bells’ authoritative voice resounding throughout the village lent him a certain degree of authority. As the man behind the voice calling villagers to sacred assemblies, marking the community’s movement through liturgical time, and alerting the village to communal emergencies, Markovich was naturally implicated in its sacred power.⁵⁸

Besides the sacrality of his office, a bell ringer’s style of ringing also carried authority as it helped define the community’s identity. Bell ringing tended to be a complex and idiosyncratic system of local communication. As a result, it defined the community’s identity not only because it sacralized the community’s territory but also because the “subtle auditory rhetoric” of the chiming varied from one locale to another.⁵⁹ The fact that each bell ringer developed his own dialect meant that, not only would one have to *hear* his ringing to be a member of the community, one would have to be able to *decipher* it. Hence, when the women parishioners prompted Markovich to ring the bells against the Bolshevik activists, he alternated among peals that only his fellow villagers would recognize as mournful, warning, and celebratory.⁶⁰ The fact that church bells furnished an auditory reinforcement of the insider-outsider distinction explains further why Bolsheviks had such strong antipathy for them. Since Bolshevik activists in any given village tended to come from the cities or other regions, they must have been frustrated, to say the least, by their inability to understand aural signals to communities that they themselves claimed to lead.

Along with the issue of dialect, a bell ringer’s particular style of ringing was paramount during emergencies. Although he may have had aesthetic or artistic pretenses, a bell ringer had to be sure that there would be no confusion in his communication, especially when lives or property might be at stake during an emergency. At first glance, it would seem that Markovich, by mixing his peals during the confrontation at the church, acted outside this generalization. However, the residents of the village responded precisely as he had hoped they would because they interpreted his extraordinary ringing as the signal for an extraordinary event. Although villagers knew their bell ringer to be a jokester, they nevertheless could not risk dismissing his very strange alarm as mischief. Villagers not already at the church soon streamed to the site of conflict, increasing both the size and indignation of the crowd there.⁶¹ Their response illustrates that the particular, local sound of church bells played a critical role in reinforcing communal identity and that the bell ringer occupied a place of great, if underestimated, importance in village uprisings.

⁵⁷ Tereshchenko, *Uryv*, 82.

⁵⁸ I owe much of my understanding of the bell ringer’s importance to Corbin, *Village Bells*, 95, 233–34. For more on the French example, see Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred*, 99–101.

⁵⁹ This is especially true of bells in Russia, where the chiming is notoriously idiosyncratic. See Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 38. The phrase “subtle auditory rhetoric” comes from Corbin, *Village Bells*, xi.

⁶⁰ Tereshchenko, *Uryv*, 82.

⁶¹ Tereshchenko, *Uryv*, 82.

The happenings in Uryv, especially the diminished echoes of Markovich's bell ringing, soon roused several women in the nearby village of Goldaevka, where controversy also erupted over control of the bell. There, however, the struggle centered, as it did in many other villages, on who controlled the keys to the locked doors of the church.⁶² Unlike Uryv's bell ringer, who gladly obliged the parishioners' request, Goldaevka's sacristan flatly refused to hand over his keys. The women were not about to be deterred by this recalcitrant sacristan, however. They simply voted him out of office on the spot and appointed a more pliant replacement, who then obediently opened the church's doors. As a result, the peals of Goldaevka's bells soon joined those of Uryv in marking the political emergency. The sacristan's ouster in Goldaevka illustrates quite well the fluid nature of authority and power in villages during these decisive moments of conflict.⁶³ Indeed, such clashes typically afforded village women unique opportunities to assert themselves politically—oftentimes with the men following their lead or, as was the case in Goldaevka, being prodded into action by the women.⁶⁴

The role of bells during crises did not always depend so directly on their religious functions. Their authority in these volatile moments also stemmed from the psychological or emotional dynamics of the village. As noted earlier bell ringing afforded a community an efficient means of warning members of various threats to life and property.⁶⁵ The authoritative quality of the information that bells conveyed in these situations sharply contrasted with that of rumors—another mode of communication basic to peasant society. In a “universe of information dominated by the flexibility of rumor, the bell conferred the density of truth on events.”⁶⁶ In no other emergency was the “density of truth” impressed upon villagers with such spectacular results as when bells called villagers into violent, sometimes brutal, uprisings against the regime. Hence, rumors of Bolshevik plotting might seethe

⁶² Keys were also fought over in the village of Gvazdy, Vorontsovskii district on December 8, 1929. There, in response to an attempt by a Bolshevik activist to confiscate the keys of the church, the bell summoned a crowd of about 600 people. The crowd turned violent and beat a militiaman named Bacharov who had accompanied the party activist. TsDNIVO, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1075, l. 1. Corbin writes: “[I]f the church door was shut with a key—and it might well be the only locked one in the whole commune—it was because of the need to guard consecrated objects and, in the strict sense of the term, to protect a treasure that was a marker of a community's identity.” Corbin, *Village Bells*, 243.

⁶³ Details about the incident in Goldaevka are taken from Tereshchenko, *Uryv*, 83. It should be noted that sacristans sometimes took it upon themselves to ring bells, as happened during an uprising on October 12, 1930 in the village of Monino, Khlevenskii district. See TsDNIVO, f. 2, op. 1, d. 980, l. 58.

⁶⁴ For a classic treatment of women's political initiative against the regime, see Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 189–204. Viola specifically points to a case wherein the women took the initiative in defending the church bell and in using it as a signal for revolt. See Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 192–93.

⁶⁵ Indeed, during the *Perelom* the bell might be maliciously silenced in order to allow disasters, especially those threatening Bolshevik institutions, to run their course. This constitutes an important example, albeit a negative one, of the bell's authority to mobilize the community during emergencies. For an example, see TsDNIVO, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1624, l. 26.

⁶⁶ Corbin, *Village Bells*, 169. For a discussion of rumor, especially as a mode of resistance to oppression, see James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), 144–48. The Bolsheviks sometimes tried to characterize women as the naïve and primary carriers of rumor. However, this characterization was likely to be a rhetorical ploy to “marginalize” and “depoliticize” rumor as merely “women's business.” Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 61. Indeed, there is little other reason to doubt that both men and women in the village spread rumors.

beneath the surface of village discourse until being authenticated by the sound of the tocsin. In contrast to rumors, bells had superior authority within a village because of their immediate ability to focus a whole complex of emotions—ranging from joy to horror and panic—during an unfolding crisis.⁶⁷ What seemed to be Markovich's emotionally confused signals in Uryv actually contributed to the assembled crowd's subsequent volatility. The auditory signal for such insurrections produced a nearly instant sense of solidarity by converting the inherently isolated and private emotions swirling around rumors into community-wide phenomena. By synthesizing aggregate emotions, the tocsin produced assemblies of action bent on settling conflicts over power and authority.

In the end, such challenges to Bolshevik authority, bold as they were, sooner or later resolved in the regime's favor—typically through military force. In the case of Uryv, although the rebellion there lasted two days despite the frantic influx of party and Soviet officials to the area, the Red Army eventually forced the village into submission. Some thirty-nine families, including even a few Red Army veterans from the revolution and civil war years, received crippling fines or deportation to the country's hinterlands as part of the subsequent *dekulakization*—a decisive blow to the community that made further resistance to the Bolsheviks unimaginable.⁶⁸ Yet, while such displays of Bolshevik coercive power established the party's sway over the rural population, they also signaled the failure of Bolshevik authority to win the allegiance of the countryside by other means. The recourse to military force also cruelly belied the much celebrated union (*smychka*) of urban and rural populations supposedly ushered in by the Bolsheviks in 1917.

CERTAINLY, THE VIOLENT suppression of rural rebellions like the one in Uryv was not the only method available to the regime in its attack on the village's traditional culture. We should remember that the Bolsheviks did not seek after and exercise authority for its own sake but for particular ideological ends.⁶⁹ Ultimately, village bells represented a challenge to Bolshevik authority not simply because they taunted activists as blatant manifestations of the Old Way of Life, or even because their authoritative weight could be used against the regime. The regime's own transformative ideology required the removal of the bell from the village's auditory landscape. Bolshevik ideology motivated two distinct modes of attack, both of which followed historical precedents. First, like their French revolutionary forebears, Bolshevik activists attempted to "alter the prevailing pattern of the culture

⁶⁷ Huizinga points to this complex range of emotions in his comments about bells in late Medieval Europe. See Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, 2. See also Corbin, *Village Bells*, 196.

⁶⁸ Tereshchenko, *Uryv*, 85. "Dekulakization" or the "liquidation of the *kulak* as a class"—the brutal complement of collectivization—was the process whereby villages were physically purged of counter-revolutionary elements. Bolshevik rhetoric notwithstanding, the term *kulak* (literally: fist) did not necessarily refer to an economic status or class identity. Instead, the term "came to mean simply any muzhik [peasant] who resisted collectivization and therefore became an 'enemy.'" Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917–1991* (New York, 1994) 196. See also Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 29–38.

⁶⁹ See Stephen Kotkin, "1991 and the Russian Revolution: Sources, Conceptual Categories, Analytical Frameworks," *Journal of Modern History* 70, no. 2 (June 1998): 402. The same can be said of the Mexican regime of the 1920s and 1930s. See Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, 15–20.

of the senses” by desacralizing the authoritative sounds of bells and sacralizing a variety of substitutes.⁷⁰ Second, following the long-established pattern of converting bell metal to other uses in times of national crisis, Bolsheviks coveted not only the mystique of the bell’s aural authority, but also its constituent substance—its metal—for their dream of an industrialized society.⁷¹ In both modes of attack, the regime built on the historical precedents with a unique degree of passion and diligence.⁷²

In a little-explored ideological aspect of the struggle over church bells, Bolsheviks tried to supplant the illegitimate “noise” of these ancient instruments with modern sounds more in tune with their own hopes and sensibilities. While villagers cherished and obeyed the sound of their bells, the regime busied itself with the production of alternatives. In part, this meant that Bolsheviks aggressively pit a new visual culture against the old auditory one. Bell ringing, as we have seen, tended to be an inherently local and idiosyncratic affair. In contrast, Bolshevik activists emphasized printed sources of authority on the assumption that written communication was more rational, universal, and controllable than traditional, aural communication. This places Bolshevik policies well within a more general trend witnessed across Europe since the invention of the printing press, as social authority became more and more associated with printed texts and images.⁷³ Hence, for example, the Bolshevik campaign to “liquidate illiteracy” among the peasantry should be viewed at least in part as an attempt by the regime to establish its own signs of authority and methods of control in a society it hoped to transform radically in a modern key.⁷⁴ (See Figure 3.)

⁷⁰ See Corbin, *Village Bells*, 3, 24. For a general treatment of the French Revolution’s place in the Russian revolutionary tradition, see Dmitry Shlapentokh, *The French Revolution and the Russian Anti-democratic Tradition: A Case of False Consciousness* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1997).

⁷¹ European states, including Russia, had a long history of commandeering bells for national purposes, especially wartime weapons production. Of course, the casting of bells and cannon essentially involved the same technology, which meant that one set of craftsmen tended to produce both. For the Russian example, see Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 37, 40, 185, and Williams, *Bells of Russia*, 131. For the French, see Corbin, *Village Bells*, 8.

⁷² In general, Bolshevik modernity, including its dechristianizing component, reflected “various elements of the modernity found outside the USSR . . . in alternately undeveloped, exaggerated, and familiar forms.” Kotkin, “1991 and the Russian Revolution,” 387.

⁷³ Walter Ong’s exploration of how “print replaced the lingering hearing-dominance in the world of thought and expression” is especially relevant here. See his *Orality and Literacy*, 117–38. For the print-inspired loosening of local ties and identity and the shift toward larger collective loyalties, see Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, U.K., 1993), 95–97. In the West, this process, including its modern culmination, occurred in a much less self-conscious manner than in revolutionary Russia. The centrality of visual communication for Bolshevik political ambitions is explored in Jeffrey Brooks, *Thank You, Comrade Stalin! Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to Cold War* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), and Victoria Bonnell, *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). See also Peter Kenez, *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917–1929* (Cambridge, 1985), and Jeffrey Brooks, “The Breakdown in Production and Distribution of Printed Material, 1917–1927,” in Abbot Gleason, ed., *Bolshevik Culture: Experiment and Order in the Russian Revolution* (Bloomington, Ind., 1985), 151–74.

⁷⁴ See Husband, *Godless Communists*, 72. A typical headline for an article on literacy in *Voronezhskaiia Kommuna*, for example, exhorts readers to be “For Literacy, For Culture, For the New Way of Life (*novyi byt*)!” *Voronezhskaiia Kommuna*, May 1, 1928, 3. For more on the Bolshevik literacy campaigns, see Charles Clark, *Uprooting Otherness: The Literacy Campaign in NEP-era Russia* (Selinsgrove, Penn., 2000).

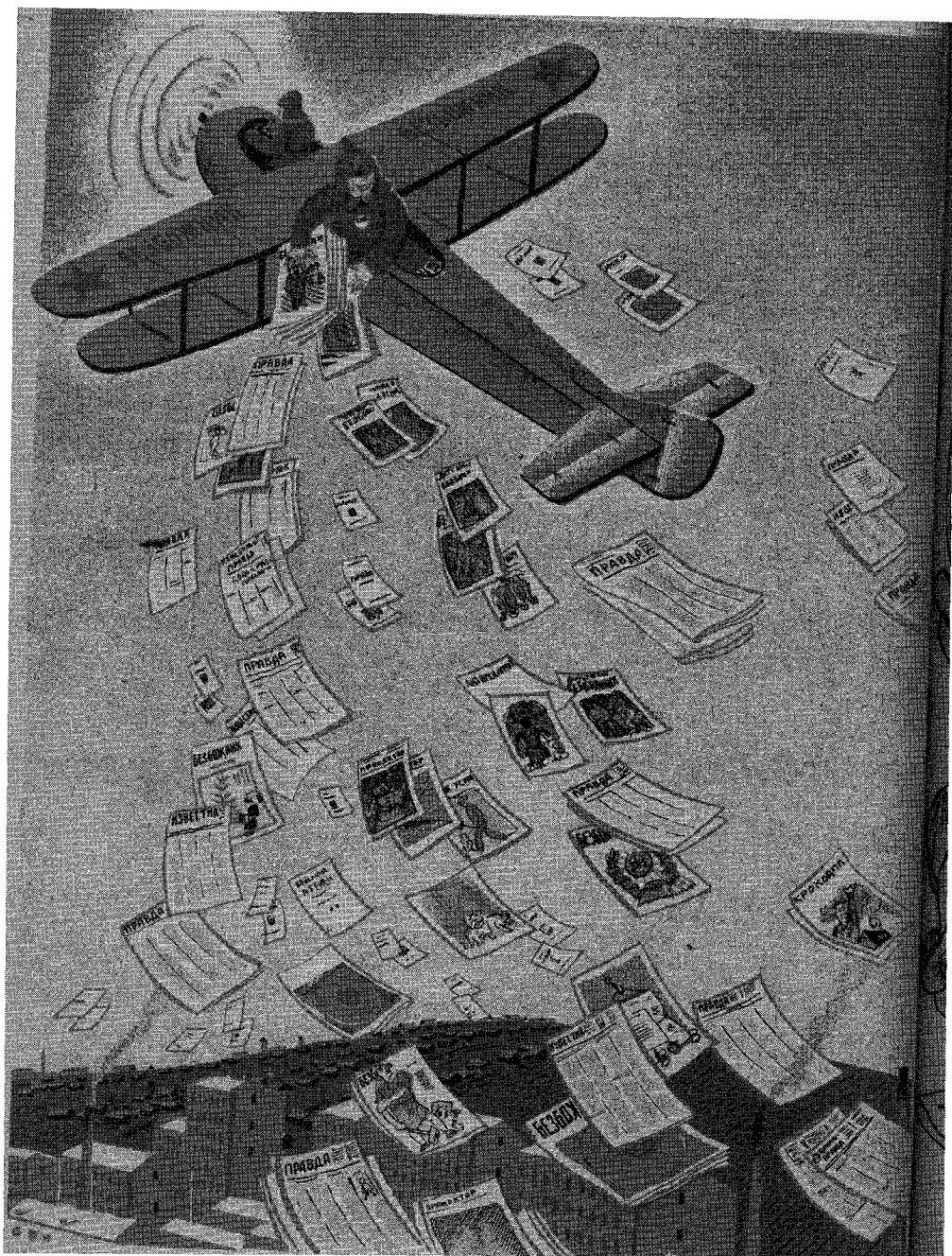


FIGURE 3: "On Press Day: Long Live the Bolshevik Godless Press!" A Soviet magazine depicts propagandists dropping newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets from an airplane. "Ko dnu pechati," by D. Mel'nikov, in the September 1931 issue of *Bezbozhnik u stanka* ("The Godless at the Workbench"). Reproduced with kind permission of the Hoover Institution Library.

Besides the visual signs of Bolshevik authority, activists also promoted a new auditory culture that inevitably drowned out the sensory primacy and sacrality of bell ringing. Since bells aurally contributed to and symbolized a communal identity and way of life outside the conceptions of the regime, activists sought new sounds that would do the same for the new Soviet identity and way of life. René Fülöp-Miller highlights, for example, Bolshevik efforts to produce music that embraced “all the noises of the mechanical age, the rhythm of the machine, the din of the great city and the factory, the whirring of driving belts, the clattering of motors, and the shrill notes of motor-horns.”⁷⁵ This industrial aesthetic produced such notable failures as “noise orchestras” played on common machinery and “factory whistle symphonies.” The factory whistle, in particular, constituted an attractive replacement for traditional bell ringing. It offered a fitting means to mark the new industrial schemas of time, work, and leisure, thereby challenging the auditory mechanism that had given communal life its temporal shape for centuries.⁷⁶ In imitation of its ancient rival, the steam whistle penetrated the surrounding territory with a deafening roar, reminding listeners that the factory had now supplanted the church as the locus of communal identity and worship.⁷⁷

Even more important than this aesthetic of industrial noise was the new authoritative sound brought to the Russian ear by electric loudspeakers and radios. As with factory whistles, loudspeakers—first mass-produced and put to extensive use at the start of the *Perelom*—had the potential to rival the bells’ own “power to deafen.”⁷⁸ While loudspeakers could summon people to public assemblies, they also afforded a more precise regulation of communication since they barraged listeners with constant, detailed propaganda. In this capacity, radio had even greater potential as an auditory source of Bolshevik authority. This is especially evident in the uniquely Soviet development of the cable or “wired” radio with tuning fixed to one or two official broadcasts and a switch to control only the volume.⁷⁹ While the

⁷⁵ René Fülöp-Miller, *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism: An Examination of Cultural Life in Soviet Russia*, rev. edn. (New York, 1965), 182. See also Billington, *The Icon and the Axe*, 42. Some important distinctions arise when comparing how the phenomenon of industrial noise unfolded during the earlier European Industrial Revolution and the industrialization of Russia under the Bolsheviks. In Western Europe, the new and growing mechanical din obscured and desacralized the sound of church bells more or less gradually. (See Corbin, *Village Bells*, 306–07.) In Russia under the Bolsheviks, by contrast, the process was more intentional and greatly sped up—industrial noises being peculiarly celebrated and magnified by the regime precisely to desacralize other sounds.

⁷⁶ For Bolshevik theories regarding the aural marking of proletarian time, see also Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (New York, 1989), 155–59 and Fülöp-Miller, *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism*, 183–84, 206–08. On rare occasions, local Bolshevik authorities managed to commandeer the sound of the church bell to serve their own purposes. See Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants*, 142.

⁷⁷ In an important memoir published during the *Perelom*, Semen Kanatchikov uses the factory, with its unique industrial soundscape, as a metaphor for home and temple. See Semen Kanatchikov, *A Radical Worker in Tsarist Russia: The Autobiography of Semen Ivanovich Kanatchikov*, Reginald E. Zelnik, ed. and trans. (Stanford, Calif., 1986), 52, 65, and Richard L. Hernandez, “The Confessions of Semen Kanatchikov: A Bolshevik Memoir as Spiritual Autobiography,” *Russian Review* 60, no. 1 (January 2001): 18–20. See also Fülöp-Miller, *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism*, 183. Again, the aural resacralization of civic or secular space under the Bolsheviks parallels analogous efforts in nineteenth-century France. See Corbin, *Village Bells*, 216.

⁷⁸ See S. Frederick Starr, “New Communications Technologies and Civil Society,” in *Science and the Soviet Social Order*, Loren R. Graham, ed., (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 28.

⁷⁹ Starr points out that “as late as 1952 two out of three radio receivers in the USSR were of this type.” Starr, “New Communications Technologies,” 29.

radio certainly offered an effective technique of control, “radiofication” (*radiofikatsiia*) also served powerful symbolic ends as a technological wonder rivaling any miracle attributed to religious sources.⁸⁰ On the eve of the *Perelom*, a magazine titled “Radio in the Village” (*Radio v derevne*) proclaimed hopefully, if perhaps prematurely, that “radio has firmly entered the way of life [by] of the new village. They have grown used to radio, [and] the radio broadcast is used productively; they talk about radio with enthusiasm.”⁸¹ For its part, the League of the Militant Godless recognized radio to be a “tribune with an audience of millions” and a great “agitational-propaganda power.” As such, the League vigorously promoted it as one of the most effective technological weapons available in the struggle against religion.⁸² Newspapers thus repeatedly demanded that “religion and vodka”—to Bolshevik minds, the two were inseparably linked—be replaced by “cinema and radio.”⁸³

Indeed, cinema effectively combined visual and aural communication for a mass audience and thus constituted one of the most powerful new means of establishing Bolshevik authority. Dziga Vertov, for example, having long produced silent documentary newsreels for the regime’s roaming agitational-propaganda trains, enthusiastically and brilliantly utilized sound as part of his medium and message in the early 1930s. Vertov’s *Entuziazm* (Ukrainfilm, 1930)—one of the first full-length Soviet documentary films—deftly weaves antireligious themes into a grandiose tribute to “socialist construction,” thereby instantiating nearly all of the phenomena discussed above.⁸⁴ *Entuziazm* showcases Vertov’s famous skill at the art of montage, juxtaposing, for example, close-up shots of a bright young woman listening to a radio broadcast with scenes of alcoholic destitution and religious worship. In this context, listening to a radio is portrayed as a veritable sacrament of the new socialist order.⁸⁵ (See Figure 4.) The film also prominently features the plundering of a

⁸⁰ Electronic technology was especially hallowed among regime enthusiasts as an emblem of “progress, of knowledge, and of society organized on a rational, scientific basis.” Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* 2d ed. (Chicago, 1985), 93.

⁸¹ *Radio v derevne*, December 11, 1927 (trial issue) as cited in Husband, *Godless Communists*, 69. (*Radio v derevne* began regular publication in 1928 and ended in 1931.) For other articles extolling the virtues of radio, see *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, January 14, 1928, 3. See also Husband, *Godless Communists*, 74–75.

⁸² GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 17, l. 14. For memos exhorting an aggressive use of radio and a report on how it figured in antireligious activism in the Central Black Earth Region, see GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 90, ll. 1–101 and GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 69, ll. 105, 252–53.

⁸³ *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, May 1, 1928, 3. Such enthusiasm notwithstanding, the actual exploitation of radio technology by the regime lagged far behind expectations. See Starr, “New Communications Technologies,” 29. For more on the development and political role of radio under the Bolsheviks during the *Perelom*, see N. D. Psurtsev, *Razvitie sviazi v SSSR, 1917–1967* (Moscow, 1967), 188–92, and T. M. Gorlaeva, *Radio Rossii: Politicheskii kontrol’ sovetskogo radioveschchaniia v 1920–1930-kh godakh* (Moscow, 2000).

⁸⁴ The film is also aptly known as “The Symphony of the Don River Basin” (*Sinfoniya Donbassa*). For brief discussions of Vertov and *Entuziazm*, see Ian Christie, “Making Sense of Early Soviet Sound,” in *Inside the Film Factory: New Approaches to Russian and Soviet Cinema*, Richard Taylor and Ian Christie, eds., (London, 1994), 183–84 and Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany*, 2d rev. ed. (London, 1998), 44–45, 55, 74.

⁸⁵ For evidence of faith in radio’s ability to lead inexorably to irreligion, see GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 17, l. 14 and *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, February 11, 1928. See also Husband, *Godless Communists*, 75. Not surprisingly, radio served the Bolsheviks so well as an auditory symbol of their authority that many religious believers maligned it as satanic. (See TsDNIVO, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1624, l. 25 and Husband, *Godless Communists*, 75.) This tendency notwithstanding, a few believers bravely attempted to co-opt



FIGURE 4: Listening to a symphony orchestra broadcast by radio. A scene from Dziga Vertov's film *Entuziazm* (Ukrainfilm, 1930) celebrates modern sounds and modern technology.

church, which it contrasts with the establishment of movie theaters and socialist culture clubs. *Entuziazm* is most notable, however, for being among the first productions to take full advantage of the new technique of recording sound on film. In it, Vertov experimented with the same quasi-musical arrangements of industrial noise mentioned above. He also masterfully juxtaposed the sounds of religious worship with their Bolshevik counterparts—pitting bell ringing, liturgical singing, and priestly prayers against factory whistles, symphony orchestras, and political speeches.

THE BOLSHIEVİK ASSAULT on village culture necessarily involved more than challenging the auditory authority of bells, however. All the previously mentioned tactics—

the device's growing authority by inverting its meaning as an instrument of the New Way of Life. An unnamed religious activist elaborately dressed in crosses and medals, for example, preached apocalyptic sermons against collective farms throughout Bobruiskii county in 1930. In this, he played the traditional role of wandering prophet, but with the decidedly modern twist of claiming that he had received his message from a "heavenly radio." GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 69, l. 77. For other complaints that religious organizations utilized radio for "their own purposes," see GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 44, l. 39.

the countless public arguments made in speeches and newsprint, the legal suppression of ringing, and the production of competing sounds—achieved only a limited desacralization of the bells. Because they were, in themselves, such potent physical symbols, activists ultimately had to dislodge the bells from their lofty places in church towers and recast them within Bolshevik molds. During the *Perelom*, no other end loomed as large on the Bolshevik horizon as did industrialization. The First Five-Year Plan, then, provided a clear and urgent rationale for finally removing church bells and reconsecrating them to the regime's own ends. Indeed, by November 1929, even central authorities were calling for the systematic requisitioning of the sacred instruments "for the needs of industrialization."⁸⁶ Petr Zarin echoed these demands in his attack on Easter bell ringing in 1930. Although at first he advocated merely silencing them, he eventually arrived at the coup de grâce: "where the ground has been laid, [activists must] propose the removal of the bells for industrialization."⁸⁷

In the heady days of the *Perelom*, achieving the Five-Year Plan's industrial goals called forth the kind of mass devotion to a cause rarely seen outside of wars or religious crusades. The regime fostered a cult of the machine, which had as its rural expression a hope-filled investment in tractor production as a means to drag the village into the mechanical age. Such faith in the transformative power of machines went hand-in-hand with the glorification of the material out of which the machines were built. Hence, Joseph Stalin's famous vow in 1929 that Russia would at last become a "metallic country" suggests another crucial component of the Bolshevik cultus.⁸⁸ A pamphleteer for Magnitogorsk, the country's preeminent new city of metal, earnestly sermonized in 1932 that

Metal is not produced for its own usage . . . Metal draws all industry along with it, all spheres of human life, beginning with the production of turbines, . . . and ending with books. Metal is the basis of modern civilization.⁸⁹

Yet the evocation of the "metallic country" represented more than a simple exhortation toward increased industrial production. It also served as an apt metaphor for the mythic "New Soviet Man"—modern, socialist, strong, and malleable under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party. As Gerasimov's "Canticle of Iron" suggests, this New Man was to be cast in the blast furnaces and mills of Soviet industry.⁹⁰ Metal thus became an essential ingredient or sacred substance from

⁸⁶ See Freeze, "The Stalinist Assault," 216–17.

⁸⁷ TsDNIVO, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1152, l. 106.

⁸⁸ Stalin, November 7, 1929, as quoted in Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, 177. Kotkin notes that steel "held a kind of magic aura" for the average Bolshevik believer. The very name "Stalin"—a *nom de guerre* meaning "Man of Steel"—was an irresistible symbol for propagandists and industrial planners alike as they paid homage to *Stal' i Stalin* (Steel and Stalin) and redundantly named metallurgical plants after him. Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 71.

⁸⁹ A. Malenky, *Magnitogorsk: The Metallurgical Combine of the Future* (Moscow, 1932), 55, as quoted in Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain*, 37.

⁹⁰ See epigraph above. For a discussion of the "metallization of the body as a metaphor for the creation of the New Man," see Rolf Hellebust, "Metal in the Works of Vasilii Aksenov," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 40 (1998): 92–93. For a survey of attempts by modernizing regimes to raise up a "New Man," see the editor's introduction in Amir Weiner, ed., *Landscaping the Human Garden: Twentieth-Century Population Management in a Comparative Framework* (Stanford, 2003), 1–18. For the Soviet case, see Jochen Hellbeck, "Fashioning the Stalinist Soul: The Diary of Stepan Podlubnyi (1931–

which the most solemn Bolshevik dreams for society were to be incarnated. Acquiring metal for these dreams had, for many Bolshevik activists, the élan of a holy quest.⁹¹

The confiscation of bells, then, aimed precisely at these symbolic ends as much as at the pragmatic, economic ends of industrialization.⁹² More specifically, besides collecting metal for industrialization, the confiscation campaigns also aimed at symbolically consolidating the new Soviet society. Many of the meetings engineered to demand the bells' silence also passed resolutions earmarking them as contributions for industrialization.⁹³ As formulaic and choreographed as they were, these resolutions were themselves highly symbolic acts that ironically expanded and inverted the archaic process by which villagers had once cast their bells. Instead of individual peasants committing themselves to a local village identity, assemblies of people from ideologically significant categories—students, members of the Young Communist League (Komsomol), poor peasants, workers—voted “overwhelmingly” to hand over this inheritance of the Old Way of Life to have it, and by implication their entire society, recast in the mold of the New.⁹⁴

The “Communist alchemy” of converting potent symbols of the old order into scrap metal for the new, was “an irony lost on neither state nor peasant.”⁹⁵ With this in mind, it should come as no surprise that the countless bells still hanging in many rural parish towers—even when silent—represented an intolerable affront to hallowed ideological principles. As the caption under one prominent photo of requisitioned church bells in *Voronezhskaia Kommuna* insisted, “until now these [bells] lay around as dead weight [*mertvym gruzom*].”⁹⁶ Of course, this affront presented an opportunity for Bolshevik activists to set things demonstratively right, which is why the confiscation campaign received such prominent attention within the propaganda media. Confiscation allowed the wasted metal trapped in the bells finally to be put to good and proper use. This transvaluation of bells from “dead weight” into meaningful weight came partly through numerous reports on their tonnage in confiscation. Typical among these, *Voronezhskaia Kommuna* once

1939),” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 44, no. 3 (1996): 344–73. For the analogous aspiration among Mexican revolutionaries, see Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, 8–9.

⁹¹ For an extensive treatment of the “March for Metal” during Soviet industrialization, see Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain*, 37–71.

⁹² Freeze, “The Stalinist Assault,” 217.

⁹³ See, for example, the meetings of school children and their parents reported in TsDNIVO, f. 37, op. 1, d. 252, ll. 24, 27.

⁹⁴ Here again, a comparison with the French revolutionary precedent is revealing: “The metamorphosis of bells into cannon, a symbolic fusion testifying to the resoluteness of the nation, was seen as a patriotic offering, a purification, and an act of reparation.” Corbin, *Village Bells*, 13.

⁹⁵ Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 42. See also Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kozlov, ed., *Neizvestnaia Rossiia: XX vek*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1992), 344–48 for a similar process underway in 1932–1933 involving the dedication of Moscow church bells to the construction of the new state library. In this case the bells were melted down and converted into huge bronze bas reliefs of historical scientific heroes—appropriate icons for what the editors of this documentary collection ironically call a “Temple of Science.” Kozlov, *Neizvestnaia Rossiia*, 337. These portraits still adorn the facade of the library.

⁹⁶ *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, August 2, 1929, 2.

gushed that the “Largest bell in the USSR,” which had been requisitioned from the Troitskii-Sergeev monastery, weighed in at an astounding “4,000 poods” or more than seventy tons.⁹⁷

An agency local to the Central Black Earth Region named Rudmetalltorg was one of the many organizations that eagerly took up this task of converting tons of bell metal into a valuable industrial resource. In doing so, it provided important aid to the League of the Militant Godless, the Young Communist League, and the party itself in their assault on the traditional culture and identity of the village.⁹⁸ After the promulgation of the twin policies of dekulakization and “wholesale collectivization” in late 1929 and early 1930, Rudmetalltorg rushed in to take advantage of the increasingly militant scene. The agency received official permission in January 1930 from the Borisoglebskii county (*okrug*) finance department to “survey” ostensibly “broken bells” in nearly two dozen villages of Peskovskii, Muchenskii, Mordovskii, Borisoglebskii, and Tokarevskii districts.⁹⁹ Undoubtedly, these bells were “surveyed” to prepare for their eventual confiscation in the name of industrialization. In any case, the agency had been conducting such confiscations, ideally dovetailed with collectivization, since at least the fall of 1929. A *Voronezhskaia Kommuna* article published on October 30, for example, described how Rudmetalltorg had timed a bell confiscation to coincide with the organization of a collective farm in Mikhailovka district.¹⁰⁰ Despite such high-profile successes, however, the agency was privately appealing to the Godless League for its propaganda expertise since the local populations, as we have seen, fiercely resisted the confiscation campaign. The league needed to “prepare” villagers for the requisitioning by reminding them that, while the bells were “useless (*bespoleznye*) to the village,” the nation desperately needed them to help alleviate severe shortages in the metal supply.¹⁰¹

As noted earlier, the League of the Militant Godless enthusiastically instigated many of the confiscations. Zarin, the League’s regional chairman, estimated the total amount of bell metal requisitioned from October 1929 through January 1930 in the Central Black Earth Region to be 678.5 tons. Totals in the region ranged from 199 tons in Eletsenskii county to a meager 8 tons in Staryi Oskol. Zarin lamented that these figures lagged far behind original expectations, representing “only 2.3 percent of the total.” Since “several counties have done almost nothing in this

⁹⁷ *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, January 9, 1930, 2.

⁹⁸ An early 1930 directive entitled “The tasks of the League of the Militant Godless in regions undergoing wholesale collectivization” includes the “confiscation of church bells for industrialization” on a list of urgent priorities. See GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 44, l. 82. Yet, the League did not always play so direct a role in the rash of church closings and bell confiscations that occurred at the height of collectivization. There is reason to believe that the Young Communist League served as the primary instigator of much antireligious activism during the *Perelom*. See GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 47, l. 102 and Fitzpatrick, *Stalin’s Peasants*, 60. Although the Young Communists certainly deserve much credit for the development, the role played by other agencies such as Rudmetalltorg in attacking the religious Old Way of Life has not yet been sufficiently explored. For another example of an ancillary organization’s participation—in this case, the “All-Russian Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives” in Rossos-hanskii county—see GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 44, l. 72.

⁹⁹ TsDNIVO, f. 37, op. 1, d. 252, l. 13.

¹⁰⁰ *Voronezhskaia Kommuna*, October 30, 1929, 3.

¹⁰¹ TsDNIVO, f. 37, op. 1, d. 252, l. 13.

regard,” he urgently requested that the authorities extend the period during which bells could be confiscated legally.¹⁰² Zarin’s laments notwithstanding, there are indications that the regime’s confiscation campaign actually went better than expected. Not surprisingly, the dramatic climax of the campaign coincided with the peak of the collectivization drive during the fall and winter of 1929–1930. In those few frenetic months, 1.1 million tons of bell metal had been confiscated nationwide—wildly beyond the original goal of 15,000 tons. Subsequent annual totals, while strong, were mere aftershocks of this earlier catastrophe.¹⁰³

As it had on so many other “fronts” of the Bolshevik rural assault, the publication of Stalin’s article “Dizzy with Success” on March 2, 1930 temporarily cooled the confiscation campaign.¹⁰⁴ It also spurred an official reprimand of Rudmetalltorg’s leadership by the Central Black Earth Region Party Committee. The latter cited the campaign’s ostensible “illegality” and the “harm” (*vrednost’*) it had brought to the cause of socialism—namely by stirring up the kinds of revolts already discussed here.¹⁰⁵ Temporarily suspending the assault on the village after “Dizzy with Success,” however, had the unintended effect of emboldening villagers to go on a broad counteroffensive against the regime and its policies—the last moments of widespread, mass resistance to the Bolshevik regime until its demise in the early 1990s.¹⁰⁶

THE NUMBER, SIZE, and intensity of what Bolsheviks themselves called “mass uprisings” (*massovye vystupleniia*) grew rapidly during the first few years of the *Perelom* and reached their peak in the spring of 1930. Official statistics, for example, show a twenty-fold increase in the number of uprisings from 1928 through 1930.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² TsDNIVO, f. 37, op. 1, d. 252, ll. 55–56. The report is located in an unidentified newspaper clipping from January 30, 1930. Unfortunately, while Zarin provides statistics for a dozen counties, he does not elaborate on the meaning of his figure of “2.3 percent.”

¹⁰³ Freeze, “The Stalinist Assault,” 217. Freeze offers figures of 30,000 tons in 1930–1931; 45,000 tons in 1931–1932; and 40,000 tons in 1932–1933. As another measure of the campaign’s success, Sheila Fitzpatrick cites an astonishing 90 percent of all church bells in Siberia as having been confiscated during the winter of 1930. Fitzpatrick, *Stalin’s Peasants*, 62.

¹⁰⁴ In “Dizzy with Success,” Stalin brought collectivization to a strategic, short-lived standstill by sharply criticizing overly zealous collectivizers who inspired widespread animosity toward the regime and its rural project. The article first appeared in *Pravda*, no. 60, March 2, 1930.

¹⁰⁵ The Regional Party Committee even went so far as to “direct the regional prosecutor . . . to hold responsible those guilty of such clearly illegal actions.” TsDNIVO, f. 2, op. 1, d. 788, l. 24. For similar criticisms of bell confiscations undertaken without the “appropriate” agitational and legal preparation, see GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 21, l. 48; d. 47, l. 102; d. 70, l. 74; and TsDNIVO, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1075, l. 1.

¹⁰⁶ See Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 134. Martin Malia avers that after the *Perelom*, the Russian countryside would “never again have the will to defy Soviet power.” Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, 199. Sheila Fitzpatrick’s study of the village after collectivization and Amir Weiner’s work on the countryside in the aftermath of World War II show how reticent villagers would become—choosing passive resistance or, increasingly, acquiescence over the kinds of violent resistance witnessed during the *Perelom*. See Fitzpatrick, *Stalin’s Peasants* and Amir Weiner, *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 298–314. In sharp contrast, the Mexican Revolution attenuated its antireligious policies by the late 1930s in response to “a combination of Catholic militancy, official state tolerance, benevolent ambiguity from the Cárdenas government, and a generally diplomatic stance on the part of organized labor.” Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, 78.

¹⁰⁷ See Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 136. The Central Black Earth Region, in particular, witnessed some of the largest and most numerous disturbances in the country. In 1930, for example, the region was

During the brief pause in the rural assault after “Dizzy with Success,” these uprisings put the rejection of Bolshevik policies on spectacular display. Local authorities in the village of Bol’shie Iaľchiki, for example, had already locked up the church and its bells during wholesale collectivization and dekulakization in the winter of 1929–1930. On March 23, 1930, however, someone broke into the tower and rang the bells anyway, signaling the moment for the community to revolt. Two to three hundred villagers answered the summons, demanding the return of church property, the immediate dissolution of the collective farm, the reopening of valuable communal woodlands, the freeing of those arrested as kulaks, and the return of their confiscated property.¹⁰⁸ A part of the crowd even broke away to evict forcibly those who occupied dekulakized property. Another group surrounded and menaced various leaders of the collective farm, Young Communist League, and soviet with sticks and clubs, specifically threatening to beat up the latter’s chairman. These officials, armed with their own weapons, managed to hold off the mob for about four hours until it dispersed. Villagers, however, vowed that they would soon resume the confrontation. Having been thwarted by firearms three days earlier, an even larger crowd gathered on March 26, surrounded a young militiaman, and demanded his revolver. Deploying yet another signal from the Bolshevik repertoire of authoritative sounds, the militiaman fired his revolver into the air, bringing several officials from the village soviet to the scene. Villagers then confronted these officials with shouts of “Down with Soviet authority (*Sovvlast*)! We don’t need collective farms! Open the churches! Return the dekulakized!”¹⁰⁹

Shouts like these (and worse) typically mixed with the peals of church bells to form an especially loud and noisy threat to Bolshevik authority. Lynne Viola astutely observes that “noise protests . . . served to confuse, disorient, and vocally disarm Soviet power, preventing it from exercising its voice of authority.” She also points out that women took the initiative—as they did in many other instances of anti-Bolshevik activity—producing “noise” that played on and reinforced the gender prejudices of Bolshevik activists, who habitually heard women’s demands as “irrational cacophony.”¹¹⁰ Hence the successful political effects of this “noise” largely depended on Bolsheviks hearing it as the frightening hysteria of a mob. Nevertheless, we must not lose sight of the fact that, amid the screams, curses, and chiming bells, one could hear reasoned challenges to Bolshevik policies.¹¹¹

second only to Ukraine in total number of uprisings with 1,373 and 4,098 respectively. In terms of the size of revolts, however, the Central Black Earth Region had an average of 316 participants versus Ukraine’s 298. Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 138–40. For a social analysis of the general trends of collectivization and dekulakization in the Central Black Earth Region, see Pavel Vladimirovich Zagorovskii, *Sotsial’no-politicheskaia istoriia tsentral’no-chernozemnoi oblasti, 1928–1934* (Voronezh, 1995), 37–79.

¹⁰⁸ In an episode in the village of Monino, Khlevenskii district, a crowd of about 200 gathered in response to the sacristan’s bell ringing. The crowd then boldly challenged the dekulakization campaign by freeing recently arrested villagers, including the parish priest. See TsDNIVO, f. 2, op. 1, d. 980, l. 58.

¹⁰⁹ Details of this episode are drawn from GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 21, l. 49.

¹¹⁰ Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 201. For more on Bolshevik gender biases, see Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 189–203. An example of a Bolshevik activist explicitly dismissing the pro-religious political activity of women as just so much “noisemaking and screaming” can be found in GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 21, ll. 45–46.

¹¹¹ The major thrust of Viola’s very important argument about women in village politics is that the

Although the regime's activists usually claimed that such uprisings had been planned and executed by kulaks, the class character of these events was far less straightforward than that. By silencing and removing church bells, Bolshevik activists understood and loudly proclaimed that they were despoiling villagers' "symbolic capital."¹¹² Of course, the latter did not need Bolshevik proclamations to realize that their community's way of life—its traditional practices and identity—was at stake in these confiscations. Bells had been essential to the texture of village life for centuries. Villagers naturally, then, viewed their silence and confiscation as a direct assault on their community's very existence.¹¹³

For their part, nearly everything that Bolshevik activists set out to accomplish only convinced villagers of the holistic nature of the regime's various policies. As one famous adage put it, "The struggle against religion is the struggle for socialism." The same meetings where villagers further were alternately cajoled and threatened into collectivizing their property were usually the same meetings where they were pushed to "donate" their bells or close their churches.¹¹⁴ Moreover, resistance to such antireligious activity, as we have seen, typically served the Bolsheviks as the pretext for purging the village of "kulak elements." Yet the rebellion in Bol'shie Ial'chiki, like thousands of others, stemmed not from kulak economic self-interest, but from threats to the place of church bells in village life. The regime's antireligious assault then triggered a flood of challenges to the whole gamut of Bolshevik policies. Defending the church and its bells, it turns out, was integral to defending the village against the entire Bolshevik project.¹¹⁵

In other words, as has been true wherever and whenever radically modernizing regimes attacked traditional cultures like that of Russia's rural population, the sacred and the secular were not easily separable in the ensuing conflict.¹¹⁶ Thus,

latter were "motivated largely by a set of rational interests." See Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 187. In light of Viola's extensive work on the subject, the fact that women led many of the revolts discussed here is not surprising. That Russian women played dominant roles in the defense of religion in particular while Bolshevik antireligious efforts displayed certain gendered features has yet to be studied in sufficient depth, though several scholars do address the topic. See Young, *Power and the Sacred*, 126–29, 215–16, 265–67; John Anderson, "Out of the Kitchen, Out of the Temple: Religion, Atheism and Women in the Soviet Union," in *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union*, Sabrina Petra Ramet, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 206–207; Husband, *Godless Communists*, 102–10; and Peris, *Storming the Heavens*, 79–83. For analogous phenomena in the French and Mexican Revolutions, see Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred*, 197–214 and Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, 26–27.

¹¹² The concept of "symbolic capital" is borrowed from Corbin, *Village Bells*, 210.

¹¹³ Catholics rebelling against French revolutionary authorities similarly believed that the church's rituals and sacred articles belonged to and stood for the community as a whole. In their view, then, what was at stake in the regime's antireligious policies was not private religious belief, but the survival of their community's entire way of life. See Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred*, 17–18, 181–82, 215.

¹¹⁴ Indeed, the League of the Militant Godless was as embroiled in the collectivization campaign as it was in its mandated antireligious work. For example, a brigade of antireligious activists, sent to the Central Black Earth Region in January and February of 1930, summarized its assignment in this way: "The brigade conducted antireligious work, combining it with the tasks of the day (wholesale collectivization, liquidation of the kulak, [and] collecting for the seed fund)." GARF, f. 5407, op. 1, d. 60, l. 18. See also Peris, *Storming the Heavens*, 111–12.

¹¹⁵ Most of the revolts discussed in this essay were similarly comprehensive. Before being suppressed, the bell-inspired uprisings in Uryv and Goldaevka, for instance, took no time at all to develop into a systematic attack on the symbols, officials, and policies of Bolshevik authority. See Tereshchenko, *Uryv*, 83–85.

¹¹⁶ This was certainly the case during the French Revolution. See Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred*, 174, 215.

while the official statistics on the number and size of rural uprisings provide some notion as to the scale of peasant rebellion, they also present us with certain analytical difficulties. Out of the total of 13,754 disturbances reported throughout the country in 1930, for example, 54 percent were officially attributed to collectivization, 17 percent to dekulakization, and only 11 percent to church closings and bell confiscations.¹¹⁷ As we have seen, however, such statistical categories clearly belie the complexity of the rural struggle for power and authority during the *Velikii Perelom*. Although the bell played an important role in all the episodes discussed in this essay, we cannot know for certain how they were reported in the official statistics. Was the main object of contention in these episodes really the bell itself? Not exactly, since its silence or confiscation often simply served as the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back. The complexity of these episodes suggests, however, that church bells were probably central to a wider number of disturbances than these statistics allow and thus were also more important to the village's culture of authority than the statistics imply. Here too, Bolshevik prejudices were likely at work, undercutting the significance of these troublesome heralds of the Old Way of Life.

¹¹⁷ Viola, *Peasant Rebels*, 137. The remaining uprisings were attributed to conflicts over "food problems" (9 percent), the harvest (4 percent), requisitioning (3 percent), and miscellaneous (2 percent).

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Review Essay
Gutenberg-e: Electronic Entry to the
Historical Professoriate

PATRICK MANNING

THE GUTENBERG-E PROJECT, publishing revisions of prize-winning dissertations as electronic books, has released eleven works as of this writing. Even in a world of widespread experimentation with electronic publishing, this collaboration of Columbia University Press and the American Historical Association (AHA) is a distinctive initiative because it combines electronic access with attention to outstanding junior scholars.¹ With over a third of the projected works now online, it has become feasible to assess the program's relative strength and promise. This essay reviews the e-books and the project that has produced them. The effort of Gutenberg-e to update the form of first books in history, itself a big step, ends up revealing dilemmas as much as generating progress in the discipline of history. One dilemma lies in setting the balance in historical publication among print and electronic works, books and articles, monographs and syntheses. A second dilemma poses the question of whether graduate education should prepare new historians to focus on field-specific monographic research or on a wider range of professional responsibilities. Thus the books and the project mark an important turning point, though not a definitive step forward, for the discipline of history. The e-books themselves provide an intriguing sample of work by scholars entering the historical profession and thereby provoke reflection going beyond the works themselves. The very task of reviewing eleven works in four distinct fields of history stretches the usual standards for review: it leads the reviewer to consider questions within the various fields of history but also questions on interpreting modern history as a whole.

The topics of these eleven works, if listed in chronological order, provide a stylized narrative of key issues in the modern world. The narrative begins with urban centers in fifteenth-century Spain and continues to Indian cities in the twenty-first century. Cities of fifteenth-century Aragon, with overlapping communities of Christians, Jews, and Muslims, sought valiantly if unsuccessfully to

The author expresses appreciation to Michael Grossberg, Maria Bucur, and five reviewers for comments on earlier versions of this essay; and to Kate Wittenberg, Robert Townsend, Heidi Gengenbach, and Peter Dimock for providing information essential to the essay.

¹ The Gutenberg-e project (<http://www.gutenberg-e.org/>) is not to be confused with the earlier Project Gutenberg which, beginning in 1971, has posted some ten thousand electronic texts of books, mostly "older literary works that are in the public domain in the United States" (<http://www.gutenberg.net/>).

maintain their complex identity in the face of an Inquisition and a monarchy determined to purify them.² The extension of Castilian monarchy to sixteenth-century Mexico brought the creation of women's institutions as part of the colonial order: monasteries and schools proliferated and provided models for the colonial elite.³ In seventeenth-century Panama, the Tule population of Darién, nominally subordinate to Spain but in contact with passing groups of Spanish priests and other European adventurers, maintained its initiative in dealing with visitors and thus gave a continuity to the region's social history.⁴ In an increasingly worldly Europe, playwrights of eighteenth-century France wrote for steadily broader audiences yet still focused on gaining acceptance of Old Regime authorities in order to achieve performance of their plays at the Comédie Française.⁵ The young Napoleon I, at the end of the eighteenth century, changed the nature of public performance with brilliant propaganda that magnified and, in some cases, created his victories.⁶ British imperial power, encompassing all of South Asia in the nineteenth century, created and imposed new categories for the colonized, yet the Telugu-speaking people of South India responded with categories of their own that served to reaffirm and revise their identity.⁷

Then with the cataclysm of war among the Great Powers in 1914, each segment of the military had to adjust to changing technology and tactics: leaders of the British artillery patiently fit into a larger system of command that did not use them to best advantage.⁸ In the succeeding and smaller yet pivotal Spanish civil war, the rising Soviet regime moved late in the game to provide military and cultural support to the republicans but simply lacked the resources or the cultural connections to provide effective assistance.⁹ The United States developed its own plans for global positioning in the 1940s: Sumner Welles, relying on his experience with earlier U.S. hegemony in Latin America, rose and then fell as a theorist of American neocolonialism.¹⁰ World War II, that greatest and most complex of wars, included in one of its eddies the recruitment of 100,000 non-German soldiers into the German army and SS, though they rarely gained prominence on the battlefield.¹¹ In a more gradual development throughout the twentieth century, Marwari merchant families of Calcutta created themselves as an ethnic group, and developed

² Mary Halavais, *Like Wheat to the Miller: Community, Convivencia, and the Construction of Morisco Identity in Sixteenth-Century Aragon* (New York, 2002).

³ Jacqueline Holler, *Escogidas Plantas: Nuns and Beatas in Mexico City, 1531–1601* (New York, 2002).

⁴ Ignacio Gallup-Díaz, *The Door of the Seas and Key to the Universe: Indian Politics and Imperial Rivalry in the Darién, 1640–1750* (New York, 2002).

⁵ Gregory S. Brown, *A Field of Honor: Writers, Court Culture and Public Theater in French Literary Life from Racine to the Revolution* (New York, 2002).

⁶ Wayne Hanley, *The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda, 1796–1799* (New York, 2002).

⁷ Michael Katten, *Colonial Lists/Indian Power: Identity Politics in Nineteenth-Century Telugu-Speaking India* (New York, 2002).

⁸ Sanders Marble, *"The Infantry cannot do with a gun less": The Place of the Artillery in the BEF, 1914–1918* (New York, 2003).

⁹ Daniel Kowalsky, *The Soviet Union and the Spanish Republic: Diplomatic, Military, and Cultural Relations, 1936–1939* (New York, 2004).

¹⁰ Christopher D. O'Sullivan, *Sumner Welles, Postwar Planning, and the Quest for a New World Order, 1937–1943* (New York, 2003).

¹¹ Kenneth W. Estes, *A European Anabasis: Western European Volunteers in the German Army and SS, 1940–1945* (New York, 2003).

remarkable commercial wealth throughout India, sustaining and advancing their community through public ceremonial life based on the cult of sati, with its veneration of suicide by threatened widows.¹²

This episodic narrative of cultural, political, and social change in the modern world hints at possible larger patterns of interaction and change, though the authors do not explicitly address such patterns. The topics, fascinating in their range even in this small sample, reflect the density in the texture of human life. The task of discussing these works poses the choice of discussing them all at once or dividing them, as historians normally do, to address the works within subfields: by region, topic, or time frame. Along a different axis, one can discuss them as contributions to research in general or distinguish them as first books in contrast to other types of research publication. Further, since these works appear in electronic format, this review must discuss both their form and their interpretive substance, and suggest how form and substance interact.

The purpose of bringing these electronic books into existence, as initially expressed in 1999 by AHA President Robert Darnton, was to save the historical monograph. The means to this end were to create competitions to identify and to reward excellent work at dissertation and first-book levels and thereby to enable endangered fields to thrive. From the viewpoint of Columbia University Press, the initiative presented an opportunity to develop a business model for an electronic successor to the university-press monograph of old. From the viewpoint of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, which funded the program, it was another aspect of a broad campaign of developing electronic publication in the social sciences. The project, with its cargo of electronic monographs, was thus launched with thoughtful enthusiasm but has had to stay afloat in stormy seas. In the six years since Gutenberg-e was launched, library budgets have tightened, the funding of humanities and social sciences continues to shrink in relative terms, and the expansion of interdisciplinary analysis has reshuffled relations among the disciplines. Most specifically for the discipline of history, the AHA's Committee on Graduate Education published a major report that is provoking substantial rethinking of graduate study for historians.¹³

The Gutenberg-e books make solid contributions to their fields but do not now appear as breakthroughs, either as individual works or as a group. They are technically impressive; they not only translate print works effectively to electronic form but also add significant insights through links among documents. Their electronic form does not yet provide a new sort of interpretation or new ways of reading history. Because of the limited scale of readership, Gutenberg-e is not yet proving to be a successful business model. Nevertheless, the books demonstrate small but significant changes in conceptualization, production, assessment, and distribution. They herald an investment that, if pursued, will lead to learning of many sorts. The books and the project combine to demonstrate a need for deeper review of the profession to address electronic publication, forms of academic

¹² Anne Hardgrove, *Community and Public Culture: The Marwaris in Calcutta 1897–1997* (New York, 2002).

¹³ Thomas Bender et al., *The Education of Historians for the Twenty-first Century* (Champaign, Ill., 2004).

publishing, modes of interpreting the past, relations with other disciplines, and the relationships among graduate study, first books, and leadership of the profession. The AHA should sustain the Gutenberg-e project if possible, and historians generally should direct energy to studying the problems revealed by the project.

This essay analyzes the professional, historiographical, and technical issues the program highlights and urges further debate on the Gutenberg-e books.

THE GUTENBERG-E PROJECT began when the AHA and Columbia University Press, with support from the Mellon Foundation, entered into an agreement to conduct a three-year campaign of publishing electronic books based on prize-winning dissertations. Robert Darnton had launched the campaign for a program of electronic publication of first books in a series of articles and talks.¹⁴ In the next year, Darnton offered an optimistic assessment of where the program was headed: "The prize-winners, six a year, stand out as the most talented historians of their generation. The selection procedure is so rigorous that it serves as a guarantee of quality control . . . Gutenberg-e is . . . a way of promoting the best in scholarship at a time of crisis."¹⁵

Darnton's manifesto was sufficient to gather support for launching the project, and he has remained an enthusiastic proponent and participant. Darnton's project aimed at saving the monograph, sustaining endangered fields, and renewing the history profession. Good monographs, within existing regional fields, were what we needed to sustain historical scholarship. The process of selecting prize dissertations would locate the best new historians in each field, and reward them and the fields. Collaborative work with an energetic press would be sufficient to transform the prize dissertations into engaging and marketable electronic books. In practice, the work of the project and the reception of its results brought encounters with several major constraints and dilemmas, and revealed assumptions that may not have been evident at first.

For Columbia University Press, the project allowed financial and intellectual investment in creating e-books, working closely with authors to transform print dissertations into electronic monographs. Gutenberg-e fit into the larger investment in electronic publication in social sciences, supported through contributions by the Mellon Foundation. But the difference between translating existing works into electronic form and creating new resources is immense. Electronic versions of existing print journal articles have been highly successful. Work on creating a new monograph is more original but definitely slower and more costly; electronic first books cost more than electronic reprints of existing books. A separate question is whether electronic first books will be cheaper than first books in print. In addition, how will costs be divided between author, publisher, university, purchaser, and reader? What are benefits to each?

¹⁴ Robert Darnton, "Three Problems in Search of a Solution," *Perspectives* 37, no. 2 (February 1999): 2, 18–19; Darnton, "A Program for Reviving the Monograph," *Perspectives* 37, no. 3 (March 1999): 2, 25–26; Darnton, "The New Age of the Book," *New York Review of Books*, March 18, 1999. For a follow-up in later years, see James M. McPherson, "A Crisis in Scholarly Publishing," *Perspectives* 41, no. 1 (October 2003).

¹⁵ Darnton, "What is the Gutenberg-e Program?" *Perspectives* 38 (September 2000): 29.

The dissertations were to be selected competitively on a range of historical topics. Beginning in 1999, and renewed for a second three-year term in 2002, the AHA has selected an average of six doctoral dissertations a year for the Gutenberg-e awards, which include grants of \$20,000 and publication of revised dissertations as e-books by Columbia University Press. With considerable fanfare, awards have been announced annually at the AHA annual meeting, beginning in January 2000.

The approach of Gutenberg-e represents an effort to update the historic mission of university presses: to publish works of scholarly significance for which there may not be a large and remunerative market. The regional, temporal, and topical fields of the competition were selected with an eye to giving prominence and support to areas understood to be significant but not necessarily the most prominent or widely subscribed. The topics were: for 1999, Africa, colonial Latin America, and South Asia; for 2000, Europe before 1800; for 2001, military and foreign relations; for 2002, North America before 1900; and for 2003, women and gender. The final competition in 2004 was open to submissions on all topics.¹⁶ The first three fields of competition were chosen as a part of the grant process (they were identified as “endangered” fields). The last three topics were chosen by the AHA staff. The annual number of applicants ranged from a low of fifteen to a high of forty-two.¹⁷

Judges were selected by a team of AHA leaders: the judges were senior scholars with specializations in the area of the year’s competition.¹⁸ In the first three years the judges awarded the planned six prizes; judges awarded three prizes in year four and nine in year five.¹⁹ In the sixth year of the competition, 2004, judges had to act

¹⁶ Announcements of the competition winners are posted on the AHA website, <http://www.historians.org/>. The list of awards provides an opportunity to note the institutions and programs that produced award winners: in fact, the winners have come from an impressively wide range of doctoral programs. Four winning institutions were outside the United States (King’s College London, London School of Economics, Memorial University of Newfoundland, and Sydney University) and twenty-six were from programs in the United States—seventeen from east of the Mississippi and nine from west of the river. Of the U.S. programs, one was from New England, four from the Mid-Atlantic, eight from the Southeast (half of these from the Chesapeake), seven from the Midwest, three from the Southwest, and three from the Pacific coast. Only one institution, University of Minnesota, won as many as three awards; Johns Hopkins University and Emory University each won two. The awards, of course, are to the individual scholars, but their institutions must surely share in their glory. These data have been gathered from print issues of *Perspectives* and from the AHA website.

¹⁷ Applications for Africa, colonial Latin America, and South Asia (1999) totaled twenty-five; applications for Europe before 1800 (2000) totaled sixteen; applications for military and foreign relations (2001) totaled forty; applications for North America before 1900 (2002) totaled fifteen; and applications for women and gender (2003) totaled forty-two. The small number of applications for the United States before 1900 is attributed to the ease of publication in print form for that area; perhaps the same reasoning applies to Europe before 1800. Data are provided by the AHA Research Division.

¹⁸ Robert Darnton with Stanley Katz and Chris Tomlins selected the first three panels. The judges for 1999 were Sara S. Berry, Stuart Schwartz, and Thomas Metcalf; judges for 2000 were Patrick Geary, Margaret Jacob, and Raymond Starr; and judges for 2001 were Dennis Showalter, Peter Duus, Carole Fink, and Stephen Schuker. Judges for the remaining competitions were selected by Arnita Jones, Robert Townsend, and Roy Rosenzweig. The judges for 2002 were Saul Cornell, Paula Fass, James Merrill, Paula Petrik, Gary Kornblith, and Jane Kamensky; judges for 2003 were Judith Bennett, William Chafe, Thomas Dublin, Alice Kessler-Harris, Margaret Strobel, Janelle Warren-Findley, and Lisa Heinemann. Heinemann was brought in as a supplemental judge to address the unexpectedly large number of submissions on European topics. Data provided by the AHA Research Division.

¹⁹ Only three awards were made for U.S. history before 1900 in 2002, but nine awards were made in history of women and gender in 2003. In 2002, the judges gave substantial emphasis to the multimedia strength of the submissions as well as the historiographical excellence. In 2003, the judges’

as generalists as well as specialists, in that the competition was opened to all topics. One award a year has gone to an “independent historian” not employed as a full-time college historian. Nearly half the applicants fit this category, which is unsurprising in that nearly half of PhD recipients do not move rapidly into full-time employment as historians.

The awardees work closely with the staff at Columbia University Press in designing and producing their books. The current authors meet twice each year in workshops with project director Kate Wittenberg and the staff of the press, Robert Darnton (after his term as AHA president), AHA Research Director Robert Townsend, and AHA Executive Director Arnita Jones.²⁰ In these workshops the authors faced the conflicting pressures of seeking at once to complete their works and to achieve a maximum of creativity in them. The workshops also have articulated much experience on the promise and pitfalls of electronic monographs that will gradually be disseminated by the participating authors and by the project staff.²¹

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS surely deserves recognition and accolades for the originality of this venture into publishing electronic monographs for historians. This press’s early experience with electronic publication helps explain why it was chosen for the Gutenberg-e project.²² As editorial and technical creations, the e-books can be labeled a success. They demonstrate that the basic model for such e-books is workable; while they contain unmistakable glitches, incremental revisions can easily address most of the existing weaknesses. The pace of publication, though perhaps slower than hoped, suggests that no major difficulties were encountered either on the authorial or the editorial sides of production. The eleven books published as of this writing resulted from the first three competitions, in 1999, 2000, and 2001. They have appeared at an average of less than three years from time of award to publication.²³

report emphasized that the number of awards (nine) was large in response to the high quality of the submissions, but this decision was made easier by the availability of unspent funds from the 2002 competition.

²⁰ Workshops were added as an improvisation after the project had begun to strengthen preparation of the books. Each workshop session consumes two days: the first for presentations by authors, and the second for consultation of authors with the project editor, web designer, and permissions coordinator. Wittenberg, who is Project Director of Electronic Publishing Initiatives at Columbia (EPIC), has also invited officials of the Mellon Foundation, representatives of the American Council of Learned Societies History E-Book Project, members of prize selection committees, *American Historical Review* editor Michael Grossberg, and Clifford Lynch of the Coalition for Networked Information. See Pillarisetti Sudhir, “Mellon Foundation Renews Support for Gutenberg-e Prizes,” *Perspectives* 39, no. 6 (September 2001): 10; and Kate Wittenberg, “Digital Technology and Historical Scholarship: A Publishing Experiment,” *Perspectives* 40, no. 5 (May 2002): 41–43.

²¹ The press and the AHA each make regular reports to the Mellon Foundation, including details on the workshops. The authors presumably spread word more informally.

²² For instance, in 1995 the Columbia press initiated Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO), also under the direction of Kate Wittenberg.

²³ But since eight of the eleven earned their PhDs in years before they won the Gutenberg-e prize, the average time between PhD and book publication was four and a half years. Those in military and foreign-relations history have published their books rapidly after their awards; perhaps they were unable to find publishers aside from Gutenberg-e. Seven more books from the initial three

Who pays for these books? This is the question of the “business model” for academic publishing. Sales of the Gutenberg-e books are oriented toward university libraries. Libraries may purchase licenses for the full set of books at \$195 per year and make them available online to their patrons.²⁴ More generally, in one way or another, everyone associated with the books pays for them: the author, the press, the library, and the reader. The author performs the labor of research and writing; the press pays for editing, composition, and design, resources and permissions, printing and maintenance, distribution and promotion. It used to be that the author paid the price of research and writing; the university subsidized some of the press’s cost of editing, design, printing and distribution; and libraries and individual readers paid for the remainder of the press’s costs. Now presses have smaller subsidies, and libraries have tighter budgets.

So far, electronic publishing in history is working better as a way to get access to old work than to new. New monographs are a relatively expensive type of electronic publication, as becomes clear by comparing Gutenberg-e to other electronic publishing projects. In 1994, the Mellon Foundation led in the creation of JSTOR, the journal storage organization. JSTOR launched four initiatives in the arts and sciences to identify major journals and to put all back issues online; history journals were included among the early selections. JSTOR was awarded \$3.7 million in grants and then successfully transformed itself into a self-financing nonprofit corporation.²⁵ In a separate initiative, the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) launched the History E-Book (HEB) Project with two major foci.²⁶ It focused primarily on scanning major existing books and making them available online: this “backlist” now consists of some 800 books. The second effort was the “frontlist,” to publish new works by senior scholars. The ACLS HEB Project received \$3 million in grants; its large backlist provides a substantial revenue stream, while ten works on the frontlist have appeared.²⁷ All of these initiatives are funded by the Mellon Foundation. Then, in 2000, the History Cooperative formed, providing online publication of current issues in historical journals.²⁸ The articles available on JSTOR come from a mix of origins, but those in the most prestigious journals come principally from senior scholars. The ACLS HEB Project is dominated overwhelmingly by works of senior scholars. Historians have adapted rapidly to reliance on computers, notably in discussion lists, archives,

competitions remain in preparation, along with twelve books in preparation from the competitions of 2002 and 2003.

²⁴ In a recent development, individuals may purchase titles for \$49.50 online.

²⁵ The Mellon Foundation awarded JSTOR \$2.2 million in 1994–1995, plus \$1.5 million for start-up costs of its transformation into a nonprofit corporation.

²⁶ The ACLS shares its initiative with eight learned societies and several university presses, see <http://www.historyebook.org/intro.html>. The distributor is the Scholarly Publishing Office, University of Michigan Library, a spinoff of the ancestral University Microfilms.

²⁷ The ACLS project received a three-million-dollar, five-year grant from the Mellon Foundation in June 1999, with additional funding from the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation. It thus began slightly after the Gutenberg-e project. Even the ACLS frontlist e-books are primarily scanned versions of print texts. An exception is Joshua Brown, *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded-Age America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2004).

²⁸ To access the History Cooperative, see <http://www.historycooperative.org/>. Other online collections of journals are available through Project Muse (<http://muse.jhu.edu/>), founded in 1995 by Johns Hopkins University Press and the Expanded Academic Index of Gale Group.

pedagogy, and journal postings.²⁹ Interpretive scholarship, however, has been slow to develop and difficult to express in electronic media. Put in other terms, electronic media have developed most rapidly where markets are biggest. Scholarship, while central to the discipline of history, is not all the rage.

The Gutenberg-e project received \$1.75 million in two three-year awards.³⁰ The program is thus somewhat smaller in its budget than other projects of electronic publication in history, and a great deal smaller in the number of works it has produced.³¹ Only Gutenberg-e focuses entirely on creating new multimedia material, rather than putting existing material into new format. So the unit cost is much higher and the audience is much smaller. Yet Gutenberg-e retains its distinctiveness in focusing on the work of junior scholars and in investing significantly in original design and linkage to resources intended to take advantage of the character of electronic media. To phrase it differently, it may be argued that much of the weight of conveying interpretive historical research in electronic form has fallen on Gutenberg-e's recent PhD recipients.

What are the levels of sales and interest in the books? The Gutenberg-e website identifies the institutional subscribers and the published reviews of the e-books.³² As of this writing, it lists forty-eight institutional subscribers and seven print reviews, all in the *American Historical Review* (*AHR*). Only two of the works appear to have had any other reviews, and these were electronic reviews.³³ The *AHR* has reviewed these books according to its standard policy of evaluation (and, by these guidelines, decided not to review one of the Gutenberg-e books). These two measures of sales and interest provide a chilling result: very few libraries have subscribed to the series, and print journals are not reviewing the books. Electronic reviews, initially touted as a benefit for readers because they would appear quickly, have appeared neither quickly nor in significant number for these books. The numbers, so far, do not look promising.

While the university press is rethinking the business model of the academic monograph, the historical discipline is under pressure to rethink the form of its research publications. History remains a "book discipline" even as the neighboring social sciences and humanities are becoming "article disciplines." In the age of electronic media and multidisciplinary analysis, historians remain reluctant to give up their longtime love affair with the book. The book exhibit at the AHA annual meeting is a wonderfully imposing collection of print works; the papers presented at the sessions of the same conference may not meet the same standard. Articles,

²⁹ On the participation of historians in discussion lists, see the H-Net lists at <http://www.h-net.org/>; in archives, see Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War at <http://valley.vcdh.virginia.edu/>; in pedagogy, see History Matters at <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/>; and for journal postings, see the History Cooperative at <http://www.historycooperative.org/>.

³⁰ The Mellon Foundation awarded Gutenberg-e \$720,000 for three years in 1998, and renewed for an additional \$980,000 for three more years in 2001.

³¹ The full thirty books are expected to be published within the limits of the grant, with production costs averaging slightly under \$60,000 per book.

³² The ability to make reviews available in this form is a new option for publishers, and one that should be encouraged.

³³ Print reviews have appeared in *AHR* for works by Brown, Gallup-Diaz, Hanley, Halavais, Hardgrove, Holler, and Katten. Electronic reviews have appeared for Hardgrove on H-Asia, February 10, 2003, and for Brown on H-France in April 2003. See <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/reviews-frame.html>. Other electronic reviews may have appeared: indexing is not yet dependable.

websites, and conference papers have yet to be seen as any more than a supplement to the book. Books remain our priority, just as a regional identification of our specialties remains a priority, although these priorities can no longer remain unquestioned.

Is there a crisis in publication of historical monographs? The cutbacks in library budgets are evident, as are the declining resources of university presses. Yet the crisis of publication in history for junior scholars, by some measures, is not as serious as the indications above suggest. The number of PhD historians able to gain employment in the academy has averaged some 700 per year in the United States. More to the point, candidates have been awarded tenure overwhelmingly, and the proportion of recently tenured historians who have published books is very high. This latter statistic holds not only in universities but also in four-year and two-year colleges.³⁴ Books are not going away rapidly, just as regional identification is not going away for historians who must address entrenched national constituencies and readerships. Books in history will retain substantial importance for addressing general readers and for the textbooks and accessory books used in schools and colleges. For the advancement of research, however, it is not inherently clear that the book is to remain the leading device. As those in academic life find themselves having to become accustomed to the multiple platforms for the information they collect, so also may they have to learn to present their results in a wider range of forms.

Who is included in the audience for the Gutenberg-e books? The books are written for professional historians. In the most immediate terms, the authors have tailored them for colleagues in their own fields, with an eye to establishing themselves in those fields. Indeed, the process of the Gutenberg-e prize formalized this specialization, selecting as judges only those based within the subfield for each competition. Further down the line, the audience includes members of tenure committees drawn from surrounding historical fields and external tenure reviewers. Of course there will be more general readers for the books. The books are written in a sufficiently accessible style to be read by energetic undergraduates, although it is unlikely that they will be read by many such readers.³⁵

The authors may be expected to view their e-books with some ambivalence. On the positive side, their awards and public recognition provided them with an excellent send-off. Further, the authors must be deeply involved in and proud of their works as they have appeared. In contrast to the print experience of submitting a manuscript and waiting to learn of the modifications proposed by reviewers and copy editors, these authors have been actively involved in selecting and organizing all the images and videos, in addition to writing the text and linking the various media.³⁶ However, the unfamiliarity of the medium for a monograph means that they must have to explain their work repeatedly, and the explanations may need to

³⁴ Bender *et al.*, *The Education of Historians*, 27; Robert Townsend, "History and the Future of Scholarly Publishing," *Perspectives* 41, no. 7 (October 2003).

³⁵ A cynical counterargument is that portions of these electronic texts could be easily appropriated by those who create term papers for sale.

³⁶ For all the intensity of the internal review of these works, they have not so far been sent to external reviewers before publication; the preceding dissertations were, of course, reviewed for the prize.

focus more on the technical than on the interpretive side of their history. The authors must face disappointment at the low level of subscription to the works, although it might be that the actual level of readership of these books will turn out to be as high as for a hardcover book selling 300 copies. The most fundamental question—whether these books are “tenurable”—cannot yet be answered.³⁷

THE ELEVEN BOOKS, as noted above, were initially selected within the categories of colonial Latin America, South Asia, Europe before 1800, and military and foreign relations. But the Gutenberg-e home page lists the works alphabetically by author, thereby inviting the reader to consider them in different groupings. All of the studies reflect the recent predominance of social historical analysis: three of them pair social history with cultural analysis, three focus on the interplay of state power and community response, and three present institutional analyses emphasizing social historical developments. Two further studies rely on biographical approaches: one to link political and cultural history, and the other to trace an evolution in U.S. foreign policy.

Studies of cultural production, having benefited from recent theoretical discourse, provide the most imaginative of the e-books yet to appear. The three books in this category analyze creative activities in the form of plays, acts of self-categorization, and public performances of community values. All three of these works, in centering on cultural connections to social life, convey gradual transitions and renegotiations rather than disjunctures.

In *A Field of Honor: Writers, Court Culture and Public Theater in French Literary Life from Racine to the Revolution*, Gregory Brown argues that French playwrights of the eighteenth century, aiming to have their plays performed by the Comédie Française, were constrained to work within a tradition of honorable self-presentation. He explores their work in the context of an evolution from the previous century rather than in the context of postrevolutionary France. Brown acknowledges that such playwrights as Beaumarchais and Olympe de Gouges presented themselves as “patriots,” seeking support from a wider audience, but contests the notion that they were in opposition to the Old Regime. Instead he presents them as “established outsiders,” courting acceptance from an order that was itself steadily weakening. Even when they made public outbursts and complaints, they had to return to seeking honorable recognition to gain access to the stage, until the tables turned in 1789.³⁸ The argument is presented as a detailed and textured narrative of gradual transition.³⁹ Brown is among the most energetic of these authors in attention to his subject matter, the form of electronic presentation, and the historiography of his field. But when he argues in his conclusion he has presented “a new approach to the role of literature in mediating between state and

³⁷ Consultation of the AHA *Directory of History Departments, Historical Organizations, and Historians* for 2004–2005 identifies five of the eleven authors as employed in tenure-track positions and one in a public history position; this is presumably a minimum estimate of those so employed.

³⁸ Brown, *Field of Honor*, chap. 5.

³⁹ Such emphasis on gradualism has been appearing in other fields of European studies, including economic history. See Jan De Vries, “The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution,” *Journal of Economic History* 54, no. 2 (June 1994): 249–70.

civil society," he remains reticent in contrasting his view with the one that he wishes to displace.⁴⁰

Michael Katten's book, *Colonial Lists/Indian Power: Identity Politics in Nineteenth-Century Telugu-Speaking India*, treats the past in terms of categories. Katten emphasizes that the Telugu-speaking peoples of South India not only underwent categorization at the hands of British colonial rulers but also categorized themselves in a series of cases that gave definition and meaning to their lives. Through four sets of cases—setting village boundaries, petitions submitted to British rulers from 1778 to the mid-nineteenth century, the oft-retold story of the siege of Bobbili in 1757, and the category of "weaver" in the nineteenth century—he seeks to show the practice of category production and the mutability of regional culture.⁴¹ The case studies are intriguing. Katten holds the reader's attention with the story of the siege of Bobbili as told numerous times after the event: the French commandant Bussy and the raja of nearby Vizianagaram besiege Bobbili, finally forcing entry to the city only to find all the inhabitants already dead. Changing versions of the story, with tales of the internal turmoil in Bobbili and its enmity with Vizianagaram, range from an 1832 Telugu-language version to a 1950s film.⁴² The story conveys neither imperial triumph nor revenge by the colonized but identifies processes for defining one's group even under difficult circumstances.

Anne Hardgrove's interdisciplinary work, *Community and Public Culture: The Marwaris in Calcutta 1897–1997*, relies on both history and anthropology for data and insights. She emphasizes how the Marwari merchants created themselves as a group, especially at the turn of the twentieth century. They were Jain expatriates from Rajasthan who grew to great wealth especially in Calcutta, where they first displaced Bengali merchants and later became industrialists. Hardgrove makes the case that the Marwari defined themselves through "performances."⁴³ Exploration of such performances takes the reader through Marwari support for Hindi language (not their ancestral language), rain gambling, and cloth speculation. The anthropological side of Hardgrove's training gained the upper hand in the topical organization of her book and emphasis on fieldwork in her discourse, yet she succeeds in conveying the contingency and the transformation in identity for this ambitious but conservative business community. In her concluding chapter, largely postcolonial, she traces the steadily greater importance of the cult of sati, in which the Marwari celebrate the heritage of widow immolation without involving themselves in such practice currently.⁴⁴

A second group of works focuses on the interplay of state policy and community

⁴⁰ "This new history would present writers as *produced by* rather than *autonomous from* state institutions and the market." Brown, *Field of Honor*, conclusion, par. 10.

⁴¹ Some of the explication falls short of matching the clarity of the examples: "In all these cases there existed moments of historical solidarities to which groups might refer to strengthen the calls they made for their identity categories." Katten, *Colonial Lists/Indian Power*, chap. 1, par. 41.

⁴² Katten, *Colonial Lists/Indian Power*, chap. 4. The film "*Bobbili Yuddham*" is available from the book's video link.

⁴³ Hardgrove defines her "performances" concisely with reference to the work of anthropologist Victor Turner and notes that "Unlike invention or imagination, therefore, this theory of performance makes no claims about what may actually be going on inside peoples' heads." Hardgrove, *Community and Public Culture*, chap. 1, pars. 5–10, 18.

⁴⁴ Hardgrove, *Community and Public Culture*, chap. 6.

response. This theme—long established in historical studies—shows itself to be appropriate for studies of colonization and war. All three of the studies focusing on state-community relations address Iberia. In all three cases, the authors have emphasized the constraints on state power, though in each case one state or another gains dominion. In *Like Wheat to a Miller: Community, Convivencia, and the Construction of Morisco Identity in Sixteenth-Century Aragon*, Mary Halavais presents a microstudy of early modern Spain, tracing the mentality of *convivencia* (living together) in a few locations in Aragon. Teruel, where the *Reconquista* had prevailed in the fourteenth century, came to prominence in 1483 through its refusal to admit officers of the Inquisition to the city for over a year. By the sixteenth century, Teruel had become a city of some 360 families, of which a hundred were Morisco (Muslim converts to Catholicism) and some others were descendants of Jews who had converted to Catholicism in the fifteenth century. In the second part of her study, Halavais analyzes two villages of the nearby Jiloca valley in a detailed social-historical analysis of censuses, property ownership, and baptisms. She argues that the inhabitants of the region chose to live in mutual toleration rather than build walls among competing communities.⁴⁵ Although the eventual determination of the state and the Inquisition to divide and expel all but “pure-blooded” Spaniards won the day, Halavais makes the case for communities that opposed and minimized such divisiveness.⁴⁶ In this case study, the author poses a small but relevant question, documents it for a restricted topic, and reaches a conclusion that inflects the historiography of the field.

Ignacio Gallup-Díaz’s study of Spanish governance and Tule social order, *The Door of the Seas and Key to the Universe: Indian Politics and Imperial Rivalry in the Darién, 1640–1750*, presents a complex narrative tracing a century of interactions among numerous parties in northeastern Panama. These include the Tule *leres* or religious leaders; the *caciques* or chiefs who developed in interactions with the Spanish; the powerful Carrisoli family of Spanish and Tule ancestry; Scottish, Dutch, and French adventurers; Dominican, Franciscan, and Jesuit priests; and the layers of Spanish authority. The analysis relies on anthropological insights and good analysis of documents to provide a tale showing how Tule society sustained its initiative through the long century under study. Toward the end of this period, the Spanish viceroy relied on Jesuit missionaries to win the allegiance of the *caciques*, only to learn that real influence in the society lay with the *leres*, so that the Spanish had little more control over the Tule in 1750 than had been the case in 1640.⁴⁷

While the balance of state and community had changed greatly by the twentieth century, the problematic retained its relevance. Daniel Kowalsky’s revisionist study, *The Soviet Union and the Spanish Republic: Diplomatic, Military, and Cultural Relations, 1936–1939*, argues that the inherent difficulties of the relationship, rather than individual decisions by Joseph Stalin, brought the failure of the Soviet effort to sustain republican Spain. The study relies on newly available Soviet archives and

⁴⁵ In other communities, walls had been built to create *juderías* and *moreries*, sequestering Jews and Moriscos respectively.

⁴⁶ Halavais concludes with a critique of Henri Lapeyre’s review of three censuses of Aragon (1495, 1575, 1609), contesting his argument that all Moriscos were removed. Halavais, *Like Wheat to the Miller*, chap. 10, pars. 6–15.

⁴⁷ Gallup-Díaz, *The Door of the Seas*, chap. 9, pars. 49–60.

on Spanish archives opened after the death of Francisco Franco. While he documents richly the rise of Soviet-Spanish ties beginning in 1933, Kowalsky argues that inexperience and inability to cross Russian-Spanish linguistic barriers were significant in weakening the stream of Soviet aid to Spain, so that Stalin's decisions to cut back on support ratified the inevitable.⁴⁸ But the interpretation, though plausible and amply documented, does not engage in detail the literature that it seeks to revise.⁴⁹

A third set of studies works from institutional archives to produce histories that trace the operation of the institution but also give insight into the society in which the institution operates. Within this group, one book traces institutional change over a full century, while two trace institutional changes and interactions over periods of four years. Broadest of these analyses is Jacqueline Holler's *Escogidas Plantas: Nuns and Beatas in Mexico City, 1531–1601*. Her study of nuns and *beatas* (lay women in religious institutions) examines convents and religious schools as a way to identify the importance of women in early colonial Mexico. With broad and well-chosen references to the literature on women's history, she provides an institutional history of convents in an attempt to "uncover a little bit of what has been forgotten" of individual women in early colonial Mexico.⁵⁰ Since most of the women were in seclusion, Holler must argue for their significance by emphasizing the importance of prayer and contemplation in the colonial world of the sixteenth century. The women of the convents were noble women, mostly criollas; mestizas were generally excluded. Holler argues that in the 1570s, as the decline of Mexican population became critical, the importance of elite women and their families' dowries grew, and religious institutions shifted toward elite homogeneity and patrimonial foundation.⁵¹

Sanders Marble's study "*The Infantry cannot do with a gun less*": *The Place of the Artillery in the BEF, 1914–1918*, is the one strictly military history among the Gutenberg-e books. It centers on the institution of the British artillery and its changing place in planning and fighting during World War I. The study focuses almost entirely on primary sources, for there appears to be little secondary literature on this topic. The author is skillful in summarizing tactical and strategic issues, as these were influenced by the prior experience of the Boer War and the unfolding changes of the Great War: one key question was whether the artillery was to be placed next to the infantry and within earshot of the commanders, or further back.⁵² More broadly, British generals chose morale over technology as the key to victory, and the technology-based artillery commanders agreed. The artillery remained in support of other elements of the British Expeditionary Force, rather than take the lead in battle. Marble emphasizes the loyalty and dependability of the artillery, and ultimate British victory, in a study that highlights the endless problems

⁴⁸ Kowalsky, *The Soviet Union and the Spanish Republic*, conclusion, pars. 8–29.

⁴⁹ Kowalsky does offer some specific critiques of Hugh Thomas's *The Spanish Civil War* (New York, 1986), but that does not fully sustain his argument for a "consistent agreement, at least among historians in the West, [on] the unambiguously negative assessment of the role of Stalin and the Soviet Union." Kowalsky, *The Soviet Union and the Spanish Republic*, introduction, par. 1.

⁵⁰ Holler, *Escogidas Plantas*, chap. 1, par. 35.

⁵¹ Holler, *Escogidas Plantas*, chap. 7, par. 93.

⁵² Marble, "*The Infantry cannot do with a gun less*," chap. 1.

of changing conditions of war and defends the artillery corps against their detractors.

Kenneth Estes conducted a study in social history of military life, in *A European Anabasis: Western European Volunteers in the German Army and SS, 1940–1945*. This study responds to a gap in the literature rather than to existing debate, but it documents yet another underside to the war. As many as 100,000 volunteers from northern and western Europe joined the German forces, although they were accepted in large numbers only from 1942, once German hopes for a quick victory had evaporated. The volunteers were especially Spanish and Dutch, but also Belgian, French, Danish, and Norwegian.⁵³ Most served in the Waffen-SS rather than in the German Army. Estes concludes that hunger was as important as Nazi ideology in recruiting and, in contrast to previous analysis, argues that these forces were not highly effective in the field.⁵⁴

Biographical studies retain their wide interest among general readers of history, but academic biographies tend now to be linked eclectically to other analytical issues. In *The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda, 1796–1799*, Wayne Hanley analyzes Napoleon's military career through his propaganda as documented in military, civilian, and personal records. Especially from Napoleon's Italian campaign but also from his campaign in Egypt, Hanley traces Napoleon's brilliance in morale-building and self-promotion through an analysis of reports from the front, newspapers, images, medals, and more subtle forms of propaganda. While the conceptual and historiographical structure of this book is minimal, Hanley argues the details of his presentation in lively fashion, as with the confiscation of Italian art in 1796–1797 and the commissioning of such heroic portraits as that by Antoine-Jean Gros of Napoleon on the bridge at Arcole in Italy. After all this buildup, Hanley's narrative of Napoleon's awkwardness and near failure in the coup d'état of 18–19 Brumaire (December 1799) shows that the general remained a mere mortal.⁵⁵

Christopher O'Sullivan's political biography *Sumner Welles, Postwar Planning, and the Quest for a New World Order, 1937–1943*, highlights the undersecretary of state's vision of the postwar order. This is a straightforward narrative of a policy maker made feasible by the opening of Welles's papers in 1996. It is more a study of an individual than of an institution, yet it clarifies the structures of U.S. foreign policy. Welles gained experience in Latin America during the 1920s and from it gained a vision of American global power in a system of free markets and republican institutions. Welles, a longtime associate of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, developed a parallel proposal for a postwar world while undersecretary; such a globalization of the inter-American economic system would have meant a rapid termination of European colonial regimes. Welles's own career was cut short by the effectiveness of political enemies in exploiting an episode of drunkenness,

⁵³ Estes, *European Anabasis*, chap. 6, par. 40.

⁵⁴ "The majority cast their lot with the German side because of political status in National-Socialist circles, hunger, adventure, escape from home life, and idealism, in decreasing order of frequency." Estes, *European Anabasis*, chap. 6, par. 14.

⁵⁵ Hanley, *Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda*, chap. 7, pars. 6–15.

and he was sidelined from 1943. The United States withdrew from Welles's anticolonial dreams in the postwar period.⁵⁶

THE GUTENBERG-E BOOKS are indeed books, as the authors emphasize in various asides. Nevertheless, they were constructed to be read online, and their review requires addressing that experience. All the books share a common format, with only minor differences. The main Gutenberg-e website provides access to the home page for each of the e-books.⁵⁷ Each book's home page centers on the table of contents, with links to the chapters and appendixes, and includes three other sets of links: a menu of functions across the top of the screen, resource icons at the upper left, and title-page icons at the lower right.⁵⁸ On entering any one of the chapters, the reader finds a menu in the left margin, making for ready navigation of the chapters—permitting the equivalent of flipping through a paper book, since the contents menu is always present.⁵⁹ Pages have no numbers in these electronic texts, so paragraphs are numbered.⁶⁰ The citation format is endnotes: clicking on a note number brings up the note at the end of the chapter; one can return to the text rapidly with the Back command.⁶¹ The text includes thumbnail images which, when selected, provide large and clear images, including images of archival documents. Videos appear in several books on twentieth-century topics, though these are uneven quality.⁶²

From the menu at the top of the screen, the most useful function is the search: that is, with an e-book the reader loses an index but gains a search function. The Gutenberg-e search engine does a Google-like search (ordering links based on an assessment of relevance rather than in mechanical order), showing occurrences of the search term throughout the book.⁶³ The same menu also provides Links,

⁵⁶ O'Sullivan, *Sumner Welles*.

⁵⁷ To gain access to the books, one must utilize either a university subscription or an individual subscription to Gutenberg-e, then go to the Gutenberg-e site (<http://www.gutenberg-e.org/>) and log in by selecting a user name and password.

⁵⁸ The menu at the top of the screen gives access to Home (for the book), an internal search engine, web resources, print versions of chapters, resources (meaning bibliography), and a Help function. Icons at the upper left of the screen provide links to images, archives, and in some cases to video, web resources, and glossary. At lower right are links to Gutenberg-e (the home page for the book series and links to the other books), and to Columbia University Press (the copyright page for the book, including date of publication and eISBN).

⁵⁹ The type font and spacing of the text are generally satisfactory: the type font is Verdana fourteen-point, a large, readable, and attractive font. Pages are ragged right.

⁶⁰ In the right margins, numbers are given for paragraph 1, 5, 10, 15, 20, etc., within each chapter or section. Tables and block quotes are treated as paragraphs, see Estes, *European Anabasis*, chap. 6, pars. 20–25.

⁶¹ Numbers indicating notes are subscripts rather than superscripts.

⁶² Captions are given in the enlarged versions of images. Citations for these resources embedded in the text are found not in the text itself but are available through the icons at the upper left of the screen: icons list captions and citations for images, documents, videos, and audio. The authors, with the assistance of the press's permissions staff person, had responsibility for obtaining permission to reproduce texts, images, and videos. Even for the numerous videos in the books by Estes, Katten, and Kowalsky, the press found that the cost of purchasing permissions was not onerous.

⁶³ The Gutenberg-e search takes the user to each file containing the search term, but not to the specific location of the term. What I found effective was to use the Gutenberg-e search to identify files (usually chapters) with my search term, and then use my local search (Ctrl-F on my computer) to find successive mentions of a term within a file.

meaning links to websites with additional information on the topic.⁶⁴ The chapter menu and the electronic links to notes, images, and bibliography provide for navigability that is slightly different in character but largely equal in quality to that with a paper text. Videos, where they appear, are a bonus. The big bonus, however, is the searchability of the text, which makes it possible to trace words and phrases with ease within any file (or chapter) and with not much additional difficulty from chapter to chapter. In sum, while peering at a computer screen may be less pleasant than curling up with a book, the design of Gutenberg-e books brings certain rewards.

Many readers, out of habit, will prefer to print out the files. Downloading copies from the website is easily done: from the Print menu on each e-book's home page, the user may download and print PDF files. This brings the advantage of hard copy, though not all elements of the book may be printed in this way.⁶⁵ Quite a different problem arises from the filing of PDF files on one's own computer: there is no dependable relationship between the chapter numbers and the file names assigned by the press; file names were not designed carefully enough to order the files correctly on a computer directory.⁶⁶

The authors, depending on their resources, inclination, and skills, achieved varying levels of use of the electronic medium. Those who worked on time periods before the eighteenth century—Gallup-Diaz, Halavais, and Holler—were not able to include very many images or web links. They were, however, able to present original documents and translations. Halavais struck me as minimal in her use of the resources, but one reviewer found the extra documents exciting.⁶⁷ Estes and Kowalsky used numerous videos to document their wartime studies, and Katten used clips from twentieth-century films in Telugu to convey the myths and identities developed from the eighteenth-century events they portrayed. Hanley, O'Sullivan, Marble, Kowalsky, Brown, and Estes reproduced scores of text documents and roughly equal numbers of images. Hardgrove included 120 photos, mostly her own, to document her argument that public performance was central to constructing Marwari identity. For Hardgrove and Katten, the originality of their arguments arguably comes across better in the electronic media than in the text. Brown provided a rich collection of texts, portraits, and other images to illustrate his portrayal of the texture of life near the Comédie Française. Hanley's topic of propaganda seemed ideally suited to the electronic medium, but the argument still

⁶⁴ In some cases Gutenberg-e has put mirror images of these sites on its own site, making it more likely that they will remain available over the long term.

⁶⁵ The print version of the typical e-book contains some ten to thirty PDF files, selected from a much larger number of HTML files in the online original. The PDF files, while compact and convenient, generally do not include acknowledgments, appendixes, images, or the citations for nontext content. Alternative approaches to downloading the books are to print the HTML files directly, to save the HTML files and read them separately online, or to copy either PDF or HTML files into Word or WordPerfect files.

⁶⁶ In the Brown book on French theater, for instance, the PDF preface is file 00 and the introduction is file 01, so that chapter 1 becomes file 02. Further, since the author has placed an "intermission" between chapters 3 and 4, chapter 3 is file 04 and chapter 5 is file 07, since the intermission is file 05. In other cases, certain files are labeled quite out of order. Surely a system of file names could be developed, both for HTML and PDF files, that would provide numbers coincident with the chapter numbers, but so that automatic filing would keep all the chapters and elements in order.

⁶⁷ Mary Elizabeth Perry, review of *Like Wheat to the Miller*, by Mary Halavais, *AHR* 108, no. 4 (October 2003): 219.

did not become exciting. Estes was inventive in finding ways to include supplementary material, as with interviews and sidebar essays. He also wisely included a caution about the quality of Internet materials on World War II.⁶⁸ Kowalsky included numerous Spanish and Soviet film clips, but I found them of low technical quality; the images of Spain nevertheless helped establish that the venue was more than the battlefield and the halls of diplomacy.⁶⁹

The additional documents, linked to the text, add strength and nuance to the arguments advanced in these books. Yet I could imagine that a skeptical reader would peruse the texts alone and conclude that these works are entirely conventional. Only with more extended experience with e-books will authors and readers be able to develop the habits and expectations that will make navigating these works a dependably satisfactory experience. The various available links need to be relatively standard, yet each e-book needs to reveal the individuality of the materials it presents.

The range of these studies provides a reminder of how different are the problems and the documents in the various fields of history, and why it is that each field tends to move ahead according to its own dynamic, based on a discourse shared primarily by specialists with common training and language. Yet all are part of the historical literature and can readily be compared. From this sample, South Asian historiography seems the most lively and argumentative, experimenting with source materials in defense of new arguments, though I felt that the arguments of Hardgrove and Katten overemphasized cross-sectional analysis at the expense of longitudinal interpretation. Brown's analysis of French playwrights also engages in debate but at a measured and genteel pace. The two colonial Latin Americanists have shown the depth of materials still remaining to be explored in the archives. Three European historians of the early modern period appear to be seeking new perspectives to apply to well-known sources; the Europeanist emphasis on historiography is evident in their notes. The fascination of the two twentieth-century world wars is evident, as both their fighting and the surrounding diplomacy appear central to scholars and general readers, yet the discussion of historiography was weakest for these studies.

In the organization of their works, Gallup-Diaz, Estes, and O'Sullivan gave primarily chronological presentations; Hardgrove organized her presentation in topical rather than chronological terms, and the rest of the authors selected organizations that mixed the topical and chronological. In length of their text, these books are longer than most monographs. The eleven books averaged 112,000 words (or 585 paragraphs, since paragraphs rather than pages are enumerated in these books) for their principal text. Notes, introductory material, appendixes, and bibliography are in addition. These correspond on average to books of 350 to 400 pages; the inclusion of nontext media makes them longer yet. The two longest were by Brown and Kowalsky, each with over 175,000 words of text plus scores of documents. The most restrained author was Halavais, who provided a dense and well-structured analysis in less than 60,000 words (286 paragraphs).

⁶⁸ Estes, *European Anabasis*, Links.

⁶⁹ Annotating images is one matter; annotating video clips is another, and the latter requires additional skill.

One may ask whether the electronic form enhanced the message of the books. In one sense, authors used the electronic option to include sources and other materials they might otherwise have been unable to include. The two issues are how well they used the opportunity to include additional materials, and how well the additional materials sustained or advanced their argument.

None of the Gutenberg-e authors has put substantial effort into articulating an argument for audiences beyond specialists in his or her own field. None of the volumes is global in approach, or even comparative, despite all the attention given to such approaches in recent discussion of new work in history.⁷⁰ (Nor were they selected with such breadth in mind.) Kowalsky's analysis is most clearly interactive, in that he drew on both Spanish and Soviet archives to trace Hispano-Soviet relations. The authors provide analyses that could be fit into or linked to broader patterns in the historical situations they address but leave it to other authors to make those links.⁷¹ Historical monographs generally work with a single set of documents. This pattern stands out all the more strongly in military studies, where two sides are clearly in evidence, but the historian addresses one at a time. The pattern is shared equally if less obviously by other fields.

These are fine studies, within their limits. The experience of reading them at once has left this reviewer struck as much by the continuing respect for the old boundaries of the historical monograph as by the energy and imagination of young historians in exploring the past within those boundaries. Neither crisis nor breakthrough in historical studies is apparent in these studies. This collection of first books confirms that recently minted historians continue to produce carefully researched and skillfully written monographs on well-selected topics, addressing a range of issues in social, political, and cultural history. The results show incremental though significant advance in historical knowledge as new data and new concepts become available. The question is whether work at this level is sufficient for the needs of the discipline of history.

THE GUTENBERG-E PROJECT implicitly affirmed the strength of current programs of doctoral education, focusing its energy on creating a more imaginative outlet for outstanding dissertation research. In contrast, the report of the AHA's Committee on Graduate Education, *The Education of Historians for the Twenty-First Century*, challenged the effectiveness of doctoral programs in history. These two major reforms of the historical profession, if complementary in their effort to strengthen young historians, thus have their contradictions. The eleven e-books are solid and workmanlike, confirming the confidence of Gutenberg-e in the dissertations that preceded them. *The Education of Historians*, while it does not undertake an

⁷⁰ Although all of the works included some sort of comparative comments, in saying that none was comparative I mean that none included a sustained comparison of two bodies of data. From this perspective, Kowalsky's study is exemplary in his effort to link data and interpretations from Soviet and Spanish archives.

⁷¹ Gallup-Diaz, for instance, introduces his book as an exercise in Atlantic world history and cites Neil Whitehead to observe that the Tule maintained their position as "frontier" and "Indian country," but does not otherwise pursue the larger connections. Gallup-Diaz, *Door of the Seas*, introduction, par. 22.

assessment of dissertations, takes a critical view of the programs that sustain dissertations. It argues that program requirements “seem to be the result of accretion, developed in ad hoc fashion over the years” and proposes an extensive set of program changes.⁷² Further, the report argues that doctoral programs need to go beyond producing research monographs, preparing in addition to guarantee the “generational succession” of the discipline.⁷³

Robert Darnton, in his early paean to the Gutenberg-e project, emphasized that these authors would be the leaders of the next generation of historians.⁷⁴ In so doing, he directly addressed “generational succession.” His assessment of the potential of Gutenberg-e and its authors raises a triad of underlying questions: How do historians train the next generation of scholars? How do historians select the best of the new generation? And how does the training of historians meet the full range of needs for generational succession in the discipline of history? Responses to each of these questions require consideration of the roles and activities of both junior and senior scholars.

As *The Education of Historians* makes clear, research is currently the key to employment and tenure, and research is defined as a field-specific monograph—such as those of the Gutenberg-e project.⁷⁵ It appears, therefore, that first books are intended to strengthen existing fields in history, rather than to strengthen links among fields or to strengthen links of history to other disciplines. This is a conservative approach, minimizing the response to current pressures of globalization and interdisciplinarity. These eleven books, while varying greatly in topic and methodology, share a relatively consistent underlying design. In each case, a relatively coherent topic or historical situation has been identified, with substantial available documentation. The analyst then explores the dynamics of that situation, supplementing the analysis with general background. These books do add significant information and interpretation on elements of the past, and they are skillfully researched and written. Some authors aim at filling holes in existing knowledge within known frames; a few suggest changes in the frames of knowledge. The books stop short, however, of exploring the implications of the study for adjoining situations or larger historical issues. They do not do much to show new directions in the study of history, precisely because it seems beyond their purview to consider connections among fields of history or connections of history with other disciplines. Such research tasks, it appears, are to be learned informally and after one’s advance to tenure.

Overall, while the Gutenberg-e books are exemplary first books, they are most of all first books, tied closely to the dissertations from which they emerged. The electronic form of presentation strengthens them in including additional source material and improved navigation of the works. The result is to modify but not

⁷² Bender *et al.*, *Education of Historians*, 49, 85–106.

⁷³ Bender *et al.*, *Education of Historians*, 10, 25.

⁷⁴ Darnton, “What is the Gutenberg-e Program?”

⁷⁵ *The Education of Historians* is a remarkably comprehensive review of doctoral training in history, judicious in its language but fundamentally critical in its call for a full overhaul of graduate study in history. None of its proposals for reform is likely to be successfully implemented, however, without a widespread change in assumptions by the historical professoriate about the purpose of graduate education and the relations between junior and senior historians. Bender *et al.*, *Education of Historians*.

transform either the form of the book or the substance of its interpretation. These works and the scholars producing them are unquestionably prepared to reproduce the discipline of history for the next generation. But there is little evidence that they are transforming the discipline from within or that they are prepared to lead in facing transformative pressures from without. Reading these books highlights the fact that now, as before, the function of the first book in history—along with the formal PhD training undergirding it—is more to gain entry to the profession than to move the profession ahead. One is therefore prompted to ask: Might the degree of innovation in electronic books have been greater if the publications had included works by more senior scholars?⁷⁶

The electronic form of Gutenberg-e cannot in itself satisfy the need for change in the structure of graduate study, and far less can it resolve the vague and problematic links between graduate study and the overall needs of the historical profession. Certainly the project is to be commended for drawing attention to new PhDs and their work. In so doing, it emphasizes the issues of renewal and advance of the discipline. Part of what the Gutenberg-e project has shown, through these books, is that new scholars are not really entrusted with much breadth. The very act of rewarding and privileging these awardees makes clear how limited is the scope offered to them. Theirs is to be a long apprenticeship, in which for at least a decade of doctoral and pretenure work—roughly until the age of forty—they focus on microstudies and avert their eyes from novelties in other geographic areas or adjoining disciplines of social science and humanities.

The discipline of history is caught, as usual, between the humanities and the social sciences, and between audiences of professionals and general readers. To that old dilemma is added the newer dilemma of the local and the global, between history written within boundaries of region and topic and historical studies tracing interactions across boundaries of space, topics, and disciplines. How will historians handle the interdisciplinary and transregional developments in inquiry? In research and graduate study, the discipline of history is structured inflexibly, making rapid change almost impossible, except perhaps through attrition. The profession needs greater breadth in its monographic research to reproduce itself and thrive. In research, it needs interactive and global research as well as localized studies, and it needs knowledge of available methods, theories, and technologies. The discipline would benefit from a broad and critical discussion of its research agenda. But beyond research—both specialized and interactive—the discipline of history has major responsibilities in teaching, synthesizing research results, preparing textbooks, writing for general readers, reviewing of the works of others, organizing the profession, seeking funding for research and support of teaching, and facilitating academic diplomacy with other disciplines and with the universities, foundations, and government that set the framework for our work. Should there not be some formal training for such responsibilities? To what degree should doctoral study include preparation for these tasks? ⁷⁷

⁷⁶ This question will be answered in part by the frontlist books of the ACLS e-book initiative, which includes a work by Darnton.

⁷⁷ Perhaps historians should develop a more explicit analysis of their professional life cycle, identifying various stages and the activities, responsibilities, and types of recognition that go with each.

I mean to be critical but not alarmist in raising these questions. Arguably, history has made it through past changes without changing its structure, so perhaps it can reasonably continue along its proven path. Within the last half century, the discipline has successfully incorporated such new and disruptive approaches as social history, economic history, area studies, literary theory, environmental history, and studies of race, gender, and class. All of these have been incorporated into historical studies within the model of focusing junior scholars on producing specialized, book-length monographs, and encouraging some senior scholars (selected according to an informal process) to provide the necessary linkages and direct the appropriate transformations. But the world is changing at a fast pace as well as at a gradual pace. Transformations looming in the publishing business provide a warning that academic life might be faced with more fundamental changes, as newspapers, television, books, computer hardware, and even search engines come under monopolistic control. Historians should consider taking a more proactive approach to changes in the discipline.

ROBERT DARNTON ARGUED that with Gutenberg-e, the AHA had located “an Archimedean point, one where the right amount of leverage can pry things apart so that problems come unstuck and we can all breathe easier.”⁷⁸ The project addresses the fundamentally important issues of identifying and publishing leading works by junior scholars in history and highlighting the young scholars thought to be suggesting the direction of the profession. For academic publishers, the project emphasizes the evolving relationship of electronic publication and the presentation of new historical scholarship. It is intended to establish a role for university presses in the emerging electronic age, showing presses how to update their previously successful association with scholarship of historians at the junior level.

We now have indications of the changes wrought by Gutenberg-e. The changes do not measure up to the initial dreams, but they are measurable.⁷⁹ The project led the *AHR* to review several electronic books and to commission a review essay of unusual breadth. The 2004 Gutenberg-e competition, building on the broad scope of the 2003 competition on women and gender in history, has accepted entries in all fields and therefore required its judges to be generalists as well as specialists. Certain of the authors, in proceeding slowly to publication, may have made the more thorough revisions necessary to exploit the interpretive possibilities of the e-book.⁸⁰ Each of these small changes suggests the effort that may be necessary to achieve significant change but also hints at the depth of transformation that may await us. The AHA, fortunately, has plans to keep the project going somehow.

The nature of electronic publication is clearer in some areas than in others. For

⁷⁸ Darnton, “A Program for Reviving the Monograph,” 26.

⁷⁹ “By the end of three years, [the AHA] should have learned a great deal from the experience, the lessons should begin to spread through the publishing industry, the AHA Prize Monograph Series should have established itself in the holdings of research libraries, the authors should be making their way in the world of learning, and the learned world should have acknowledged the legitimacy of a new kind of book.” Darnton, “A Program for Reviving the Monograph,” 26.

⁸⁰ One awaits with interest the publication of the books with the longest gestation time, those on African history by Heidi Gengenbach and Helena Pohlandt-McCormick.

JSTOR there is no turning back: the electronic versions of scholarly journals in history and related disciplines are established as a professional requirement. Electronic publication through the History Cooperative has become an essential characteristic of the *AHR*. For Gutenberg-e, however, it is not obvious that the project will continue. Sales have been modest at best, and the funding is due to run out within a year. This project highlights a selected group of talented young historians. At the same time, it demonstrates the limits on their influence and the limits on investment in the breadth of their preparation. Their training has emphasized that they find ways to express their originality and imagination through detailed work within predetermined boundaries.

If there is a crisis in history, the work assigned to junior scholars appears to be that of maintaining the system on the home front, rather than applying innovative strategies on our interpretive and disciplinary frontiers. The power to innovate—to address the tasks of cross-regional analysis and interdisciplinary explorations, to forge links with general readers, and to promote interdepartmental diplomacy—remains in the hands of senior scholars. Ironically, the innovators among senior scholars must invent their own ideas on how to accomplish these tasks, except to the degree that writing field-specific dissertations had prepared them for these larger issues. On the face of it, it is an inefficient system: the benefits of a long apprenticeship are offset by the narrowing of historians' vision until the blinders are removed from those who gain tenure.

The historical profession needs to apply its powers of reflection to its own organization and not just to interpretation of the past. We need discussion about the future of the monograph, our systems of doctoral training, the identification of excellence in historical scholarship, and preparation for the various types of leadership of the profession. Gutenberg-e is no panacea, but it is a well-conceived program—the best-funded program yet for revitalizing history—that addresses directly our longstanding but problematic belief in the centrality of specialized monographs as the core of professional history. Along with the report of the Committee on Graduate Education, the Gutenberg-e project and the individual books of its series deserve careful scrutiny and ample debate by historians at all levels.

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Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

DONALD R. KELLEY. *Fortunes of History: Historical Inquiry from Herder to Huizinga*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 426. \$50.00.

With this culminating work, Donald R. Kelley has established his preeminence as the most discerning, trenchant, and catholic expositor of Western historical writing over its long, twisting course. Kelley's richly erudite but forthright style of exegesis deserves to be deemed a one-man tradition in its own distinctive right, with its own sage and briskly fluent voice. The present work is a worthy, even crowning successor to *Faces of History: Historical Inquiry from Herodotus to Herder* (1998) and *The Descent of Ideas: The History of Intellectual History* (2002). It is an even-handed but deeply engaged account of the major figures and movements shaping modern historiography. No one matches Kelley's deft proficiency over such vast reaches of historical endeavor: his artfully authoritative, carefully contoured survey of the historical landscape maps the critical intellectual battle zones, remoter outlying provinces of auxiliary disciplines, and more familiar areas of presentday habitation.

The main development traced in these pages is the emergence of synthetic cultural or civilizational history, which gradually constituted itself from disparate strands of political, economic, legal, ecclesiastical, social, and literary history. Kelley has a keen, mobile eye for recurrent patterns and novel departures in historical inquiry, which are explicated without strain or numbing jargon. Probably the chief achievement of the present work is its cogent manner of treating the polar "big questions" of historiography (meaning and causality, art and science, presentism and antiquarianism, individuality and universality) through probing exposition of specific works of history rather than by applying blanket schematisms. Working historians (including those disinclined to "culturalist" or postmodern assumptions) will find much to ponder in Kelley's latest achievement.

Moving from the later Enlightenment through the labyrinthine nineteenth century to the historically haunted interwar period of the twentieth century, Kelley's present work has an orderly, fugue-like structure, with national historiographical traditions

(French, German, British, Italian, and American) taking pride of place. In the first major division of the book, these skein-like traditions and their master figures (including Adam Ferguson, Edward Gibbon, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Johann Gottfried Herder, Justus Möser, Johann Gustav Droysen, Barthold Georg Niebuhr, Leopold von Ranke, François Guizot, Jules Michelet, and others) emerge, contest, and interweave with each other. Then, in the second main division, their disciples and revisionist heirs (Jakob Burckhardt, Hippolyte Taine, William Stubbs, Thomas Carlyle, J. A. Froude, Lord Acton, Frederick Jackson Turner, Henry Adams, Johan Huizinga, and others) reappear—but in reverse national order. Iberian, Eastern European, Northern European, Swiss, and U.S. currents are integrated into the emerging pattern of a convincingly "dialogic" account of the past. Kelley's neatly apposite focus on thematic issues such as language, nation, law, literature, science, myth, and "orientalism" helps conduce toward the emerging core of culture.

As does most "history proper" in skilled hands, Kelley's kaleidoscopic history of history illuminates the complex conjunction of continuity and change in historiography itself. As he previously built on the classic Janus visage of Herodotus and Thucydides, Kelley here summons the grand patterns of historical meaning in their own terms (the Four Monarchies, *translatio imperii*, the march of reason and progress, the course of humanization and civilization, the upsurge of liberty, science, or the nation-state) to issue forth into public attention and then to retreat as artifacts of history's own advance, but all with appreciative insight rather than retrospective "now-we-know-better" condescension. History may often serve as glorification, legitimation, and edification, but such boosterish "upward and onward" function has long been balanced by its countervailing capacity for debunking, unmasking, and relativization.

Kelley knows so much (and expresses it so well) that the recurrent, ever-eager claims to "new history" or sundry newer historicisms, which he examines with sage appreciation, begin to seem like so much froth on the wave crests of history's oceanic vastness. To paraphrase Harry S. Truman's sobering adage: the vaunted novelty of the latest New History is just the larger

history of historiography that you don't know—and Kelley certainly helps discover that abiding historical truth. The overall impact is more edifying rather than dismaying, even if it humbles bold claims to innovativeness. Kelley's broad-minded history of history prompts clear-headed recognition that the main motivating impulses, operative frameworks, and vantage points of historical writing have been worked through and composited over the epochs. History is bound to remain a shifting, provisional form of communication rather than the steady accumulation of apodictic knowledge in the cause of some disclosure of final meaning.

The author's strong allegiance to the "thick" historical practice of working historians rather than to theoretical skyhooks and pigeonholes makes for tautly detailed exposition. The individual historians, their disciples and detractors, and disciplinary schools come across with a palpable sense of urgency and sometimes missionary zeal. Real individual human beings (quite human ones at that) lived behind the canonical master narratives—even behind the grand narratives, such as those of Karl Marx and Taine, who played down the role of individuals and "heroes." The constitutive tensions in history—between universality and concrete specificity, top and bottom, individuality and collectivity, presentism and antiquarianism—are cogently traced. Likewise the chief impulses impelling higher criticism, hermeneutics, prehistory, and historicism are given stringently suggestive formulation. The congenital feedback effect of (then) current affairs on historiography is treated with lucidity and conviction. Kelley traces the "retro-relativizing" effect of epochal events such as the French Revolution and Napoleonic epoch, German unification, imperialism, and World War I on histories of earlier subjects.

As an agile stylist himself, Kelley is attuned to literary influences (Walter Scott, Washington Irving, René de Chateaubriand, Henry Adams) as well as to the impact of scientific trends, especially Darwinism and its myriad offshoots. The present work might be faulted for meandering somewhat in its final chapter ("New Histories"), where steady perspective is harder to attain because time has not worked its obscure orchestration of memory, preservation, and oblivion. Perhaps reflecting a current prevailing mood of skepticism toward overarching theory in favor of textured narrative, Kelley clearly values the sheer continuity of dogged fact-gathering and careful fact-framing over "philosophism" and philosophy of history. He admires the humble industriousness of archive-based worker-bees, who eschew grand designs even as the wider public readership hankers for such embracing frameworks. In Kelley's telling, the diverse strands of Enlightenment, Romantic, and "scientific" (including positivistic) historiography were more genuinely plural and "open" than their "schools" have been reputed to be (usually caricatured by the next round of revisionists). Indeed, "Eurocentric" Europe in its variegated modes of historical-mindedness seems far less hide-

bound and parochially fixated in a "hegemonic," history-based self-understanding than has recently been claimed.

If history remains a resonating and ramifying "conversation without end," Kelley ranks among its very best interlocutors and interpreters across the ages.

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JOHN LANDERS. *The Field and the Forge: Population, Production, and Power in the Pre-industrial West*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 440.

Reading this book is somewhat like flying over a familiar landscape for the first time: features that one scarcely noticed at ground level suddenly reveal unexpected patterns when seen from above. John Landers employs the *longue durée* approach to examine the ways in which the reliance on an "organic economy" shaped the structures of Western society from prehistory until the early twentieth century. An organic economy is characterized by dependence on plants (and, secondarily, animals) as the main sources of energy and raw materials. The few industries that utilize inorganic raw materials (e.g. metallurgy, ceramics) are limited in their production capacity by the use of wood as fuel. For Landers, the heart of the industrial revolution was the transformation of energy inputs and raw materials from organic sources to minerals and chemicals. This shift fundamentally changed productivity levels, with far-reaching consequences for human society. Landers's book is concerned primarily with the preindustrial West rather than the "mineral economy" of the industrial revolution itself. He does, however, look in some detail at warfare in the transitional period during which the technology of violence had shifted to chemical energy (gunpowder), yet organic energy sources still defined the parameters for transportation, communications, and the economic underpinnings of military activity.

The book is divided into four sections. Part one examines the constraints that organic sources of energy imposed on demography, spatial organization, production, non-military technology, trade, and transport. The remainder of the book deals with topics related to warfare in both the organic (pre-gunpowder) and mineral (gunpowder) eras: military technology, political power, manpower, and the costs of war.

Landers takes a thematic rather than chronological approach, drawing his empirical evidence from a wide variety of places and periods. Within each major topic, he establishes a comprehensive and detailed taxonomy of specific subtopics. For example, "Ravaging," one of the "Consequential Costs" of warfare, is discussed as a theoretical abstraction, then illustrated by the devastation inflicted by the French in the Rhineland Palatinate in 1680, the duke of Marlborough's burning of Bavarian villages in 1704, William Tecumseh Sherman's march through the Confederacy, and the Norman harrying of Yorkshire in 1069 (p. 301). A discus-

sion of barrier defenses ranges from Roman frontiers to fortifications against nomad incursions in the Caucasus to the Dutch Revolt (pp. 178–79). Unfortunately, as in the cases noted here, many of Landers's specific historical examples are given no more than a passing mention or sketchy description, so that they are of limited use to the reader not already familiar with them in greater detail. Overall, his analysis emphasizes structural continuities and similarities rather than the processes of change or the causes of variations between preindustrial societies.

In general, Landers is stronger in his exposition of abstract theory than in his use of empirical evidence. Where he does bring in particular historical examples, he uses them to illustrate, rather than to test, his theoretical models. Since he is clearly aware of the problems inherent in applying essentially quantitative models to periods that lack reliable statistical data, it is puzzling that he does not make more use of the occasional source, such as Domesday Book or the Florence Catasto of 1427–1429, that could bring more precision to his demographic and economic generalizations for the pre-modern centuries. He is on much firmer statistical footing in his analysis of the gunpowder era and includes a substantial appendix that offers a comparative breakdown of army strengths and casualties for battles from 1621 to 1815.

Landers's prose is clear, unadorned, and not overly encumbered with jargon. The author assists his readers by providing an exceptionally strong scaffolding of detailed chapter introductions, topical subsections, summaries, and conclusions. Nevertheless, this book is not an easy read. It is not suitable for the casual reader or most undergraduates, but it would work very well in a graduate seminar. Although Landers draws on the history of the West for most of his specific examples, his models could be applied to the analysis of any preindustrial society. His book is an ambitious and wide-ranging synthesis that is both thoughtful and thought provoking.

ROBERTA J. MAGNUSSON
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CHARLES TILLY. *Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650–2000*. (Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 305. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.00.

This book inhabits history's borders with sociology and political science. As the title suggests, it centers on the inadvertent causal connection that Charles Tilly claims exists between contention and the historically "rare" advent of democracy, and also the more frequent occurrence of its opposite. Focusing primarily on relatively detailed overviews of French, British, and Swiss history since 1650, Tilly builds on Barrington Moore's claims about the centrality of conflict in the histories of even the most stable democratic states. Tilly's tests of democratization are far more demanding than the minimal ones (free and fair elections for

example) offered by other scholars. Democratization consists of "increases in the breadth and equality of relations between government agents and members of the . . . subject population, in binding consultation of a government's population with respect to governmental personnel, resources, and policy, and in protection of that population (especially minorities within it) from arbitrary action by governmental agents" (p.13). More briefly stated, democratization comprises increasingly wide and deep levels of "protected consultation."

This test highlights the most interesting of the author's multiple arguments about the circumstances under which democratization occurs. Although he believes there are multiple possible pathways towards democracy, Tilly thinks democracy-benign contention is more likely in the histories of strong-state than weak-state polities, Switzerland's rare exception notwithstanding. This "trajectory" toward democracy is not invariable: rising state capacity in the absence of widening consultation generally produces dictatorship (true by definition); increasing consultation that outstrips governmental capacity produces a democracy-risky period while capacity catches up with demand. When occurring together, however, increasing governmental capacity and protected consultation can mutually reinforce each other, thereby producing democracy-benign cycles. Governmental expansion "generates resistance, bargaining and provisional settlements" and thus demands for consultation from those affected; protected consultation encourages demands for government expansion, and so on. Strong-state polities are also democratization-friendly if increased governmental capacity includes the integration of private networks of trust (for example, the control of private armies, legal guarantees for contractual obligation, the erosion of patron-client relations through state provision of sustenance). Democratically functional trajectories can also emerge from strong states if enhanced government results in lowering "categorical" social inequalities based on things like religion, class, race, or gender, and their insulation from the fundamental legal underpinnings of public politics—the removal for example of legally-enforced class or religious disabilities.

The foregoing cannot do justice to the complexity of argument in this impressive and wide-ranging book. Indeed, one problem is that its early sections contain some of the most compressed and terminology-laden writing I have ever read. This is not to accuse Tilly of jargon production since most of the terms have precise meanings that are eventually offered. However, readers urgently require an introductory glossary of definitions. Tilly's hypothesis about the invariably contentious origins of democratization is both ambitious and modest: ambitious because it is predictive rather than just descriptive, and thus open to falsification from the proven existence of one counterexample where democracy emerges from consensus (p. 40). It is modest because Tilly's stories about Britain, France, and Switzerland are intended to provide his hypothesis with

clarifying illustration rather than proof, thereby supplying an agenda for future research.

While it will do this, the assumptions about politics underpinning the hypothesis may seem rather odd to political scientists: both too wide and too narrow. The contentious politics underpinning both democratization and de-democratization can involve revolution, foreign conquest, confrontation, and colonization. Yet, the noncontentious political participation that is apparently important to neither appears mainly to comprise routine activities like tax collecting, filling in census forms, and watching parliamentary debates (pp. 29–30). Meanwhile, political scientists would argue there is a broad and highly influential range of politics in all regimes that are neither conflictual nor routine. They involve non-decisions, situations where power arises not from victory in conflict but from controlling the political agenda: contention is avoided either because potential political actors regard others as so politically formidable as to render claim making hopeless, or because their interest horizons (and thus their desire to make claims) are subject to some dominant ideology (patriarchy, for example). Either way, overt conflict is either absent or at least one stage removed from the political process. Women do not claim the vote because they think politics, like the rest of “the public sphere,” is properly a male preserve; workers do not strike because they think they will lose, or do not demand consultation because they think employers know best; governments avoid suppression because they fear revolution. Meanwhile, as was arguably the case in 1867, still more in 1884–1885, governments politically include social groups not due to pressure but because they honestly believe them “politically fit,” rational, and accepting of the status quo.

JOHN GARRARD
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ROBERT O. PAXTON. *The Anatomy of Fascism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004. Pp. xii, 321. \$26.00.

In this book, Robert O. Paxton, who earned his spurs in his pioneering research on Vichy France, pointedly sets out to teach established authorities on comparative fascist studies a trick or two by publishing a fully elaborated version of the theory of fascism’s “five stages” that he presented in a more rudimentary form in an article for the *Journal of Contemporary History* in 2000. These are the creation of a movement; the rooting of it in the political system; the seizure of power; the exercise of power; the eventual radicalization or entropy of fascism as a regime. Five chapters devoted to how various interwar fascist phenomena illustrate each of these stages are followed by a comprehensive survey of putative fascisms outside interwar Europe, and a final chapter offers a definition of fascism. This is supplemented by an extended biographical essay that will be of particular value to newcomers to this prolific branch of comparative historical study.

The merit of this book hinges on the validity of Paxton’s claim to deliver a comprehensive anatomical lesson on the topic based on living history rather than the autopsy of an inert abstraction. However, Paxton’s analysis turns out to be much more of an X-ray than a vivisection, since it leaves invisible so much of the connective tissue between the archaic anthropological, psychological, and ritual dynamics of his subject as a “political religion” and its technological, bureaucratic, scientific, and scientistic aspects as a modern political ideology. Moreover, closer scrutiny of what it does provide leaves the strong impression that the “ground-breaking” journey promised by the book’s dustjacket is actually a march down well-trodden paths.

For one thing, Paxton is jousting at windmills in his assumption that he has avoided the trap of “essentialism” that he claims to have encountered in earlier works on the subject. None of the most important scholars who have offered an account of the “fascist minimum,” whether discursive (e.g. Eugen Weber, Juan Linz, Zeev Sternhell, George L. Mosse, Emilio Gentile) or as quotable “one-liners” (e.g. Ernst Nolte, Roger Griffin, Stanley Payne, Roger Eatwell) has committed the naïve fallacy of reifying fascism’s core traits of which Paxton accuses them. In every case their definition is presented in an exploratory, heuristic spirit, and in several cases it is explicitly proposed as a Weberian “ideal type,” thus specifically precluding the notion of an “essence” to the phenomenon under investigation. Second, none of these scholars has implied that it is somehow sufficient to define the fascist minimum to “understand fascism,” only to insist that fascism cannot be understood or even investigated as a historical entity or family of entities without a conscious or unconscious conceptual framework and working definition (a position to which Paxton has only recently become converted). All have spent at least as much time as he exploring concrete historical realities related to the term. Indeed, Weber, Sternhell, Mosse, and Payne approach generic fascism as experts in the history of the extreme right in particular countries.

Third, Paxton shows a shaky grasp of the relationship between the nomothetic (generalizing, pattern-seeking) aspect of the social sciences and the idiosyncratic concern of historians with uniqueness. All definitions of generic terms are “static” (p. 21) by definition because they are shorn of the surface texture provided by concrete historical case studies, but their purpose is to facilitate comparison and reveal patterns of causality existing between unique phenomena. Moreover, each of the stages that Paxton has identified are, in Weberian terms, “ideal types” inferred from the “real” history of events through a process of idealizing abstraction. Obviously, to develop a heuristically useful ideal type of a generic concept requires a number of comparable phenomena from which to abstract it. However, the chapters of this book expounding stages three to five in the evolution of fascism are based entirely on the fates of Italian fascism and Nazism, an inadequate basis for generalizing about “the fascist

regime" per se. What passes for the identification of the generic traits of fascist regimes is actually the attempt to identify common denominators in what happened under Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, a project hardly new to academia, as Alexander de Grand will testify.

Fourth, these two "fascist" regimes have been selected on the basis of a pre-established definition of what distinguishes a fascist regime from an authoritarian one. It is not enough to justify the selection simply by saying that they are the two "generally accepted" by experts as fascist regimes (p. 15), especially since Sternhell, Renzo de Felice, and A. J. Gregor exclude Nazism from the fascist family. The more salient and cogent reason for their selection is that they correspond to Paxton's own ideal type of fascism as a revolutionary form of ultranationalism striving for redemption and purification, but this, while adumbrated at the outset, is only formulated specifically at the end as if somehow it can be inferred from the evidence produced by the book. This tautological procedure seriously weakens his own definition's heuristic function of providing an initial conceptual framework with which to investigate common patterns in the specific historical enactments of fascism's "mobilizing passions" (pp. 41, 219), which would have been a truly worthwhile exercise. Instead Paxton presents the empirical facts about the genesis and assault on power of particular fascisms as illustrating the five stages he has identified a priori, which is closer to essentialism than anything that has flowed from the pens or computers of those he criticizes.

The arbitrariness of his schema is underlined by the way Paxton does not count as the "first stage" of fascism the original formulation of fascist goals and policies as utopian remedies for resolving the perceived sociopolitical crisis of the present system, even if their currency among political thinkers and cultural critics is the precondition for fascism's subsequent parabola as an active political force. It is precisely this stage beyond which postwar fascism has found it so difficult to progress. Paxton goes on to talk of fascism pursuing "goals of external expansion" that do not apply to fascism in Spain, Britain, or Romania, let alone any of its postwar variants, and of "working in uneasy but effective collaboration with traditional elites," which applies solely to Italian fascism and Nazism as regimes.

The most curious anomaly of his ideal type, however, is that its stress on fascism's bid to overcome national decline and humiliation through a cult of purification and redemptive violence is entirely consistent with the definitions offered by Mosse and Payne over twenty years ago, and by Eatwell and myself in the 1990s. Unwittingly, therefore, Paxton has achieved little more than further corroborating the emergence of a new consensus on fascism that has been growing over the last decade. The result is a book that is bibliographically up to date but cannot hold a candle to Stanley Payne's *A History of Fascism: 1914–1945* in

comprehensiveness and conceptual coherence. It is particularly regrettable that Paxton did not spend more time showing the relevance of his own definition to rendering more intelligible some of the most disturbing features of fascism's destructiveness. The section "Trying to account for the Holocaust" (pp. 158–164) certainly would have produced a gust of fresh air had it concentrated on presenting the campaigns of euthanasia and genocide during the Third Reich as the ultimate consequence of its ruthless application of "redemptive violence" to achieving its goal of "internal cleansing." Instead, it focuses on the way the Final Solution exemplifies the "radicalization" that is one of the options open to "the fascist regime," a missed opportunity to offer genuinely new insights into fascism as a historical phenomenon.

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ALESSANDRO PORTELLI. *The Order Has Been Carried Out: History, Memory, and Meaning of a Nazi Massacre in Rome*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. 329. \$39.95.

Over the last decade, Alessandro Portelli established himself as a scholar well known for his use of oral histories and his provocative ideas about history and memory. This new book demonstrates that Portelli is unrivaled in his abilities to capture memories, listen to their meanings, and to describe who "fights" battles over memory and why. He rewrites the history of a tragic and controversial moment in World War II Italy, while simultaneously unfolding the story of a city and its residents over a span of more than a century. In addition, Portelli connects these people, places, and events to broader contemporary issues as he discusses the morality of political violence and justifications for terror as legitimate acts of war.

Portelli has chosen two historical events and sites as the subject of this volume. These allow him to establish a plausible framework of verifiable "facts" against which "the creative work of memory and narrative can be measured and tested" (p. 16). The first event occurred on March 23, 1944, in via Rasella, a street in central Rome. There, a Communist-organized partisan unit attacked a German police patrol, killing thirty-three German soldiers, a young Italian boy, and another civilian. Less than twenty-four hours later, the German command selected 335 males held in their Roman prisons, transported them to an abandoned quarry in the south of Rome (later known as the Fosse Ardeatine, or Ardeatine tombs), and summarily shot and killed them.

As Portelli put together differing accounts of what happened and was remembered about via Rasella and the Fosse Ardeatine, and plotted the actions and decisions of those hours in March 1944, he recognized that the story did not begin or end there. He first needed to find "the deep background of the massacre, the city where this history began, and about the people

who lived in it" (p. 24). The author identified those who were present at via Rasella, and those who were the victims of the massacre, and then went back in time to look at the families and friends of these individuals and ask where and how they lived, what they hoped for and believed. The result is a rich social history of Rome, its neighborhoods, and its politics. Because the events of 1944 still resonate within Italian life and politics, Portelli moves forward to look at battles over memory and meaning—not just of via Rasella and Fosse Ardeatine, but of the Resistance and the creation of republican Italy itself. Along the way he is "fascinated by the pervasiveness of erroneous tales, myths, legends and silences" (p. 16), and is able to trace how right-wing political distortions of original events "seep into the veins of public imagination," and merge with "middle-of-the-road common sense" (p. 5). Subsequent events through which Portelli examines these issues are the creation of a national monument at Fosse Ardeatine, the trials of the German commanders in charge of occupied Italy, and the civil suits in which families of victims of Fosse Ardeatine blame partisans for the massacre and charge them with irresponsible and illegitimate acts. Older stories and recast memories reappear in multiple responses to the Red Brigades and the killing of Aldo Moro, and in contemporary youthful reactions to neo-fascism. As Portelli says, "historical memory makes jumps or side-steps"; it can even "skip a generation" (p. 286). One of the themes that runs through the book is the "concept of divided memory." Portelli interprets this to mean not only that different persons may hold different memories of an event, but that "memory divides, more painfully and dramatically, also *within* persons and within texts" (p. 206).

Regardless of the historical episode under discussion, individuals are always in the foreground of this story, as Portelli interviewed 200 or more people who have very different relationships to the attack and the massacre. From the interviews Portelli created a "multi-voiced narrative, a montage of fragments of varying length" that tell the story from various places and perspectives (p. 17). But Portelli carefully selects and arranges these stories so that the reader becomes familiar with speakers through the rhythm of their language, the context of their lives, and their philosophy or world view. Portelli's respect for individual histories makes him a model steward of people's memories. At the same time, his remarkable authorial voice weaves a tapestry of understanding that enfolds the seemingly disparate parts.

One wishes the publisher had noticed annoying typographical and other errors that pepper the text. Fortunately, the quality of the content and thought overcomes those mistakes. Anyone interested in the histories of fascism, resistance, gender, war, and memory should read and reread this book.

JANE SLAUGHTER
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BERNHARD KLEIN and GESA MACKENTHEUN, editors. *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*. New York: Routledge. 2004. Pp. ix, 219. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$24.95.

These are not oceanographic studies but detailed speculations on what thinking through oceans makes possible: worlds of actors in contact zones and hybrid cultural spaces, clashing and collaborative ventures with Polynesian exploration, Atlantic slavery, English literature, and multiple investments of shipboard crews drawn from every conceivable part of the world.

The contributions include historians and literary critics working through extended discussions of navigation and seascapes, lascars and Manila men, the Sulu trading and piracy zone, seaborne insurance and cannibalism, as well as a number of readings of Olaudah Equiano, James Cook, Herman Melville, Daniel Defoe, and William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Editors Gesa Mackentheun and Bernhard Klein provide a foreword. Peter Hulme, with an extended meditation on Shakespeare, rounds out the volume with a closing essay on the "utmost parts of the earth," and the ever-present trope of being cast away as the condition and danger of those confronted with sea changes in their lives, whether intentional in navigation and way-finding, or imposed, as through the exploitations of slavery and shipwreck.

The stated and successfully achieved intention of the collection is to "energize" and give materiality to the world's oceans as places of dynamic interaction and cultural and political production. Much of the work is correctly dedicated to reading against classic European narrations of discovery and adventure and resituating them within histories of interaction. Greg Denning ably launches the volume by tying together the "profound" nature of an oceanic *longue durée* while recounting tales of Hawaiian sailing canoes, sketching out the currents of a Polynesian seaborne consciousness. Vanessa Smith's work on gender destabilization follows with inversions of Bougainvillean paradise myths by showing up the slippages and tensions inherent in oceanic encounters. David Chappell reinforces the point by tracing the multi-ethnic African, Indian, Polynesian, Asian, and European crews who manned the ships of trading empires, an approach schematized by James Francis Warren's waterborne geography of the Philippine and Indonesian straits. As Warren succinctly notes, "The transformation of Britain and China and the rise of the Iranun in modern Southeast Asian history cannot be separated: each is the other's history" (p. 69). Mackentheun also plays out such hybrid geographies, drawing on Anglo-American literature to locate a vision of Ahab's *Pequod* as already bearing the "memories of a colonial Atlantic past" (p. 146).

Such implicated histories echo throughout the essays. Klein juggles with "reverse angles" from European ships and "Indian" canoes, suggesting, like Chappell, the "already hybrid shipboard community" of exploration and discovery voyages. Alasdair Pettinger

gives such readings a historically material context, tracing the shipborne passages of “coloured passengers,” including Frederick Douglass, to underscore the multiple complications of class and race at sea. As Pettinger puts it, “rather than consider the ship as a means of traveling from one country to another, we might think of it . . . as a strange country in itself, with its own language and customs” (p. 163).

These complications are tied into uneasy backgrounds of Atlantic slaving and American race discrimination. This is a point underscored by Marcus Rediker, who lauds the mixed crews and revolutionary potential of the (especially) eighteenth-century maritime world, focusing on the fevered poetry of William Blake and the violence of slavery to capture the expropriation and defiance of lives lived on “the full Atlantic circuit” (p. 127). Tim Armstrong’s essay also draws on analyses of violence and exploitation to understand how the history of insurance is tied to mechanisms of compensation and risk developed originally to value a special “cargo”: transported slaves. He takes on questions of “general average sacrifice” in the drowning of some to preserve the value of others, and ponders the logic of wrecks and how they led to conundrums of cannibalism—could crews eat their own? “Compensation” then becomes a problematic of historical jurisprudence: “all losses must be covered . . . which is why the issue of reparation is still with us” (p. 182).

Such inquiries, haunted memories, and telescoped histories run through the essays, like Dening’s deep currents. As a collection, the volume has no singular argument, but it succeeds well in its aim to draw oceans away from their blankness on maps and merely metaphorical dispositions into the materiality of historical processes. The editors thank their contributors as a sort of “crew,” and indeed they do seem to make fine shipmates.

MATT MATSUDA
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SUSAN R. SCHREFFER and PHILIP SCRANTON, editors. *Industrializing Organisms: Introducing Evolutionary History*. (Hagley Perspectives on Business and Culture, volume 5.) New York: Routledge. 2004. Pp. ix, 275. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$24.95.

During the past decade, environmental historians and historians of technology have increasingly turned their attention to the common ground shared by their two fields of study. Looking to expand the scope of this historiographic focus, Edmund Russell asked the readers of the on-line discussion group Envirotech if it made sense to consider animals as technology, given the extent to which numerous creatures had been deliberately manipulated by humans to serve human ends. This provocative question triggered an avalanche of exchanges. It also prompted Susan R. Schrepfer and Philip Scranton to harness these enthusiasms in a serious and tangible manner, initially through a con-

ference—in which participants were asked to consider the technological dimensions of plants, as well as animals—and subsequently through their coedited book.

The editors invited Russell to write the book’s introduction, and he has done a superb job of erecting a theoretical framework for this path-breaking collection, as well as offering a bounty of suggestions for future research. He challenges scholars to think anew about the reciprocal influences of technology and the environment, suggesting that we establish a new field of study—that of “evolutionary history”—which concerns itself with “the role of evolution in the human past.” Because “humans have shaped the evolution of other species,” he explains, “such intervention has significantly changed both humans and other species” (p. 2).

The nine essays that follow present an eclectic array of case studies that explore various aspects of this theme during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Susan Warren Lanman, for example, examines the nineteenth-century gardener Peter Henderson, who provided urban consumers with plants, seeds, produce, flowers, and various gardening innovations. Like other market gardeners, Henderson took advantage of growing urban population and density, utilized the various forms of municipal and industrial wastes (as cheap fertilizers and pesticides), made use of improved transportation systems, and incorporated viable and pertinent new labor-saving technologies. He also manipulated plants for increased yield, visual appeal, predictability, and profitability.

Directing their attention to the Midwest and beyond, Alan Olmstead and Paul Rhode analyze wheat production in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century to reassess the conventional interpretation that has assigned advances in agricultural productivity during that period primarily to innovations in farm mechanization. To back their finding that biological innovations were equally important, they cite two principal examples: the development of integrated pest management to combat those insects inadvertently introduced from Eurasia; and the development of new wheat varieties that enabled commercial wheat cultivation to expand into the Northern Plains, Great Plains, and Pacific Coast states.

In his exemplary essay, “Making the Chicken of Tomorrow,” Roger Horowitz explains how chickens have been bred to mature more quickly, grow more uniformly, and contain more breast meat. Achieving these goals required extensive changes in poultry-raising practices, together with changes in how chickens were processed, packaged, distributed, and marketed. Horowitz’s insights are reinforced by Mark Finlay, who focuses on the widespread use of antibiotics among hog farmers in the United States after World War II. Medicated feeds, he argues, became part of a new agricultural revolution that “sought to reshape and redesign organisms in ways they deemed appropriate for an industrial society” (p. 237). Like

chickens, hogs on industrial farms were moved from outdoors to indoors. The feeding, housing, and management of swine were all modified to fit an industrial system and to produce hogs with leaner meat.

As a whole, the essays present a compelling case for how the examination of plants and animals as historical artifacts can make profound contributions to human knowledge. All are thoughtful, well researched, clearly written, and offer fresh perspectives, although they are not equally explicit in advancing the concept of evolutionary history. Some authors tend to address the technological and industrial dimensions of their chosen topics more thoroughly than the environmental ones, but this does not amount to a serious shortcoming. The book suggests a promising approach for expanding our understanding of the past by deepening our understanding of the interconnections between technology and the natural world. As Schrepfer observes in her afterword, "the agricultural and biological revolutions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can most productively be analyzed as industrial revolutions, farms as factories, and organisms as technologies" (p. 263).

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VINAY LAL. *The History of History: Politics and Scholarship in Modern India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 309. Rs. 1040.00.

This book starts with the premise that despite the fact that "ahistoricism is one of the defining features" and "greatest attractions" of Indian civilization, history as a discipline has increasingly assumed a major role in India as the past has become an object of debate in the post-independence period (p. 14). This is particularly true of the last fifteen years, when the rise of a "Hindu" right has led to speculations about the future of secularism in the country.

In Vinay Lal's account, history is inextricably bound up with the apparatus of the modern Indian nation-state. In five chapters of the book, he gives a detailed account of the manner in which colonized Indians responded to the British depiction of India as a place without history by actively searching for "historical" pasts. Such historical consciousness, according to Lal, out of which the discipline of history was born, emerged during the period of Indian nationalism and reached its fullest expression in post-1947 India. He skillfully charts the careers of institutions like the Indian History Congress, the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan* Series; the role of patronage bestowed by political leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajendra Prasad in the development of the historical profession; the part played by prominent historians like Jadunath Sarkar, R. C. Majumdar, K. M. Munshi, and more recently by Anil Seal, Ranajit Guha, and others in producing the interpretive fissures that have resulted in the formation of well-defined groups in modern Indian historiography—namely the nationalist, leftist, Cambridge,

and Subaltern schools. All these groups are intimately involved in debates having to do with nationalism and secularism.

This equation of the past with the history of the nation, according to Lal, has produced a fixation with icons in Indian life such as Aurangzeb, the last great Mughal emperor who is seen by some as a bigoted tyrant, or the seventeenth-century Maratha king, Shivaji, regarded by many as one of the earliest heroes of Indian nationalism (pp. 101–113). The greatest casualty, Lal says, in these accounts of heroes and villains is the discipline of academic history in India, which is almost entirely divorced from the popular conceptions of the past, from the lay person's investment in myths, legends, spirits, and the nonrational that is visible in everyday life.

The last chapter of the book is a fascinating account of the role played by the Internet in the creation of a "Vedic civilization." Lal establishes quite persuasively how popular histories on the World Wide Web have helped to merge Hinduism "into what is very nearly its opposite, namely Hindutva politics" (p. 238).

Much of what Lal says will be of interest to students of history. There are, however, several troubling aspects to the book. Lal defines history as "the ability to reason historically and to ground one's arguments in a historical sociology" (p. 67). It is then curious that there is no engagement in this book with the recent work of scholars like Sanjay Subramanyam, David Shulman, and Narayan Rao who have argued about the presence of precisely such a historical sensibility in premodern India. Similarly, Lal's critique that historians of the Subaltern Studies collective have failed to ruminate seriously on the problems attendant in making history "the only mode of accessing the past," in regarding the "narratives of the nation state as the reference point for all agency," about the vexed status of Europe being "the site of all (Indian) histories," and negotiating the question of "agency" when the subaltern herself disavows it (pp. 207–218) is not borne out by a close reading of the works of many members of that collective. Conspicuously absent from Lal's chapter "Subalterns in the Academy" is any serious engagement with scholars like Partha Chatterjee or Dipesh Chakrabarty, who have written at length on some or all of the aforementioned points. Nor is it the case that historians of the Subaltern Studies collective have "worked exclusively on the colonial and postindependence period" (p. 192). Gautam Bhadra has written extensively in Bengali and English on precolonial Murshidabad, and on peasant uprisings and symbolism in Mughal India.

Finally, in urging scholars to take seriously "the mythic, the ahistorical and the folk if they are committed to the ecological plurality of knowledges" (p. 22), Lal is too hasty and somewhat insulting toward other historians, accusing them of such things as "philosophical posturing" (p. 208) or of having a "pedestrian attachment to 'facts'" (p. 98). Lal's critical tone reaches a moment of unnecessary incivility when he

characterizes Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob's book *Telling the Truth About History* (1994) as a mishmash of "Reader's Digest" and "Benetton" (p. 77). Nevertheless, Lal's book remains an important intervention in debates in South Asian history writing.

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COMPARATIVE WORLD

VICTOR LIEBERMAN. *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800–1830*. Volume 1, *Integration on the Mainland*. (Studies in Comparative World History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 484. \$65.00.

This hugely ambitious project, marked by the publication of the first of two volumes, aims at nothing less than the repositioning of mainland Southeast Asia in world history. Whereas the comparative framework in premodern times is usually taken to be the Indic world or China, the one proposed here is Eurasia. The strange parallels in the title, which Victor Lieberman argues are really not so strange but susceptible to explanation once the historical record is understood, refer to synchronous political and cultural consolidations he identifies in Burma, Siam, Vietnam, France, and Russia. Japan also exhibits the same patterns. Lieberman is fascinated by administrative cycles, and in this respect the book builds on his earlier work in premodern Burmese history. Best of all, this author is well-organized, a definite strength in a book as large and complex as this one. His lectures must be a treat for student note-takers.

After outlining his main theses in the introduction, Lieberman offers detailed case studies in three lengthy, exhaustively documented chapters on western, central, and eastern mainland Southeast Asia. These are the chief mainland societies, corresponding roughly to Burma, Siam, and Vietnam, which exhibit territorial consolidation and a growing uniformity of religious practices, languages, and ethnicity. Vietnam, "the least coherent territory in the world," was neither as complete nor as sustained in the integration it achieved as Burma and Siam. Lieberman concedes that his theme of integration privileges metropolitan elites at the expense of peasants and other subalterns but argues that enormous numbers of people, not merely central elites, were affected by the evolution he documents. He invents his own vocabulary for following dynastic growth. Early Southeast Asian empires are termed "charter states" in view of their foundational role in future developments. The "protected rimlands"—northwestern Europe, northeastern Europe, Japan, and mainland Southeast Asia—lie on the periphery of older civilizations.

To make his case for the strange parallels, Lieberman seems to have read everything. He is familiar with major works in European history—environmental, political, and economic—and he has drawn on numerous

conference papers, unpublished doctoral dissertations, and personal communications. One of the reasons the book can aim to be so comprehensive and that Lieberman can take on so much of the region without competence in vernacular languages aside from Burmese is that he has taken advantage of a wide network of Southeast Asianists, generously acknowledged their assistance, and consulted them over the ten years of the project's gestation. This collaboration enables him to cover a thousand years of mainland Southeast Asian history for each of the chief mainland societies. Only over this length of time, he argues, can the patterns be gleaned. The meticulously documented argument is daunting. For a single individual, it is a massive synthesis.

I have three observations. If diversity can be as easily "compared" as similarity, what is to be gained by comparison? Is Lieberman not comparing the incomparable? Despite the author's qualifications, exceptions to generalizations, and scrupulous adherence to his own carefully managed criteria, these questions linger as the pages are turned. Second, the structural vocabulary of consolidation, integration, synchronization, transformation, fragmentation, feedback loops, and pattern is everywhere evident. Along with this structuralism there is an agreeably old-fashioned language of causation and consequence. In Lieberman's history, language is a transparent window onto the past, and words mean what they say. They are not mischievous things that play tricks on the unwary. Some readers will find this refreshing; others will wonder when the linguistic turn—even a watered-down version of it—will arrive on Lieberman's desk. Finally, there is next to nothing about ideology, consciousness, the history of mentalities, the way people felt or perceived. Perhaps there need not be, given the kind of history Lieberman has written, but the overall effect in this reader's mind was an overly mechanical view of historical change.

Where are we to put this tome on the shelf? Perhaps, when the second volume arrives, next to Arnold J. Toynbee and William McNeill, and certainly not far from D. G. E. Hall and Anthony Reid. In any case, it will be a long time before another historian bothers trying to understand why the mainland dynasties in Burma, Siam, and Vietnam were on the ascendant in the late eighteenth century as the Western imperial powers strayed into the region, provoked by economic competition and local political struggles that they found irresistible. For addressing this question with such seriousness and provocative argument Lieberman is to be congratulated.

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JAMES H. SWEET. *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 296. cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

In this book, James H. Sweet invites a rethinking of the African presence in Portugal and its centers of domination. Given its scope, conceptual claims, and the depth of the archival research, this project warrants the broadest conceivable audience. As a good book should, it engages the reader. Scholars from diverse intellectual traditions, usually not in conversation with each other, will harbor strong opinions about Sweet's interpretive gestures. For this reason alone, his book merits attention. Sweet's textually rich account of the African presence in the colonial Portuguese world narrates the cultural encounter in ways that are provocative, if not problematic. He begins by questioning why creolization represents the starting point for understanding the African experience in the colonial world. For Sweet, the African background needs to be privileged as a lived experience before directing attention to the process of cultural transformation. Here creolization emerges as a secondary cultural process but not the *a priori* for discerning how the African past was transplanted to the Americas. Sweet rightly criticizes studies of Africans in the Americas that inaugurate the discussion of African cultures by privileging the synthetic and hybrid, notably Sidney Mintz and Richard Price's seminal anthropological study *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective* (1976). In doing so, Sweet joins a chorus of Africanists (Paul Lovejoy, John Thornton, and Michael Gomez, among others) and Afro-Americanists (Sterling Stuckey, Colin Palmer, etc.) who question European cultural practices as the starting point for studying the African past. In criticizing the thematic focus of *An Anthropological Approach*, however, these critics actually valorize as definitive ideas that Mintz and Price labeled as provisional. In his substantive work on the Saramaka maroons, for example, Price takes a decidedly different approach to the African past. Such conceptual wrinkles mar Sweet's rich offering, since they detract from forging a radically different intellectual trajectory for the African diaspora and colonial Latin American history.

Still, the book offers a lot. By examining the slave trade in the Portuguese world, Sweet highlights the centrality of the Central African presence. He focuses on more than numbers. His study constitutes a detailed engagement with Central African political, social, and cultural history. Sweet avoids depicting a generic African past. He shows how, when, and why Central Africans effected their cultural formation in the colonial Portuguese world. In Brazil, the area that receives most coverage, to speak of Africans before 1770 (the year in which the study ends) is to speak of Central Africans. Mbundu and BaKongo sociocultural practices were central to slave life. In a departure from colonial Brazilian studies that until recently largely configured slavery and slave cultural formation through the structure of production and then the cultural power of Christianity, Sweet insists that to center the enslaved demands an engagement with the Central African past. In formulating this imaginative

gesture into analytics, Sweet provides detailed readings of ecclesiastical and inquisitorial sources. I wish that Sweet had done more to situate his formulations and findings in relation to Brazilian historiography and the dearth of cultural studies on Africans in colonial Latin America. In this respect, the constant recourse to Caribbean and Afro-American creolization studies limits the study's impact.

Audience, in this respect, poses a persistent problem. After reading Sweet's book, only the willful student of the colonial Portuguese world and Spanish America can write and think about the African past in generic terms or as an aside. A more explicit engagement with Brazilian studies of slavery and discussion of cultural formations in colonial Latin America would have situated this study in an even more fruitful dialogue. The layered discussion of Central African cultural formation in the colonial Portuguese world enables a different understanding of the slave domestic arrangement and black sexuality. Similarly, the examination of cultural practices should dissuade even the most strident Eurocentric from privileging Christian culture in analyzing the worlds of the slaves. Sweet reminds us that Christian cultural hegemony was a product of historical struggle with Central African beliefs and not easily, if ever, attained. Simply put, in a world where Central Africans prevailed, Catholic culture and its institutional manifestations were decidedly limited. In offering this conclusion, Sweet calls for a reconsideration of power. In the colonial Portuguese world, the struggle for power involved culture as much as it did structural dominance. Readers will find much to ponder, including the nature of Sweet's audience, his engagement with historiography, his use of sources, his sense of history (the role of time, space, and contextualization), and his understanding of culture. But after reading this richly layered study, the critical importance of Central Africans in Latin America and the African diaspora will be more clear.

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KENNETH ROBERT OLWIG. *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World*. Foreword by YI-FU TUAN. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2002. Pp. xxxii, 299. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

This ambitious book examines the interlocking and shifting meanings of several key terms—including "landscape," "nature," "country," and "nation"—from the early seventeenth century to the present. Simplified somewhat, the story it tells is of the near eradication of one idea of landscape (as a site of custom and memory) and the emergence of another (as the "scenic view" through which particular models of political authority and identity can be created). Whereas landscape has come to connote the pictorial representation of a delimited physical area, Kenneth Robert Olwig describes the term's origins in European notions of

polity and customary practice: "A Landschaft was more than a place; it expressed the very idea of political representation as manifested in the representative body that stood for a political community. The Landschaft as place was thus defined not physically, but socially, as the place of a polity" (p. 10). In other words, "landscape" (or "landschaft") is a term to which the social and political (rather than the "scenic") were initially primary. This book describes both the rise to prominence of the "scenic" model of landscape and the ways in which that model has helped to shore up everything from monarchical authority to national identity.

Olwig leads us from the Whitehall Banqueting House in the seventeenth century to Yosemite National Park in the twentieth. Throughout, however, the book returns repeatedly (and somewhat surprisingly) to a single text: a Jacobean court entertainment, *The Masque of Blackness* (1605), written by Ben Jonson and designed by Inigo Jones. The reason for the masque's centrality to Olwig's book is plain. Insofar as the landscape of this masque is one in which the customary is effaced in favor of the scenic, and in which the scenic serves specific political ends (King James I's desire for the unification of Britain), the masque provides a template for Olwig's discussion of everything from eighteenth-century landscape gardening to Frederick Law Olmsted and the American parks movement. Even as Olwig draws a line from Jonson and Jones to Olmsted and John Muir, he attends to the historical contexts within which specific formulations of landscape and nation emerge. For instance, while Olmsted inherits (through Capability Brown, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, among others) a notion of landscape with roots in *Masque of Blackness*, he also wrestles with specifically nineteenth-century American problems and ideological contradictions. Just as an Olmsted park functions as a democratic site (thereby serving specific political ends in the names of both nature and "natural law"), it also is produced through the displacement of countless people and the concomitant eradication of customary landscapes.

Olwig's argument is both daring and compelling, but it is (perhaps inevitably) somewhat hampered by its own multidisciplinary ambitions. In many instances, the scholarship he cites is, if not outdated, at least stale. In the case of the *Masque of Blackness*, Olwig treats the text as little more than the expression of James's will as realized by Jonson and Jones; he does not take into account a couple of decades of literary scholarship that would complicate his (unstated) view of the author as a mere extension of monarchical authority. More troubling, Olwig's view of race, which is the focus of one chapter, is an anachronistic one. It is quite striking that, in a book punctuated by illuminating etymologies of various important terms, "race" is taken to be transparent and transhistorical. Again, current criticism could have come to the rescue here, as significant work has been done on *Masque of Blackness* and early modern conceptions of "race."

These complaints notwithstanding, Olwig's book nicely foregrounds both the politics of landscape and landscape's significance for figuring the body politic. The book concludes by revealing how contemporary notions of wilderness and nature are products of a long history of the erasure of the customary and the social. (I was surprised both to learn that a "pristine" portion of the Cape Cod National Seashore was formerly a golf course and to recognize my own unexamined investment in untenable conceptions of "unspoiled wilderness.") Olwig's achievement is to denaturalize landscape by offering a powerful genealogy of the term that is responsive to the crucial role landscape continues to play in conceptualizing both nature and nation.

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CAROLYN STRANGE and ALISON BASHFORD, editors. *Isolation: Places and Practices of Exclusion*. (Routledge Studies in Modern History, volume 1.) New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xi, 240. \$65.00.

The strength of collections of essays is partly derived from the quality of the writing and of the writers. This volume, edited by Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford, certainly contains contributions from some excellent academics that provide important new perspectives. Mark Finnane returns to the issue of incarceration and mental illness that he first explored in the 1980s. He produces new evidence from Australia to support the argument that approaches to mental illness in colonial contexts in institutions of isolation were far more complex, ambitious, and sophisticated than was acknowledged by an earlier generation of writers. Clare Anderson's essay on the Andaman Islands views the way in which successive rulers of south Asia have constructed isolation on the islands and undermines their "imagined geographies" by referring to the experiences of those incarcerated there. The British viewed Indians as a superstitious lot who dreaded crossing the "black water" or "kala pani" to an offshore location, but Anderson shows that in reality many convicts opted for the islands for perfectly rational reasons. After independence, the islands were reinvented as a sacred site of Indian nationalism due to the imprisonment there of political prisoners during the struggle against the British. The irony of this is that the myth of "kala pani" has been revived by Indians eager to create a sense of suffering for their historical heroes, and this reinvention as a site of nationalist martyrdom has meant that many thousands of ordinary Indians detained there for criminal activities have been erased from the history of the place. Anderson's thoughts on this are particularly interesting given her recent work with the Mauritian Government, which is memorializing that island's convict past. Harriet Deacon's essay on spaces of isolation in South African history in the volume offers similarly acute reflections on this process of remembrance/reinvention of places of punitive isolation.

A thousand-word review is too short to allow detailed mention of the other strong work in the volume, but Ethan Blue's contribution stands out as particularly poor. A promising consideration of the subversions present in the lyrics of pre-1960s convict music gives way to a breathless and uncritical account of modern hip-hop and rap. In its attempt to excuse the misogyny of so much of this music, the piece is embarrassing, and beyond a couple of paragraphs on X-Raided's recordings it entirely lacks a focus on prison experience, preferring vague posturing about something called a "prison-industrial complex."

The chief criticism of the editors is that they have been uninspired by their own collection. Their introduction is a pedestrian review of the historiography. The epilogue offers little but a reminder that the volume is liberal in intent as it carefully identifies the "optimists" as those who prefer to see confinement as "an offence to human dignity." Neither offers a clear view of the issues raised by reading all the essays together, or indeed, of some of the questions that might be asked in critically approaching both isolation and isolation studies.

Chief among these is what is the relationship between isolation and modernity when isolation was so clearly a strategy that was attempted in premodern times? The essays in this volume by Paloma Gay y Blasco and Kristin Ruggiero remind us that premodern cultures and societies excluded many and that their systems of isolation survived into the modern period. The editors acknowledge this but simply note that they have ignored connections to the pre-Enlightenment era as the period afterward was a "watershed." This is entirely meaningless and a lazy simile where precise explanation was needed.

At the same time it offers implicit approval of Michel Foucault's periodization. Another of the questions begged by the essays in the volume is "why Foucault?" Pratt's essay on the British prison itself reads as an act of resistance in a volume framed by Foucault, as he draws on Norbert Elias to provide a framework. Perhaps more provocative are the allusions to cost in many of the essays, as an older generation of historians saw the modern period as one shaped by the rise of the fiscal state rather than the Foucauldian one. It may well be that one of the chief limitations on the ambitions of modern states in pursuing practices of isolation has been cost rather than ideology (although of course regard for cost is itself an ideology). Indeed, it could be argued that those states mentioned in the introduction that have most aggressively pursued those practices—Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia—bankrupted themselves in doing so. However, economics is currently unfashionable, and few enjoy the accounts when there are discourses to be dithered over.

The collection is stimulating, even if it simply serves to raise more questions about isolation than the editors wanted to address. One final point might be considered for future work in the area. The editors

rightly identified the emergence of new ideas about liberty in the modern period as the necessary foundation for the expansion of strategies of isolation and exclusion. Yet they remain strangely wedded to the former while criticizing the latter, and this creates an imbalance in the analysis of isolation. Is it possible that experience of isolation has beneficial effects for individuals, communities, and societies? Are strategies of isolation always bad? How should these effects and moral assessments be measured? Does telling us that isolation is "an offence to human dignity" achieve anything when that concept may be as baseless an invention of the Enlightenment as isolation? I do not think that it does, and the truly innovative approach to the subject will abandon the liberal agenda for a perspective that is more determined to analyze all aspects of modern isolation, and that includes the orthodoxies and moral yardsticks of its traditional critics.

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THOMAS ADAM, editor. *Philanthropy, Patronage, and Civil Society: Experiences from Germany, Great Britain, and North America*. (Philanthropic and Nonprofit Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 228. \$37.95.

This slim volume of essays has a worthy topic: cross-Atlantic philanthropic activity during the last three centuries. However, its ambition overreaches its achievement. With one exception, an essay by American historian David Hammack, the volume suffers from dry writing and insufficiently developed case studies.

The product of a conference held at the University of Toronto in 2001, the book contains ten essays. Conference participants included American, Canadian, British, and German scholars, and, not surprisingly, the resulting publication uses American, Canadian, British, and German examples to assess philanthropy in the transatlantic world. Editor Thomas Adam exaggerates when he claims that the history of cultural exchanges between European and North American societies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is "an all-but-unknown" field (p. 2). Indeed, Michael Katz and Christoph Sachsse's edited volume, *The Mixed Economy of Social Welfare: Public/Private Relations in England, Germany, and the United States* (1996), provides a better introduction to roles played by voluntary associations in modern Western societies.

Nonetheless, Adams correctly notes that the pre-eighteenth-century period of European global exploration has won greater attention. Moreover, this volume's three sections raise interesting questions. To what degree did modern Western philanthropy consciously adopt international models? Did connections exist between the practice of philanthropy and the processes of embourgeoisement? What roles did Jew-

ish philanthropy play in Germany and the United States?

Each one of these questions merits a book of its own. Connected awkwardly by a set of conference papers, none receives sufficiently coherent attention. In a book of only 218 pages, including endnotes, each essay's textual length rarely exceeds fifteen pages. As such, most exist as outlines. Indeed, many authors note explicitly that their contributions are part of larger works in progress. The subjects range widely—from the creation of art museums and orchestras in U.S., Canadian, and German cities, to middle-class support for nineteenth-century self-help cooperatives, to alliances made between the British government and private societies promoting housing for the poor, to Jewish support for charitable causes. Constrained by limited space, however, prose treatments are consistently crammed with undeveloped characters and mad-deningly condensed timelines. Readers not already familiar with the “famous” Breslau *Rabbinerstreit*, or the structure of German *Kommerzienrate*, or Canadian use of French traditions of *caisse populaire*, or the reasons why Victorian England faced severe housing shortages will get little help here.

These are four examples; dozens exist. Fewer, but more completely developed, case studies would have strengthened this volume, especially since authors rarely use the terms, “philanthropy,” “patronage,” or even “civil society” in entirely compatible ways. Contributor Susannah Morris notes that most scholars accept that voluntary activity exists somewhere between the state and the market but reach consensus on little else. This volume certainly reflects that reality. Nonetheless, it is not clearly structured as a printed debate.

Since most of the book's case studies lack detailed context or extended argument, readers will likely be bewildered. If “philanthropy was a system designed in Europe to deal with the effects of industrialization” (p. 18), what is one to make of attention devoted to Jewish charitable traditions of *zedakah* and *hevrot* that were not only rooted in antiquity but non-European in origin? The volume certainly investigates, as advertised, the transatlantic flow of ideas. But it succeeds less effectively as a collective effort that “undermines previously held assumptions about the distinctness of the countries under study” (p. 2). How many scholars cling to the notion that modern Western intellectual life and cultural behavior did *not* feature important Atlantic crossings?

Many essays do underline distinctness. Hammack, for instance, sees the emergence of the U.S. nonprofit sector as a “means of institutionalizing the separation of church and state” (p. 88). In no other country examined was that a central purpose. If a common goal of philanthropists on both sides of the ocean was heightened social status, perhaps this volume should have been titled, *Philanthropy, Patronage, and the Failures of Civil Society*? As Hammack wisely remarks,

“it is expensive to maintain a cultural tradition and much more expensive to convert people” (p. 89).

Several essays describe the prominent roles played by civic-minded Jews in pre-1930s Germany. If philanthropy involves “the transformation of economic capital into social capital” (p. 113), Jews failed. Although their philanthropic generosity clearly exceeded their percentages in the general population, it was not enough. A German people that embraced Nazism was not converted.

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ROBERT J. YOUNG. *Marketing Marianne: French Propaganda in America, 1900–1940*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 247. \$60.00.

In this short, readable book, Robert J. Young surveys French propaganda efforts in the United States in the early twentieth century. Relying heavily on French Foreign Ministry records in Paris and Nantes, as well as on American newspapers, Young chronicles the array of French governmental efforts to present French interests to the American public and the apparent responses of that public. He begins by setting the stage, tracing the actions of the Foreign Ministry from the Paris World's Fair of 1900 (only the French attended in greater numbers than the Americans) to the outbreak of World War I. Since the late nineteenth century, there had been much promotion of German culture and language that accompanied the massive German immigration to the United States. But there were few French immigrants, and the torch of French culture was carried by an educated, cultural elite concentrated on the East Coast.

World War I, particularly the period 1914–1917, presented a serious challenge to both French and American champions of French interests. American suspicion that the Europeans, particularly the British and the French, were attempting to draw the United States into the war was stoked by William Randolph Hearst and other critics of the French. French propagandists thus walked a fine line. French ambassador Jules Jusserand embodied the soft touch that prevailed until American entry in the war; he advocated an approach that emphasized the centrality of French art, literature, and music in “Western civilization” more broadly as well as common American and French democratic traditions. Jusserand's strategy, largely followed by the French until 1940, was simple: “Keep calumny to a minimum . . . avoid hyperbole, and . . . above all, avoid lies” (p. 49). In short, French propaganda needed to be sensitive to American suspicion of propaganda by carefully providing information and as little simplistic bombast as possible. High culture was the way to go.

After World War I, the diplomatic and economic differences between France and the United States appeared insurmountable. The United States retreated from European affairs, never ratified the

Treaty of Versailles, provided France with no guarantee of security, and demanded repayment of French wartime loans—whether the Germans made timely war reparations or not. Until 1933, the American press, led by Hearst's vehement anti-French attacks, tended to condemn French policies. At the same time, the Weimar Republic was quite successful in portraying Germany as the victim, an image made easier by the expansion of German cultural institutions in the United States, use of the radio, and overt pro-German propaganda. France continued to avoid the airwaves in favor of emphasis on sponsoring French language and culture. Given the divergent and seemingly intransigent national interests of France and the United States, French efforts seemed to have had little effect on most Americans' views of France until 1933.

According to Young, it was German expansion and the Nazis' virulent pro-German propaganda, including the notion of the "big lie," that changed American perceptions of France. Despite calls in the National Assembly for more aggressive propaganda to counter that of the Nazis, the Foreign Ministry largely resisted, and that approach bore fruit in 1939–1940, when France appeared as the democratic, cultured, and civilized victim of German aggression.

This book is filled with interesting detail, as it covers the actions of specific Americans and French people who promoted French interests in the United States. In many cases, readers may know the individuals from other contexts, but their role in developing French propaganda is not so well known. For example, the playwright Jean Giraudoux's work as the head of the Commissariat Général à l'Information in 1939–1940 reveals a sensitivity to culture and a sheer intelligence that in some ways embodies what was good about interwar French propaganda, and about France itself. While Giraudoux's management came under criticism, Giraudoux's words were nevertheless inspiring, then as now. After September 1, 1939, he and his cohorts did not stoop to jingoism. Instead, Giraudoux carefully distinguished between the Nazi menace and the contributions of German culture. Giraudoux's notion of culture may today seem too unitary, but it is nevertheless ennobling for it did not deny the humanity of the enemy, as does so much propaganda. Giraudoux and his colleagues thus seemed to represent what was so good about a France dedicated to art, history, literature, and music.

This book is part diplomatic history and part cultural history. It is strongly grounded in the records of the French Foreign Ministry and avoids the vague generalizations to which some cultural historians have been prone. At the same time, Young does not push the cultural analysis as far as he might. He briefly mentions French sensitivity to American notions of race, but he does not integrate the work of Tyler Stovall, Ann Laura Stoler, or other historians of race in France. To some extent, like the French propagandists he describes, Young's notion of culture is "high" rather than analytical in the current, more anthropological usage.

Despite the title, both gender and internal French politics are largely absent. I like the title, but it seems a little misleading. In the wake of Maurice Agulhon's penetrating work on the permutations of Marianne, I had hoped to read more about the gendering of France and America in the discourses of French and American commentators. France has long been feminized within American public discourse, portrayed as weak and frivolous in contrast with American strength and pragmatism. How did officials deal with the discursive feminization of France, one seemingly embodied in the form of Marianne? Moreover, given Marianne's place on the French Left, I had also hoped to find an examination of left-oriented versus right-oriented portrayals of France in the 1930s. Did the Foreign Ministry craft leftist and rightist versions of France for different American constituencies? In this book, "France" might be used interchangeably with "Marianne," as Marianne—that changing, yet consistently feminine representation of the French Republic—herself hardly appears in the text.

All told, this is a well-researched and important contribution that students of both France and the United States would be well advised to read.

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DAVID C. ENGERMAN. *Modernization from the Other Shore: American Intellectuals and the Romance of Russian Development*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. vi, 399. \$49.95.

This well-researched volume by David C. Engerman examines how American diplomats, scholars, and journalists between the late nineteenth century and the early 1950s viewed the economic development of Russia and the Soviet Union. It provides a wealth of information about these perceptions although their classification and interpretation invites questions. The major thrust of the argument is that these views were shaped by two conflicting schools of thought: particularism and universalism. The former emphasized the influence of the uniqueness of Russian national character, traditions, and history; the latter relied on more general sociological or social scientific concepts, including economic progress. With the rise of the Cold War, the second approach came to dominate. As it turns out, it is difficult to classify what the authors dealt with as belonging to one or the other of these schools.

While much can be said about the influence of particularism (most forcefully represented by George F. Kennan, much quoted here), the second, more recent approach is a good deal less clear cut and coherent, especially since it includes both critics of and sympathizers with the Soviet system. You could be a "universalist" who saw the Soviet Union as a highly repressive, totalitarian state, driven by its ambitious ideology (and pursuing—to make matters more confusing—traditional Russian geopolitical objectives), or

a “universalist” who believed it was a modernizing society, converging with other developed, industrial societies and in the process becoming more open and pluralistic. It is particularly problematic to connect “the rising ideological fervor of the early 50s” (in the United States) with “the latest tools of social science” and suggest that the latter were supposed to help understand “the Soviet threat” of the period (p. 284). As a matter of fact, influential universalists like Talcott Parsons dismissed the importance of ideology, did not rely on the totalitarian model, and took an altogether benign view of the Soviet Union that was far from threatening: a modernizing society that was supposedly becoming more differentiated and pluralistic.

Engerman correctly points out that those beholden to the importance of Russian national character often excused or rationalized the huge human costs of rapid modernization with the help of a negative view of the Russian masses: “American observers found the sacrifices worthy because they considered the people unworthy. Common stereotypes of national character explained Russians’ struggles and suffering . . . To bring about important changes . . . required significant force and loss of life—which peasants, fatalistic and inured to suffering were especially well-suited to endure” (p. 242). It is, however, far from certain—contrary to the author’s firm belief—that these enthusiasts were well aware of the costs of the process. Some were (in an abstract fashion), many were not; very few, if any, knew the specifics. It is not easy to romanticize economic development when it rests on forced labor and is associated with famine, pervasive levels of intimidation, and the glorification of children who denounce politically incorrect parents to the authorities. Many of those who praised Soviet modernization were thoroughly uninformed of such matters.

Many American (and other Western) observers of Soviet industrialization took a favorable view of it, not because they overlooked the sufferings of the masses or because of their contempt for a backward society that was dragged into modernity but because they believed that rapid modernization was going to create an egalitarian and communitarian society maximizing opportunities for personal fulfillment and social justice. They expected that modernity would be attained without the problems characteristic of its capitalist version. Most observers who were aware of and bothered to justify the sufferings imposed by rapid economic modernization did so by the glorious goals pursued.

Moreover, emphasis on national character did not invariably entail negative stereotypes; in the eyes of many American beholders, the Russian peasants were admirable, solid, authentic human beings (new versions of the noble savage) readily transforming themselves into “the new socialist man.”

Part of the problem of attempting to generalize about these divergent approaches and perceptions is that rather different groups of people were involved—and not all of them intellectuals, notwithstanding the

subtitle of the volume. It is far from obvious that diplomats and journalists can be automatically designated as intellectuals. Surely Kennan was an intellectual; many journalists or civil servants were not. Divergent perceptions were often a matter of disciplinary background: historians were more prone to emphasize the past, tradition, and national character than were technocratic economists or sociologists. Many, probably most of those romanticizing Soviet economic development, were not hard-nosed technocrats or economists but soft-hearted intellectuals deeply (if not always enduringly) alienated from American society, capitalism, and commerce—an assessment Engerman dismisses. Such alienation did not have to be a form of “psychopathology” but was an outgrowth of attitudes peculiar to many intellectuals, especially under certain social, economic, and historical conditions such as prevailed in the 1920s and 1930s in the United States and Western Europe.

While it is possible to find Americans enthusiastic about Soviet modernization who were not highly critical of American society, those critical were far more abundant. Nor was it necessary to be well acquainted with Marxism to be pro-Soviet; there were even ministers and priests who managed to admire the Soviet system notwithstanding its official atheism. As for Engerman’s selection of sources, while he covers a broad range and commendably includes lesser known but apparently important figures (e.g. Archibald Cary Coolidge, Charles Crane, Calvin B. Hoover, and Robert F. Kelley, among others) he excludes authors who had much to say about Soviet modernization (and its human costs) such as Abraham Bergson, E. H. Carr, Robert Conquest, and Adam Ulam.

One may legitimately disagree about the motivation and mindset of American writers discussing Soviet modernization, but one serious factual error must be noted. With regard to my book, *Political Pilgrims: Western Intellectuals in Search of the Good Society* (1981), Engerman writes that “Hollander takes much of his Soviet material from a monograph—Sylvia R. Margulies, *The Pilgrimage To Russia*” (p. 291). In fact, of her 112 first-hand accounts eighteen overlapped with those I used; among the fifty-four “general works” she cited the overlap was nine.

At last the question arises why an ambitious study of this kind should end with the early 1950s, by no means the end of the difficult process of modernizing Russia. Surely the collapse of the Soviet Union was the most telling revelation of the flaws of Soviet modernization, and an event that can only be explained by a variety of approaches, including both those labeled as particularistic and universalistic.

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VASILIS VOURKOUTIOTIS, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Expe-*

rience. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xi, 266. \$69.95.

Vasilis Vourkoutiotis has set out to buck the historical trends of the last fifty years by telling the story of British and American prisoners of war in Germany during World War II not from the “bottom up” but from the top down: that is, from the perspective of the German High Command (Oberkommando des Wehrmacht, or OKW). He correctly argues that most interest in the subject (both scholarly and popular) has focused on the experience of the prisoners themselves, particularly on a few dramatic episodes such as the escape from Colditz and the “shackling crisis” of 1942. Instead, he seeks to understand the nature and evolution of Germany’s policy toward Anglo-American prisoners by comparing the day-to-day administration of policy with the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1929 and considering whether, and why, policy changed over the course of the war. This is, then, fundamentally an administrative history of the OKW’s policies, although a final chapter on Red Cross reports seeks to assess the actual treatment and conditions of prisoners in the camps.

Vourkoutiotis argues that the OKW accepted the provisions contained in the Geneva Convention and that, in the early years of the war, it modeled its policies and manuals on them. The essential principle of the Convention was that prisoners should be treated in a manner equivalent to that of the soldiers of the same rank in the Detaining Power. Thus, the punishment of American and British soldiers was to be no more severe than those meted out to German soldiers, while corporal and collective punishment were both prohibited. The basic living conditions in the camps (food, clothing, hygiene) was supposed to be roughly equivalent to those enjoyed by the depot soldiers of the Detaining Power. These provisions were largely adhered to, although during the last phase of the war in 1944–1945, maintaining material standards in the camps proved to be almost impossible as the situation within Germany itself deteriorated.

The most blatant exceptions to the Geneva provisions occurred, according to Vourkoutiotis, as a result of Nazi interference with the OKW. Adolf Hitler intervened directly to authorize the killing of captured commandos, to encourage the killing by civilian lynch mobs of airmen who had been shot down, and to impose harsher measures against escaped prisoners. These were blatant violations of the Geneva Convention. In 1944 Hitler gave Heinrich Himmler new responsibility for oversight of the prison camps and “coordination” with the OKW, and from that point forward conditions began to deteriorate along with the situation in Germany. This book might then be regarded as upholding the reputation of the Wehrmacht as a professional organization that tried to maintain the principles of civilized warfare against the barbarities of Nazi ideology. The main data set used to make this argument are the reports of the International

Committee of the Red Cross which, although persuasive, are not conclusive; in assessing the actual conditions of life in the camps, the decision to ignore what the prisoners themselves said is questionable.

This study is very much “the book of the dissertation” and, as one might expect, contains a wealth of detailed information on everything from flowers and flags to canteens and sport. But in this case the thesis is opaque rather than clearly and forcefully argued. The book reads more as a manual or guide than a work of historical synthesis (in just over 200 pages there are over 100 headings, subheadings and sub-subheadings). There are pages and pages of lists and descriptive material; symptomatic of the style are successive paragraphs in chapter five that begin “On August 17, the OKW again gave directives,” “On October 5, 1944, the OKW issued instructions,” “On December 3, 1944, the OKW yet again sent out.” For those who seek to understand what the policies of the OKW were, this book will be a useful reference tool, although the deplorably inadequate index of less than two pages renders it much less so (for Dr. Waltzog, for example, who features prominently throughout the book, there is but one reference—and that to a footnote—along with the instruction that “For specific topics, see the beginning of each relevant section in Chapters 3, 4, and 5”).

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FRANCIS J. GAVIN. *Gold, Dollars, and Power: The Politics of International Monetary Relations, 1958–1971*. (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 263. \$45.00.

Bretton Woods is back in fashion, due to some suggestive parallels with the international monetary situation forty years ago. Now, as then, the international system is made up of a center and a periphery. The center has the exorbitant privilege of issuing the currency used as international reserves and a tendency to live beyond its means. The periphery is committed to export-led growth based on the maintenance of an undervalued exchange rate, a corollary of which is its accumulation of low-yielding international reserves. In the 1960s, the center was the United States, while the periphery was Europe and Japan, many developing countries not yet having been fully integrated into the international system. Now there is a new periphery, China, but the same old core, the United States. Because China has 200 million rural unemployed still to be shifted to the export sector, it is happy to stick with an undervalued exchange rate and continue accumulating dollars indefinitely, this being the price of social peace and prosperity at home. The United States, meanwhile, still enjoys the luxury of living beyond its means. Given this happy equilibrium, there is no reason to worry about the problem of global imbalances. The current system, like Bretton Woods before it, has many years to run.

There is also a less sanguine interpretation that draws a rather different analogy with Bretton Woods. In this view, the U.S. balance of payments deficit should be seen against the backdrop of conflicts over American foreign policy. If other countries grow fed up with American unilateralism in the wake of the Iraq War, they may develop second thoughts about financing its deficit, the advantages of undervalued exchange rates and export-led growth to the contrary notwithstanding. If they see the United States as using its exorbitant privilege to project military and diplomatic power in objectionable ways, they may pull the plug, as the French did on the Gold Pool in the 1960s. This could bring the current constellation of exchange rates and payment balances crashing down, much as Bretton Woods came crashing down in 1971. Francis J. Gavin's erudite account of the politics of international monetary relations in the Bretton Woods years has more in common with the second viewpoint. Gavin sees the Bretton Woods system as central to the Cold War bargain. European financial support for the dollar was the quid pro quo for U.S. military support for European security. But as the Europeans came to feel more secure and became more determined to shape their own security policy, that bargain grew less appealing. Once foreign support for the U.S. balance of payments was withdrawn, America faced a dilemma. It could withdraw from Europe, abrogating its foreign policy commitments and casting the world's geopolitical future into doubt. Or it could impose controls on capital outflows, devalue the dollar, and close the gold window, abandoning economic multilateralism. Through the adoption of a series of expedients, the status quo survived through 1970, but inevitably it came tumbling down.

The strength of Gavin's account is its detailed rendering of official deliberations, based heavily on archival sources. His account rather privileges U.S. policy, although it is not clear whether this reflects the reality—that outcomes, more often than not, turned on U.S. policy decisions—or the fact that his sources are predominantly American. The text also suffers from a tendency to take heated rhetoric at face value. Every danger listed in a memo to the president is potentially the most serious economic crisis since the Great Depression.

Bretton Woods was indeed a fragile financial system. More than that, it was intrinsically unstable. Once the U.S. rejected John Maynard Keynes's proposal for "bancor," a synthetic form of international reserves, the only source of incremental liquidity for the expanding world economy was official foreign holdings of U.S. dollars, requiring the need for chronic U.S. deficits but at the same time undermining confidence in the system. Indeed, it can be argued that these flaws in its economic structure and not conflicts within the Western Alliance were the fatal weaknesses of Bretton Woods.

Gavin is right to emphasize that the Bretton Woods system only functioned in anything resembling the

manner foreseen by its architects for thirteen short years. But neither was its collapse a disaster. The end of the United States' exorbitant privilege did not force the Americans out, free the Germans up, and allow the Soviets in. The transition to floating exchange rates went smoothly enough, and there was no disruptive shift in the U.S. balance of payments. There certainly was no new Depression.

Thus, an authoritative account of Bretton Woods would require attending not just to the politics of international monetary relations, which receive detailed treatment here, but also to their economics, which developed in surprising and unanticipated ways. A proper history of this system, which treats its economics as carefully as its politics, has yet to be written.

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ALAN MCPHERSON. *Yankee No! Anti-Americanism in U.S.-Latin American Relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. 257. \$39.95.

In this insightful study, Alan McPherson seeks to answer the question posed by George W. Bush on September 20, 2002: "Why do they hate us?" Focusing on Latin America in the period 1958–1966, McPherson examines four case studies, beginning with the physical attacks in Venezuela against Vice President Richard M. Nixon in 1958 and continuing with the rise of Fidel Castro in Cuba, the 1964 Panamanian flag battle, and, finally, the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic. He argues persuasively that "each is a milestone in the history of anti-Americanism" (p. 3).

McPherson starts by defining anti-Americanism as "the expression of a disposition against U.S. influence abroad" (p. 5). Looking at the many facets of anti-Americanism, especially the understudied experiences of "ordinary" people, the author posits three major features and then persuasively proves his points in the case studies. The first is variability. The author shows how different forms of anti-Americanism developed in each country. In Cuba, it was revolutionary, while conservative in Panama and episodic in the Dominican Republic. Using his knowledge of the different political cultures, McPherson shows that applying a one-size-fits-all approach to understanding the tensions is overly simplistic. There are many reasons, he argues, to explain why some people are anti-American, and they often differ not only by country but by class and ethnicity.

The second feature of anti-Americanism that McPherson underscores is ambivalence, "the relatively clear-headed espousal of contradictory feelings or beliefs" (p. 7). The author shows how often competing strains of anti-Americanism created strange alliances against Washington that typically collapsed after the crisis. There was also a tendency, even among the most radical nationalists, to differentiate between the U.S.

government and multinational corporations and ordinary Americans, whom they typically viewed more sympathetically. Semantic differences highlighted the issue as Latin Americans used the terms *gringos* and *yanquis* to express negative feelings while they employed *americano* for either neutral or positive terms. The result was a tension in the responses that created ambivalence not only in their actions but also in the ability of U.S. policy makers to understand the conflicts themselves.

The final feature of anti-Americanism is the resilience of the U.S. response. McPherson acknowledges that the United States did not always rely on power to deal with the challenges, as evidenced by changes such as the Alliance for Progress. The overall tendency on other occasions was a dismissal of U.S. responsibility by American policy makers, who focused on exploitation of the masses by people, mostly the Communists, for political gains. McPherson concludes that "U.S. responses to anti-Americanism often appeared naïve, but in reality they concealed a great reservoir of self-confidence that helped U.S. decision-makers bounce back and even get further involved in world affairs" (p. 8). Still, the author argues that "Anti-U.S. sentiment, then as now, grabbed the headlines, but anti-U.S. strategy rarely followed through" (p. 8). Likewise, the failure of American leaders to correctly appraise the source of the anti-Americanism led to the tendency to dismiss the "hostility as the 'price' to be paid for world power" and to place the blame on "unchanging cultural differences" (p. 168).

The strength of the book lies in the chapters on Panama and the Dominican Republic. Here the author employs an impressive multinational research paradigm, one outlined and promoted extensively by his mentor, Michael Hunt. While the sections are good on Venezuela in 1958 and Cuba during the Castro revolution, the information is not particularly new, as scholars have covered those two areas in detail, especially the latter. With Panama and the Dominican Republic, however, McPherson provides new insights through extensive archival research as well as extensive oral interviews. The results amount to a significant contribution to our understanding of the two crises, especially from the viewpoint of the Dominicans and the Panamanians.

In conclusion, this is a book that should be read by everyone interested in foreign relations, not merely historians specializing in the field but others in the academy and general public. Latin America has always been the testing ground for the development of U.S. foreign policies, and McPherson admirably takes these case studies and demonstrates the nature of anti-Americanism, one that bears a striking resemblance to the current global phenomenon. More understanding of this important trend would greatly assist Americans in dealing with contemporary challenges. This book is clearly a good move in that direction.

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SHEILA M. ROTHMAN and DAVID J. ROTHMAN. *The Pursuit of Perfection: The Promise and Perils of Medical Enhancement*. New York: Pantheon. 2003. Pp. xxi, 292. \$25.00.

Sheila M. Rothman and David J. Rothman have written a fascinating book about the pharmacological and surgical means used by physicians, drug companies, and patients to optimize human form and character during the twentieth century. Their focus on the interplay among these three constituencies—held together by attention to the economic and aesthetic imperatives that drove developments—makes a compelling addition to traditional medical history. More to the point, this is the story of doctors and drug companies working together to exploit ideas of "perfection" in order to promote their services and goods to under-informed and over-eager patients, seemingly, at the cost of the patients safety. Rothman and Rothman also implicitly document a twentieth-century Western culture obsessed with youthfulness; indeed, it is the desire to achieve the "perfection" of an idealized young adulthood that links their examination of the sometimes disparate treatments detailed below.

Chapter one rehearses controversial biological developments of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that led to the "knowledge that glands produced and circulated vital substances through the bloodstream" and the foundation of modern endocrinology (p. 12). Particularly resourceful in this chapter is the use of school books and literary texts to show how "freaks" became "patients with glandular irregularities" in the popular mind, thus muddying the line between "cure" and "enhancement" (p. 18).

The chilling account of women desperate to maintain their youthful vitality and doctors eager to "cure" them with hormone replacement therapies is covered in compelling detail in chapters two through four. Chapter two explains how nineteenth-century treatments for female neurasthenics morphed into estrogen replacement therapy in the early twentieth century as gynecologists and endocrinologists solidified a "norm" of sexual development that required lifelong surveillance of women's hormonal states (pp. 36–37). The authors review questionable and persistent medical protocols that assume "because it should work and someday will work, it now does work" (p. 31). The third chapter uses surveys to examine the relationships between the drug companies' "detail men" and the doctors they served; together, they controlled the public image and distribution of so-called safe medications such as estrogen. As well, Rothman and Rothman probe Gertrude Atherton's best-selling novel, *Black Oxen* (1923), to understand why postmenopausal women began to embrace so-called rejuvenating therapies. And chapter four argues that gynecologists in the 1950s began to assert that aging was a disease for women. Thus began the widespread, lucrative, and specious business of prescribing hormone replacement therapy for otherwise healthy postmenopausal women.

It was not until 2002 that we learned what medical research had suggested as early as the 1930s: hormone replacement has little or no effect on dementia or heart disease, but it does put women at increased risk of developing certain cancers (pp. 43, 98).

In "The Body as Turf," Rothman and Rothman shift to the world of plastic surgery, which eschews "cure" in favor of "enhancement." In the 1970s, a French surgeon adapted the "cannula used in performing suction abortions" (p. 105) to extract disagreeable fat from women's bodies. The authors then trace the professional turf wars that broke out between plastic surgeons and dermatologists over control of the "gold mine" of liposuction (p. 108). Again, risky techniques were developed (the tumescent procedure), yet the physicians' overconfidence, coupled with sophisticated marketing techniques, drew enthusiastic patients. The sixth chapter on testosterone is a condensed but similar version of the story of estrogen: "new wine" to be developed, tested, and sold by the drug companies in the early twentieth century (p. 157). Yet testosterone use never caught on; although the authors speculate as to why men chose not to take this unproven drug while millions of women took estrogen (pp. 161–62), we do not get a full explanation of why "the medical gaze never focused quite as intently or narrowly on male specific organs" (p. 131).

The seventh chapter on the use of human growth hormone (HGH) departs from the previous sections on therapies intended to restore the youthful appearance and energy of aging men and women. Rothman and Rothman review recent legal cases to demonstrate how this drug is likely overprescribed to enhance the stature of children who are not hormone deficient and, thus, how HGH is an "object lesson in the challenges [of] . . . evaluating and regulating would-be enhancements" (p. 202). The authors also return to the earlier concerns of the project, showing how growth hormone is being sold now as an anti-aging drug.

This book offers no easy answers to questions about the ethics of altering the human form. At times, Rothman and Rothman assert that these medical treatments provide patients, particularly women, with agency and the means to express their individuality by "mak[ing] themselves over" (p. 23). Yet the book is a testament to the manufacturing of "perfection" and to the ways that patients have been misled about the potential risks of medical treatments. The final chapter contemplates the future prospects and perils of "refashioning the self" as genetic engineering gains steam in the twenty-first century. Rothman and Rothman assert that this new technology will bring us to the "brink of an era that promises individual changes," rather than the alteration of group characteristics (p. 210). Yet we must remember that individuals still conform to group ideals; we *learn* what perfection means within gendered, classed, racialized, and ethnic contexts. In the end, they call for "an intimate understanding of the nature of the research and the reliability of the results" (p. 212)—nothing short of a trans-

formation in the systems of American medicine and capitalism that they have outlined.

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DOROTHY KO, JAHYUN KIM HABOUSH, and JOAN R. PIGGOTT, editors. *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 337. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

This book, conceived as a companion volume to *Under Confucian Eyes: Writings on Gender in Chinese History* (2001), makes a signal contribution to the study of gender and social history in East Asia. Both books are the products of an international collaboration spearheaded by Dorothy Ko and Susan Mann. *Under Confucian Eyes* is a collection of translated texts by late imperial Chinese women; the book under review expands consideration to Korea and Japan, both of which have been in dynamic contact with China since early in the common era. The eleven essays collected here aim to "restore both female subjectivity and historical complexity" by analyzing "the complex constellations of constraint and opportunity shaping the lives of men and women in China, Korea, and Japan from the seventh to the nineteenth century" (p. 1).

"Confucianism," as the editors point out, is a Western neologism; East Asia speaks rather of traditions based on texts, norms, and practices venerated and added to by Confucius and later followers. These texts and teachings did not start out as instruments of repression but rather the reverse. Confucius's radical innovation was to accept the hierarchical organization of society but to locate authority in individual moral cultivation rather than birth, rank, power, or wealth. Despite the hierarchical constraints that Confucian tradition was later employed to support, Confucianism never lost the function of "speaking truth to power," as a history of martyrs can attest.

Women's position in this discourse was complex. Classical Confucian texts, when they mention women, generally assume that they, too, can achieve moral authority. For the most part, though, women are expected to achieve moral authority by perfect realization of subordinate roles, remaining "inside," apart from public life. These gender ideals, coupled with pre-Confucian patrilineal descent systems, sent women of imperial China to live with their husbands' families, divided their filial loyalties between natal and marital families, and explicitly demanded the "Three Obediences" to father, husband, and son. When these Confucian texts and ideals reached Korea and Japan, however, they interacted with indigenous traditions to produce new cultural paradigms—and these paradigms, as the essays here demonstrate, changed over time.

After an introduction that sketches out the complex-

ities of the term “Confucianism” and the evolution of Confucian traditions in China, Korea, and Japan, the book is divided into four parts. Part one, “Scripts of Male Dominance,” presents the earliest materials treated in the book, from eras when ideals of virilocal marriage, female chastity, widow fidelity, and patrilineal succession had not yet achieved hegemony in Korea or Japan. Hiroko Sekiguchi shows us that while a Chinese-style patriarchal family paradigm was prescribed in Japanese legal codes as early as the eighth century, census records from the same era suggest that an indigenous matrilineal pattern was still very common. At the same time, as Joan R. Piggott shows, Japan’s experiment with a Chinese-style empress ended in turbulence that thereafter doomed female succession to the Japanese throne.

In Korea, the twelfth century saw the beginnings of Chinese-style historiography, but the tales of virtuous women described by Hai-soon Lee feature patterns of fidelity and filiality quite different from Chinese chastity suicides and filial ordeals. And even in China, as Joseph Lam shows, Confucian orthodoxy never captured the entirety of Chinese experience: the orthodox discourse on music simply ignored the legions of women musicians who entertained Chinese of all classes from earliest times to the end of the imperial period.

The three essays in part two, “Propagating Confucian Virtues,” demonstrate that the virtues were interpreted in the context of developments particular to each country. Jian Zang shows us the interpenetration of elite and commoner Chinese society in the shaping and observance of ideals of seclusion and chastity; Martina Deuchler, continuing the work of her monumental *Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* (1992), describes the radical re-fashioning of Korean gender relations in the fifteenth century; and Noriko Sugano demonstrates that while the eighteenth-century Tokugawa Japanese *Official Records of Filial Piety* chose a Confucian virtue to shore up the ailing government, Japanese filial women were commended for very different sorts of family-centered actions than were their Chinese counterparts.

Similarly, Martha Tocco shows in part three, “Female Education in Practice,” that Confucian texts given to Tokugawa-era girls were accompanied by Japanese poetry and fiction very different from the Chinese cultural context. And even in China, as Susan Mann and Fangqin Du show in a collaborative essay, changes in dynastic emphasis and social organization produced radical changes in the interpretation of female virtue. Women in twelfth-century records were filial to their parents, but by the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, their filiality was reconceptualized as filiality to the husband’s patriline, inseparable from widow fidelity. But even these developments, which took place in a context of women’s diminishing property rights and legal autonomy, fostered the idealization of new kinds of agency: the martyrdom idealized in Ming texts, and the wise

management idealized in Qing texts, transformed virtuous women into beacons of incorruptibility and sagacity.

In part four, “Corporeal and Textual Expressions of Female Subjectivity,” Susan Cahill’s essay on Daoist holy women undermines the totalizing claims of Confucian discourse, reminding us that late imperial Chinese women had a varied life experience that was *not* completely defined by Confucian categories. But in a beautiful concluding essay, JaHyun Kim Haboush reminds us that Confucianism could transcend the rigid imperatives to which the Korean Choson dynasty had reduced it. Comparing male and female-authored versions of the tale of Korean Queen InHyon, Haboush finds that the female version achieves a self-possession that renders the queen impervious to the attacks of her small-minded adversaries—precisely the sort of self-possession idealized by male Confucians. Haboush concludes the text by observing that “it should come as no surprise that Confucianism, while constricting the lives of premodern East Asian women, was also to a limited extent an empowering force” (p. 299).

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JAMES L. HEVIA. *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 387. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

In this book, James L. Hevia reminds us that British imperialism in China was nasty, violent, and savage. It may seem strange that we require such an extended “lesson” on the subject, but to understand the importance of Hevia’s book and its message requires a brief overview of the shape of Western Sinology. In these annals, what China experienced from the Opium Wars to the end of World War II was semicolonialism, a state usually envisioned as a somewhat watered-down version of its more insidious cousin, colonialism. China never entirely lost its sovereignty, and the imperial powers, never crazy or covetous enough to try to administer all of this vast empire, contented themselves with treaty-port outposts and legal concessions. Through the 1960s and 1970s, generations of scholars, following John K. Fairbank, detailed how Western statesmen, businessmen, and missionaries gently tutored the Chinese in the inevitable modern arts of diplomacy and industry. At the end of the twentieth century, a new generation of scholars highlighted the agency of the Chinese, who, in the absence of total colonial domination, learned their lessons quickly but assertively, forming creative hybrids while avoiding devastation. Hevia begs to differ. He argues, eloquently and successfully, that British lessons in modernity had violence and domination at their core. In doing so, he challenges historians of China and scholars of empire to rethink the line between semicolonialism and colonialism.

The nineteenth century that interests Hevia is de-

financed primarily by two violent interludes: the Arrow War of 1857–1860, waged by French and British forces against the Qing, and the bloody suppression of the Boxer Uprising, carried out by international forces in north China in 1900. As a service to non-China specialists, Hevia includes chapters that provide the basic narrative of these military events and the global “Great Game” that formed their backdrop. The original contribution of the book, however, lies in the way that Hevia reads the violence of 1860 and 1900 and then intimately links that violence to things otherwise thought of as cultural artifacts: treaties, translations, rituals, and literature. Borrowing from Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, Hevia posits a two-fold connection between violence and its aftermath: British imperialism first “deterritorialized” the Qing Empire and then “reterritorialized” it, reconfiguring its terrain of diplomacy, government, and cosmology to correspond better with the universal standards of civilization set by the Enlightenment.

Decapitation is not usually high on the typical list of Enlightenment values, but the book begins and ends with meditations on the foreign-supervised mass beheading of Chinese Boxer suspects. This is Hevia’s example of deterritorialization par excellence, a metaphor for the British rendering of the Qing body politic. Another chapter details the astonishing bouts of looting that Western troops indulged in during the attacks on Beijing in 1860 and 1900. This focus on the grimy underside of the West’s presence in China highlights some of the deepest contradictions of imperialism. In order to teach the Qing a lesson in the art of civilization, the British, relying on racialized knowledge of the Chinese “character,” resorted to the only language they felt was intelligible to the Chinese: that of violence, shame, and death. Nineteenth-century Sinologists and linguists contributed to this project, creating an archive of seemingly benign knowledge that could nevertheless be used to devastating effect against the Qing at the negotiating table or on the battlefield. At the same time, the British sought to distance themselves from the uncivilized horror of their actions: turning the executioner’s blade over to the Chinese themselves, and coating the vulgarity of looting with a veneer of order and patriotism. Such distancing techniques, Hevia argues, are still utilized by Western scholars of China who have lived “in blissful or perhaps willful ignorance” of imperialism’s violence (p. 344). The book ends with a strange nostalgia for Maoist-era histories, those written in the days when the Chinese were not afraid to denounce Western imperialism, but then Hevia calls for China and the West to put both “national humiliation” and “English lessons” behind them in order to forge a better future. More useful, perhaps, would be an extended discussion of how to end the acrimony between the camps of colonialism and semicolonialism. Hevia does offer the intriguing suggestion that we think of “all the entities produced in the age of empire as forms of semicolonialism,” since all colonialisms

were patchworks and entailed “resistance and accommodation” (p. 26). This framework seems at odds with the overall thrust of the book. Its focus on imperialism’s impact on the Qing court results in a victim’s tale, one that might look a bit different if told from the perspective of merchants, physicians, scholars, or immigrants. That the Qing court, with its own impressive military power and massive archive of knowledge, could also be posited in the role of imperial perpetrator from the perspective of other Asian peoples is a possibility mentioned but not developed.

These questions do not diminish the book’s great significance. It will be a vital work not only for China scholars but also for scholars of British imperialism and the general history of colonialism. Hevia’s ability to coax original insights from of a vast array of sources—including photographs, treaties, Fu-Manchu novels, PRO records, and auction catalogues—marks him as one of the most imaginative and sophisticated historians of China writing today. Seldom is a gauntlet thrown with so much skill, and with so much reward to the reader.

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HODONG KIM. *Holy War in China: The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864–1877*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 295. \$55.00.

Students of Chinese Inner Asia have long awaited the publication of Kim Hodong’s 1986 Harvard dissertation on the 1864 rebellion in Xinjiang (East Turkistan). Finally, Kim and Stanford University Press have brought out a revised and expanded version of this first comprehensive and scholarly monograph on the subject.

This book uses sources in an impressive range of research languages: Chinese, Russian, Japanese, German, and French, as well as English. British and Ottoman Turkish archives were also mined. Unlike many other writers on Xinjiang, however, Kim relies primarily on local historical sources written in Turki (what today is called Uighur), particularly Mullâ Mûsa Sayrâmî’s *Târikh-i amniyya* (“History of Peace” [1903]) and Mullâ Bilâl’s *Ghazât dar mulk-i Chîn* (“Holy War in China” [1876–1877]). He also consulted many other manuscripts in Persian and in Turki. Such sources give Kim’s book a different perspective from those who see Xinjiang as merely a pawn in the “Great Game” between Britain and Russia or a rebellious province of China.

Within Xinjiang, Kim focuses on the oasis cities of the Tarim Basin, Urumchi, and Turfan. Hami in the east, Ili in the northwest, and the nomadic Tarbaghatai and Altai districts in the north receive only sporadic coverage. Likewise links to rebels among the Hui or Tungans (i.e. Chinese-speaking Muslims) in northwest China proper are not fully explored. This oversight and the lack of Chinese archival material makes the account of the Chinese reconquest less satisfying.

Kim organizes his book as a straightforward narrative history. Chapter one discusses the background of Qing rule in Xinjiang from 1758 to 1864. Chapter two follows the course of the initial rebellion that began at Kucha but soon spread all over the oasis cities of Chinese Turkestan. What emerges is both the crucial role of the Tungsans and the distinctive character of politics in each Xinjiang oasis. Chapter three shows how Ya'qub Beg, a petty official from the Khoqand Khanate to the west, used his position as head of a Khoqandian relief expedition to conquer the whole region by 1873 and create a unified and independent emirate. Chapter four details this emirate's internal administration, one dominated by Khoqandian immigrants and geared to maintaining a large standing army. Chapter five examines relations between Ya'qub Beg and Russia, Britain, and the Ottoman Empire. Chapter six follows the new regime's collapse in the face of a Chinese invasion from 1874 and Ya'qub Beg's sudden death in May 1877. A conclusion summarizes Kim's findings. Appendixes with the texts of Ya'qub Beg's Russian and British treaties, contents of different editions of Sayrâmi's history, and glossaries of Turki terms and Chinese characters complete the book. Two maps, two tables, and four historical photographs further assist the reader.

Kim gives an admirably clear narrative of the what, the who, and the when of the rebellion and the ensuing Ya'qub Beg regime. More intangible descriptive questions receive less attention. Islam is highlighted as a rallying point for the rebels, yet there is little in-depth consideration of the different kinds of Islamic leadership visible in the different oases: old Sufi masters guarding wealthy tomb foundations, wandering fortune tellers mixing Chinese and Islamic techniques, and Islamic judges famous for their poverty and rectitude. Similarly touched on but little explored are the wild fluctuations in attitudes toward the Chinese, from Muslim resentment of Qing taxation and Chinese moneylending before the rebellion to wholesale massacres of all non-Muslims during it, to a nostalgia in the 1870s for the former prosperity under Chinese rule. Not only is his account of economic developments in Xinjiang vague, but Kim tells us very little about what his valuable Turki sources themselves made of the rebellion, its failure, and Xinjiang's return to Chinese control.

In sum, Kim's study is a ground-breaking first look at a subject that historians have too long left to languish in obscurity. Now that it has been published, one hopes that more deeply interpretive studies will follow.

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ELISABETH KÖLL. *From Cotton Mill to Business Empire: The Emergence of Regional Enterprises in Modern China*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 229.) Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2003. Pp. xvi, 422. \$49.50.

Elisabeth Köll's study of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Chinese industrialist, Zhang Jian (1853–1926), and his Dasheng group of companies addresses many important questions in Chinese business, economic, and social history. Grounded in solid archival research and with a good treatment of the business history literature, the book makes an important contribution to the debate on the nature of Chinese business organization. That debate, in turn, forms a subset of the larger questions about the characteristics of industrialization and capitalism.

Zhang Jian had prepared to enter the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) imperial civil service, but in the wake of China's repeated humiliation at the hands of Western and Japanese imperialism he turned to business and philanthropy instead. He founded the Dasheng cotton mill and a related group of companies. Unlike many industrialists of the period, he established his firms in Shanghai's rural hinterland leading Köll to conclude that Dasheng represented a new kind of firm: a regional enterprise. Importantly, this company combined the characteristics of family firms and Western, limited liability corporations. The historiography on Chinese business history has long been split between exponents of the view that particularism hindered Chinese economic development and the view, given weight by the economic development of Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore, that the Chinese family firm based on particularistic networks represents a unique and viable form of business enterprise. In the most sophisticated statement of the problem to date, Sherman Cochran in *Encountering Chinese Networks: Western Japanese, and Chinese Corporations in China, 1880–1937* (2000) has concluded that corporate hierarchies and personal networks have both been important and have also been in dynamic tension with each other in Chinese business history.

Köll accepts Cochran's basic conclusions, but, noting the importance of a central accounts office that Zhang Jian used to control a large group of companies in which he was often the minority shareholder, she argues that in Dasheng, "the institutional tool of the accounts office allowed for the centralized control of corporate, supposedly nonpersonal, managerial hierarchies and social networks" (p. 284, emphasis the author's). In the end, though, this "institutionalized personal control" also meant a lack of transparency and accountability. Through a lot of accounting sleight of hand, the cotton mill took on increased debt to fund the operations of Zhang's agricultural development companies, and by the 1920s the whole house of cards was on the verge of collapse. Eventually, a group of banks stepped in and took over management. Köll concludes that personal control and lack of accountability do not make for long-term success.

Köll also makes a number of important subsidiary arguments. She concludes that the twentieth-century state was not as big an obstacle to industrialization as its Qing predecessor (pp. 37, 289). She attributes the unusual quiescence of Dasheng's workforce to the

firm's rural setting where about half of the predominantly women workers (seventy-seven percent of the workforce) engaged in part-time farm work that provided a safety net during production downturns (p. 116). She also notes that Zhang Jian's activities as philanthropist and local leader did not contribute to the rise of a public sphere or civil society (p. 249).

Zhang Jian and Dasheng are certainly important subjects for research, and this book successfully avoids the hagiography of many Chinese-language treatments. Köll even outlines Dasheng's (indirect) role in the local opium trade in the late 1920s. Dasheng's peculiarities, however, call into question part of Köll's carefully constructed framework. Calling Dasheng a "regional enterprise" is not very helpful if there were no other firms of the same type. The author can only name one other firm from the period that was a regional enterprise, and she admits that it was structured differently. As a result, "Dasheng stands out more as an exception than as the norm" (p. 287). In the end, Köll makes her most important comparisons to village and township enterprises of the 1980s and 1990s, but one early twentieth-century firm cannot support an argument for long-term continuity in Chinese business organization. As a result, this book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the history of Chinese business, industrialization, and economic development, but Dasheng alone is an insufficient basis on which to posit a new category of Chinese business organization.

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HARALD FUESS, *Divorce in Japan: Family, Gender, and the State, 1600–2000*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 226. \$45.00.

Harald Fuess's historical study of divorce in Japan undermines an image commonly held of Japanese society and promoted by the Japanese government: namely, that Japan has traditionally been a "low divorce" society. In fact, it was only in the forty odd years from the middle of the twentieth century that Japan's divorce rate was comparatively low. In the late nineteenth century, Japan's divorce rate was high, as observed with disapproval by many Westerners. In this first social history of divorce in Japan in English, Fuess brings that "forgotten history" to light, answering the questions of why divorce was initially high and why it became less frequent during the first half of the twentieth century. In doing so, he reveals that the divorce rate in itself "conveys no clear message about gender relations" (p. 8). In particular, contrary to most past interpretations, the high divorce rates of the seventeenth to late nineteenth centuries were not necessarily manifestations of the arbitrary power of husbands or mothers-in-law to expel a bride.

As Fuess points out, the interpretation of divorce

rates varies, depending on the sources investigated by historians. Most past scholarship on Japan relied on legal documents and procedures that gave the impression of wives' inability to initiate divorce and of their consequent victimization by husbands and in-laws. Using a wider range of sources, including demographic and survey data, social and ethnographic commentaries, and personal writings as well as laws, shows that the high divorce rates of the Tokugawa period acted as a check to spouse selection and that wives and their natal families sometimes initiated divorce. Divorce was facilitated and condoned because marriage was treated as conditional (p. 47). What did become a legacy for modern Japan was the lack of government intervention in matters of divorce and the importance of lineage and household authority.

Criticism of the high divorce rate in the 1870s and 1880s suggested that Japan might move toward Western models restricting divorce and requiring court intervention. However, the 1898 Civil Code set up a dual system distinguishing between divorce by mutual consent and contested divorce, with only the latter requiring court adjudication. The code therefore did not make divorce more difficult, but it did for the first time provide a uniform legal definition of marriage and legitimate childbirth, marginalizing common-law marriages.

Nevertheless, Fuess argues that more than legislation, it was changes in values and attitudes to emphasize the importance of monogamous marriage and its continuity that account for the decline of the divorce rate from 1900 to 1940. Japanese elites as well as Westerners criticized divorce as a national disgrace, and the print media played a large role in disseminating such criticism that came to be accepted among all social classes and regions in the country (p. 141).

The New Civil Code introduced during the American Occupation reinforced a trend toward reducing the role of the family in divorce, but contrary to the common belief that it "radically revised" family law, Fuess argues that it did not completely break with past laws. Husband and wife now had equal rights, therefore eliminating the previous sexual double standard, but consensual divorces continued to require only the simple system of registration. A "divorce revolution" only occurred in the 1990s, but unlike European societies, in later stages of marriage and without a parallel increase in common-law marriages and out-of-wedlock births. In contrast to depictions of divorce in the Tokugawa period, the recent high divorce rates have been equated with "progress" and greater gender equality, especially in the popular press and women's magazines.

As Fuess's study has revealed, an interpretation of high divorce rates that tells the story of a transformation of women from helpless victims to "happy" divorcers is based on a misreading of the past. Nevertheless, both the decline in the divorce rate during the first half of the twentieth century and its recent increase do reflect important social transformations.

They can be seen as both a symptom and a part of the broader processes of modernization and homogenization in Japan since the late nineteenth century. Fuess's history of divorce thus tells us a lot about larger social changes and the state's surprisingly noninterventionist role in a key matter related to the family and gender roles.

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SIMON PARTNER. *Toshié: A Story of Village Life in Twentieth-Century Japan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 195. \$19.95.

Simon Partner uses the life of Sakaue Toshié, her family, and her village to explore the intersection of the individual and the Japanese nation during the reign of the Showa Emperor (1926–1989). Toshié was born in the first year of the Showa era, and she was still alive and well when Emperor Hirohito died in 1989. Kosugi, the village where she lived all her life, is located in Niigata Prefecture, near the Japan Sea. In telling the story of how Kosugi changed from an oppressed site of poverty to an integral part of Japan's mass consumer society, Partner has produced a book that will be a pleasure for the general reader as well as a welcome tool in the classroom.

By turning our attention to rural Japan (and by implication away from Tokyo), Partner enables us to understand Japanese experience in new ways. We see how, in the prewar era, newspapers and radio mediated the relationship of villagers to national and international events. (Partner offers no explanation for his omission of sound recordings, films, and newsreels.) Decades after Western merchants and missionaries took up residence in Japan, Toshié saw such folk for the first time when prisoners of war were among her fellow workers on the Niigata docks. Whereas histories of transportation have generally featured trains, streetcars, and automobiles, Partner tells the fascinating story of how farm machinery, including various modes of transportation, transformed rural social relationships in the postwar era.

Some of Partner's insights into the history of twentieth-century Japan derive from the particular experiences of Toshié's family. Because Toshié's older sister suffered from mental illness, the history of this family graphically illustrates the burden imposed upon families by the low level of public spending on social services prior to the 1970s. Equally apparent is the beneficial effect that the restoration of military pensions in 1953 had on a poor family that had lost two sons in the Pacific War. Toshié's cousin Kimie offers us a rare glimpse from the point of view of the extended family of the circumstances under which parents might apprentice their daughter as a geisha.

Partner's choice of a female protagonist is not a major factor in his production of new knowledge. To be sure, he offers striking vignettes such as the account

of Toshié's disappointment and frustration when her father arranged her marriage without consulting her. By and large, however, he uses the scholarship of others to provide detail about female experience such as childbirth and marriage. Perhaps out of respect for the privacy of Toshié's daughters, the account of postwar motherhood is remarkably thin. Was there a local Parent Teachers Association, and did Toshié attend meetings? Did she experience any role conflict between the reality of her life as a wage earner and the postwar ideal of the professional housewife?

In his conclusion, reflecting upon the hard labor and grinding poverty of the Sakaue family in the decade after 1945, Partner claims that Toshié's story challenges the master narrative of Japanese history in which the Pacific War is the great divide between the dark and the bright aspects of the Showa era. In fact, Toshié's experience was utterly congruent with Edwin O. Reischauer's textbook assertion that per capita economic production did not return to prewar levels until the mid-1950s. Perhaps unconsciously, Partner illustrates how the economic boom of the 1980s has changed our understanding of Japanese history. The assumed narrative to which he brings the perspective of the ordinary citizen is an economic history quite different from Reischauer's earlier political account. Reischauer's claims to postwar brightness rested not on the economy but on demilitarization, the release of political prisoners, the rescission of repressive laws, and the establishment of constitutional rights. In Partner's framework, by contrast, the Great Depression and the Pacific War loom large; party cabinets and national elections play no role at all. We are left to wonder whether Toshié's father went to the polls after the passage of universal manhood suffrage in 1925 or whether Toshié voted after she turned twenty.

Needless to say, no single study can do everything. Despite some omissions, Partner achieves his goal of putting a personal face to the story of Japan's postwar economic growth.

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SHAWN FREDERICK MCHALE. *Print and Power: Confucianism, Communism, and Buddhism in the Making of Modern Vietnam*. (Southeast Asia: Politics, Meaning, and Memory.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 256. \$49.00.

The historiography of colonial-era Vietnam, as Shawn Frederick McHale rightly argues in his superb study of the Vietnamese public sphere and the rise of print culture from 1920 to 1945, has been dominated by narratives that privilege anticolonial and revolutionary nationalism. Much of the rich political and intellectual history of the colonial period has concerned itself with situating the emergence of Vietnamese communism in the encounter of urban Vietnamese elites with Western notions of modernity and with tracing those perceptual legacies on indigenous radical constructions of

the Vietnamese past, colonial present and postcolonial future.

McHale offers a quite different assessment of the cultural politics of colonial Vietnam and their larger significance. He boldly, and ultimately persuasively, claims that “[c]ommunism’s impact on Vietnam before 1945 is surprisingly ambiguous . . . and only fitfully influenced public life” (pp. 180, xii). Instead, he argues, efforts to articulate transcendent concerns with morality and faith dominated a Vietnamese public sphere in which Confucian and especially Buddhist writings, long ignored in the existing historiography, were as if not more important than works by Vietnamese communists in shaping the nature of indigenous colonial discourse. McHale comes to this assessment based on an exhaustive reconstruction and analysis not only of what Vietnamese were writing in the colonial era but also of how readers (and listeners, given the continuing salience of the oral tradition among the largely illiterate mass of the colonial era Vietnamese population) made sense of what they read.

The first two chapters set the context for his nuanced analysis through an examination of the making of a public sphere in Vietnam, the transformative rise of Vietnamese print culture and its local receptions after 1920, and the often contradictory ways in which the repressive French colonial state sought to control and limit public discourse. His account of these developments is informed by a sophisticated comparative theoretical framework and a sense of the limits of hegemonic colonial power. McHale suggestively employs the work of Jürgen Habermas, Roger Chartier, and Robert Darnton in the European context and scholars of East Asian urban and cultural history such as David Strand and Lydia Liu to inform his characterization of the Vietnamese public sphere as “a relatively vibrant but hierarchical public realm of debate” (p. 11). Similarly, while mindful of how French colonial rule could shape and constrain Vietnamese colonial discourse, he stresses the ways in which “the Vietnamese were able to stake out zones of autonomy from the colonial state” (p. 60). McHale’s analysis refreshingly looks to the local and the transnational to situate colonial era discourse in the geographical and gendered diversity of colonial Vietnam itself as well as in Vietnamese experiences in Siam, Cambodia, Laos, China, France, and Russia.

The heart of McHale’s study, however, is his textually driven analysis of Confucian, communist, and Buddhist realms of colonial discourse. Especially important given its curious neglect in previous scholarship on colonial Vietnam is his supple account of the “eclectic religiosity” (p. 153) of Buddhist print culture in the Mekong delta, which considers the millenarianism of popular Buddhist devotionism in the countryside and the movement toward orthodox purity in the Buddhist revival among urban monks deeply influenced by contemporary developments in China. His revealing discussion of the problematics of communist discourse and its reception is also of critical signifi-

cance. Concentrating on the Nghe-Tinh uprisings of 1930–1931 and the growth of the communist movement during World War II, McHale explores the gaps that emerged between revolutionary language and existing conceptions of the world held by many rural Vietnamese, and the challenges they posed for “imposing authoritarian readings of communism” on its intended audiences in the colonial and early postcolonial periods (p. 127).

In its analytical scope and rigor, McHale’s book makes as important a contribution to the study of the high colonial period in Vietnam as Alexander Woodside’s magisterial *Vietnam and the Chinese Model: A Comparative Study of Vietnamese and Chinese Government in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (1971) did for late imperial Vietnamese intellectual history some thirty years ago. Challenging established historical narratives and opening up the rich and complicated terrain of the colonial Vietnamese past, this work will serve as an essential starting point for what one hopes will be a fundamental reconsideration of the multiple and globally inflected ways in which the Vietnamese and other imperial subjects approached colonialism and modernity.

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JEAN DEBERNARDI. *Rites of Belonging: Memory, Modernity, and Identity in a Malaysian Chinese Community*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 318. \$55.00.

Jean Debernardi has written a very suggestive book about history and memory in Chinese ritual in Penang. Each chapter develops a different theme, from social history to the symbolic analysis of rites, but it is largely left to the reader to build on the suggested links and tie them all together. Provocative historical connections are suggested but not fully documented. Intriguing theoretical and historiographical problems are suggested but not elaborated. Most of the suggestions are insightful and creative, but their very ability to stimulate results in proportionally high frustration over the loose ends.

The most well-developed arguments are the most conventional. Rituals and initiations help define local, ethnic, religious, and national communities. These rituals change along with political and social circumstances, in this case the shift from a colonial polity to a postcolonial nation shaped by ethnic politics. Through adaptation, rituals retain a vital role in modern society, and one important function is to create a sense of continuity by transmitting a memory of the past. Excellent citations from the anthropological literature on ritual are scattered throughout the book, but there is little engagement with the complex debates behind these citations. Analytic creativity is, instead, lavished on the empirical themes and speculations.

The first half of the book is historical, beginning with

a general discussion of the history of the Chinese in Penang. This culminates in an analysis of the "secret society" riots of 1857 as a contest over the symbolic use of public space. This theme is later briefly revived in a discussion of the construction of the state mosque and colossal Guanyin statue in the 1970s and 1980s. Before then, however, the book turns to the myths and rituals of secret societies, arguing for a strong religious dimension with deities and rites that may have formed the basis for later popular Penang festivals. Relying largely on nineteenth-century colonial documents, Debernardi analyzes myths of persecution and protection during the Ming-Qing transition (1640s-1680s) that are the founding legends of the brotherhood societies. Aware of the historical research that has shown that brotherhood societies actually emerged in China a century later, she argues that these myths are nonetheless key narratives in building common identity: a "social contract." She also speculates that society elders may have been possessed by the spirits of the founders during these rituals, thus transforming history into magical power. Debernardi takes seriously the parallels drawn in colonial sources between the symbols and rites of Chinese secret societies and Freemasonry, suggesting that these similarities may be a product of contact in the early nineteenth century—although she admits the evidence is hardly conclusive. Given the social history focus of the first two chapters, I was surprised that Debernardi did not engage more directly with recent research on the social and economic history of secret societies. She does demonstrate, however, that a full understanding of secret societies in all of their religious, economic, and political dimensions remains elusive—as befits these ritualized, "secret" organizations.

The second half of the book develops two main arguments: that localized versions of Chinese rites developed in Penang, and that a religious revival in the 1970s and 1980s was part of the rise of religion-based ethnic politics in Malaysia. After a helpful survey of institutionalized ethnic politics in Malaysia, the book offers detailed descriptions of the contemporary Hungry Ghost and Nine Emperors festivals. The localization of these rituals through worship of the spirits of local pioneers and the ritual embodiment of historic events establishes a historical memory of the Chinese presence in Malaysia. These explicit arguments are, like the rituals themselves, expressed through a diverse kaleidoscope of intersecting symbols and latent meanings, drawn from sources that range from the *Yijing* to syncretism with Malay spirits, memories of the Qing evacuation of the south China coast, the new Chinese Town Hall, and self-mortification (possibly learned from Indians in Southeast Asia). Debernardi also records the sensitivity of many informants to accusations that Chinese religion is mere superstition compared to the "universal" religions. In other words, the wide-ranging adaptability of Chinese religion is both a strength and point of shame.

The material in this book is rich and ultimately

rewarding. Perhaps rather than complain about my frustrations with the loose ends, I should learn the lesson of ritual itself that a structured field of multivalent and ambiguous relationships may be more effective than a dry, linear argument.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

BENOIT GAUMER, GEORGES DESROSNIERS, and OTHMAR KEEL. *Histoire du Service de santé de la ville de Montréal 1865-1975*. (Culture et Société.) Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université Laval. Les éditions de l'IQRC. 2002. Pp. xvi, 277. \$28.00.

Benoit Gaumer, Georges Desrosiers, and Othmar Keel's detailed narrative of the development of Montreal's municipal health services begins with the striking of a board of health in 1865 in the face of a threatened cholera epidemic. It closes with the shift of medical organization away from public health at the municipal level toward global medical services at local sites, and toward large-scale health management at the provincial and regional levels, with the introduction of universal medical insurance. The book is distinguished by its attempt to provide a comprehensive account of municipal health organization and initiatives.

The second half of the nineteenth century in Montreal was dominated by environmental medicine and the movement for social sanitation. Health authorities were preoccupied with responses to epidemic disease and with the inspection and improvement of conditions relating to water, sewers, garbage disposal, and the quality of milk and meat. The concern to combat infant mortality propelled the creation of a durable framework for the systematic production of demographic information. The impact of bacteriological discoveries on this regime was modest. They supplemented and extended the force of medical inspection and encouraged preventive medical initiatives, from campaigns against public spitting to the pasteurization of milk. Some kinds of dirt ceased to be seen as disease vectors, to be attacked instead as inaeesthetic. More striking after 1900 was the increasing reach and analytic capacity of medical inspection and statistical observation using the school system. School children were weighed and measured and had their teeth and eyes examined. Admission became conditional on proof of vaccination, and nurses, in official uniforms, visited the homes and instructed the parents of medically problematic children. Those receiving social assistance were similarly subjected to medical authority. The period from the second decade of the twentieth century onward was characterized by an increasing insistence on public health education and preventive medical intervention, including mass vaccinations against polio, and the beginnings of an interest in the effects of industrial pollution.

The book is also concerned with the administrative

structures of municipal health services. It traces the political influences on the health bureau and attends to the emergence and consolidation of a separate domain of medical expertise in the first decades of the twentieth century. It charts the health service's internal hierarchy, and the authors mention the shifting relations among public, charitable, and religious organizations. An investigation of the city's reaction to a 1927 typhoid fever epidemic created close ties between Montreal health officers and the American Public Health Association, and passing mention is also made of the creation of university programs in public health. The conditions of the demise of Montreal's autonomous management of urban health are probed in some detail. Finally, the authors have employed the available statistical resources to present useful tables of mortality by age and cause in Montreal across the period studied and have attempted to assess the impact of municipal health initiatives on mortality rates.

This extremely ambitious book makes a number of valuable contributions to the field of urban medical history. Yet, while the authors seek to place Montreal's development in international and national context, the comparative material is relatively thin. Comparison is partly motivated by the doxological impulse in Quebec historiography: the necessity to show that French Canada was not culturally backward or unusual, but this impulse provides a relatively weak frame for analysing the special qualities of development in Montreal. For instance, the consequences of religious and ethnic segregation, and of the Catholic Church's monopoly over aspects of social provision, receive short shrift. The neglect of venereal disease and the conservative reactions of doctors to the rise of illegal abortion-related maternal deaths merit only a mention. America replaces Britain in the 1920s as the source of policy models, but there is no discussion of any consequences. The narrative is also quite choppy, cut up into chapters according to the tenure of successive directors of the health service, which, in turn, are cut up into short subject vignettes where we learn what was done about smallpox or milk or tooth decay. This method at least partly compensates for the lack of an index to the book, but it limits an awareness of continuities and seems to discourage analytic depth. For instance, there is a fascinating implicit narrative of the emergence of the city as an object of medical government. It appears as a social body whose contours and internal tendencies come to be known abstractly through statistics, its features can be mapped and located in space, and its disturbing qualities can be isolated and acted upon directly. Its relations to its surroundings are increasingly monitored; what it consumes and what it excretes come to be organized systematically; and its self-understanding comes to be an object of medical concern. If this is not the narrative the authors have written, to their credit

they provide many of the resources necessary for other writers to write other narratives.

BRUCE CURTIS

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J. DAVID HOEVELER. *Creating the American Mind: Intellect and Politics in the Colonial Colleges*. (American Intellectual Culture.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2002. Pp. xvi, 381. \$39.95.

The nine colleges established by colonial Americans were arguably their most successful efforts at institution building. Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, the College of New Jersey (Princeton), King's College (Columbia), the College of Philadelphia (the University of Pennsylvania), the College of Rhode Island (Brown), Queen's College (Rutgers), and Dartmouth were also, to varying degrees, intercolonial institutions. They are, therefore, ideally suited for studying culture transfer in early America and for understanding the ways in which a distinctly American identity might have emerged before 1776. J. David Hoeveler's analysis is the first attempt at that important task. His work is, in fact, the first effort to synthesize the histories of all the colonial colleges—and the author hopes to do even more. Hoeveler seeks to put each college into its specific local context and to analyze its “public nature” by discussing each institution's relationship to colonial politics and to the crown, to its sponsoring religious denomination, and to the religious issues and conflicts that defined and differentiated each college. Still more ambitiously, he wants to argue that from all of that interaction between political and intellectual cultures there emerged by the end of the revolution a distinctly “American mind.”

There is much to commend in Hoeveler's work. In masterful intellectual biographies of the colonial presidents, Hoeveler introduces a group of very important men who will be unknown even to many early American specialists. Harvard's Edward Wigglesworth and John Winthrop, Yale's Thomas Clap and Ezra Stiles, William and Mary's James Blair, the College of New Jersey's John Witherspoon, King's College's Samuel Johnson, and the College of Philadelphia's William Smith and Francis Alison are perhaps the single most significant group of colonial leaders who have not received adequate attention from the historians of colonial America. He also does a superb job of demonstrating the ways in which the colleges transferred to the colonies the learning of the ancient world, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment. And Hoeveler is especially sensitive to the impact of the Scottish Enlightenment on colonial intellectual life. The book is exceptionally well written, the argument is clearly laid out, and the analysis is careful and nuanced. Moreover, Hoeveler does not let the specificities of each collegiate instance overwhelm or obscure his overarching focus and themes. His two chapters on Harvard are especially useful. At just under sixty pages, they are, amazingly, the only extended recent analysis of the first

American institution of higher education, and the first of those chapters is an especially successful attempt to put a colonial institution into its English context. But having focused on the colonies' oldest and premier educational institution, Hoeveler also pays attention to the several colleges that were established late in the colonial period. His is the first sustained effort to weave the stories of Rutgers, Brown, and Dartmouth into late colonial political and intellectual history.

A book this ambitious and this brief inevitably will be less successful in some parts than in others. Most important, Hoeveler simply does not have the space to demonstrate that a distinctly American intellectual culture grew out of the colonial colleges and then fundamentally directed the course of the American Revolution and the creation of the republic. Those epochal developments grew out of an entire cultural milieu, not simply the colonial colleges. Hoeveler himself seems to understand the final weakness of the argument. The book is part of a series on "American Intellectual Culture," and some of its problems may result from the author's wish to shape his interpretive narrative to the needs of that larger publishing project. Finally, Hoeveler writes in a field that received considerable scholarly attention in the 1970s and early 1980s, but he fails to cite several works from that period that might have been useful. Melvin Yazawa's *The Forming of a Republican Identity: Politics and Education in Revolutionary America* (Ph.D. dissertation: Johns Hopkins University, 1976), David Robson's *Educating Republicans: The College in the Era of the American Revolution, 1750–1800* (1985), and my own *The Revolutionary College: American Presbyterian Higher Education, 1707–1837* (1976) all address some of the issues that Hoeveler investigates, especially the relationship between the collegiate curriculum and the formation of republican identity. That being said, however, Hoeveler's study of the colonial colleges demonstrates that a work need not succeed completely on its own terms to be accounted, nevertheless, a significant and worthwhile achievement.

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AVIHU ZAKAI. *Jonathan Edwards's Philosophy of History: The Reenchantment of the World in the Age of Enlightenment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 348. \$49.95.

Avihu Zakai adds to the continuing superlative scholarship on Jonathan Edwards, turning our gaze away from recent works on the life of Edwards (George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* [2003]) and Edwards's view of the Bible (Robert E. Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible* [2002]) to focus on Edwards the philosopher of history. Zakai argues that to appreciate fully Edwards's writings, and particularly the "History of the Work of Redemption," one has to place them in the context of Edwards's response to the Enlighten-

ment. Edwards was perhaps the first American to understand the lethal threat that the rational English Enlightenment posed to traditional Christian belief and more importantly, he was the first to offer a comprehensive intellectual response to this movement's dethronement of God. According to Zakai, the overarching goal of Edwards's theological agenda was the "reenthronement of God as the sole author and Lord of history" (p. 5).

Zakai asserts that Edwards's conversion in 1721 "radically reshaped his whole experience and existence" (p. 51), for it "bestowed on him an awesome vision of God in his absolute sovereignty and glory" (p. 81) and thus provided "an essential connection" (p. 219) to his formulation of a theology of nature and history. Throughout the 1720s, Edwards devised a natural philosophy as an alternative to the ascendant mechanical philosophy that explained the workings of nature within a closed system of secondary causes. Drawing from the writings of the European scientists (Giordano Bruno and Pierre Gassendi) and philosophers (George Berkeley and Nicolas de Malebranche), Edwards affirmed an idealism wherein all of nature is dependent upon God's continuous sustaining power for its existence.

After the "little revival" in Northampton in 1734–1735, there occurred "a clear shift in Edwards's historical consciousness" (p. 132). Increasingly Edwards turned his attention to the nature of time and the meaning of history. In response to Enlightenment views of history that eliminated divine agency as a factor in historical explanation, Edwards concluded that the work of redemption is the great design of God in history, concretely expressed in the outpourings of the work of the Spirit in revivals and awakenings. Unlike previous ecclesiastical histories (e.g. those by Eusebius, Augustine, Protestant reformers, and the Puritans) that focused on dramatic social or political or religious changes as indicators of God's providential purposes, Edwards proposed a history "from the perspective of the mind of an omniscient God." Moreover, *Miscellany* 702, an entry penned in 1736, "signified a major turning point in Edwards's construction of time and history" (p. 217), because for the first time Edwards viewed creation itself within the larger redemptive purposes of God.

Edwards followed up with a more systematic presentation of this conclusion in "History of the Work of Redemption," a series of thirty sermons delivered to his Northampton congregation in 1739. Zakai observes that previous scholars, whether critical or appreciative of this work, overlook the degree to which these sermons represent a striking alternative to Enlightenment narratives of history. "In the face of the Enlightenment concept of history Edwards construed history as a special dimension of sacred time formed from eternity by God's providence for the execution of his plan of redemption for fallen humanity" (p. 232). When the Great Awakening ensued, Edwards witnessed his philosophy of history unfold before his very

eyes. His well-known writings in defense of the Awakening, including his infamous sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," were not merely theological treatises defending the imminent judgment of God and the veracity of the work of the Spirit. Rather, avers Zakai, they reflect Edwards's appeal to history, namely, that revivals and their resulting conversions manifest divine agency in the order of history.

Zakai covers much territory familiar to students of Edwards, but his meticulous reading of Edwards's writings elevates the pastor-theologian above his provincial surroundings to that of an international philosopher engaged in the most pressing intellectual issues of his day. In Zakai's rendition of Edwards (made more feasible by the recent publication of the Yale edition of Edwards's *Miscellanies*) we encounter a thinker with a far more coherent theological and philosophical agenda than previously recognized. Although this work is marred somewhat by redundancy (e.g. Zakai quotes three times from C. C. Goen that Edwards "struggled unremittingly to retrieve the halcyon days when Northampton was 'a city on a hill,'" [pp. 183, 211, 276]), his treatment of Edwards as a major church historian in the same league as Eusebius and Augustine stands as a signal contribution in the ongoing rehabilitation of colonial America's greatest mind.

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MICHAEL BRIAN SCHIFFER. *Draw the Lightning Down: Benjamin Franklin and Electrical Technology in the Age of Enlightenment*. Assisted by KACY L. HOLLENBACK and CARRIE L. BELL. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 383. \$34.95.

This volume introduces the reader to the surprisingly densely populated world of the electrically inclined in eighteenth-century Europe and North America. Michael Brian Schiffer, a prolific author who has been a leader in the field of behavioral archeology (the theoretical framework for this book), draws on his considerable knowledge of electrical science and technology to "study how technologies, as artifacts [relate] to the lives of the people who made and used them, seeking meaningful *behavioral* patterns in the human-made world" (p. 3, author's italics). He examines those patterns by classifying who was interested in electrical phenomena and devices into eight communities of investigators and practitioners, examining each community in turn. Schiffer is engrossed in the telling of who chose to take up the pursuit of electrical phenomena and to what end.

The most valuable result of this approach is that it connects those natural philosophers, such as Benjamin Franklin, who were primarily interested in acquiring rational knowledge of certain observed phenomena in the physical world, and those who had a material interest in public acceptance of man-made electricity as a curiosity, as a subject of instruction, and as a

potential aid to health. Through Schiffer's and his collaborators' voracious reading of eighteenth century works, the author is able to reconstruct a world in which elegant experiments demonstrating electrical phenomena and leading to effective new theories were enough to make an international celebrity of Franklin, and in which certain physicians prospered by treating patients with electric baths, or by administering an astounding array of shocks to various parts of the body. The reader encounters a considerable range of individuals, with their complementary electrical devices, who often required substantial patronage to carry out their investigations. Schiffer gives considerable attention to the controversy regarding the development of the lightning rod, which he describes (as others have done) as one of the first practical results of the scientific revolution. This part of the book is actually the only one in which Franklin occupies center stage.

Even for those relatively aware of the powerful role that the development of electrical knowledge played in the Enlightenment, or of the prehistory of the commercial electrical products of the nineteenth century, Schiffer's approach will be refreshing as well as challenging. Readers will find here the stories of dead ends, failures, and error treated as important as stories of apparent achievement and success. Indeed, in this volume the inventor—a staple of much technology storytelling—is relatively unimportant. Historians of the Industrial Revolution may be surprised to read that "the independent inventor . . . lacked a viable role in eighteenth-century societies" (p. 227).

Perhaps. No doubt that the inventor myth, with all of its images of the lonely, misunderstood, but persevering genius, needs to be countered by an author like Schiffer who can demonstrate that ideas and devices emerge from communities as much as from individual imagination. But Schiffer appears to be unaware that he has entered a historiographic battleground. This is, in fact, the main fault of this book from a scholarly perspective. Well written, engaging, and well researched, it is marked by either disinterest in or disdain for other scholarship. Although at the outset Schiffer acknowledges that "the electrical literature of the eighteenth century is rather fertile ground for historians of science and technology" (p. xii), the rest of the book hardly recognizes that anyone else has explored the territory or organized it conceptually. The final chapter, "Technology Transfer: A Behavioral Framework," takes a quick swipe at diffusion theory, then states that existing "theories in history and in the social sciences cannot convincingly handle large-scale processes of technological change in a behaviorally sound manner" (p. 257). So, "in view of the dearth of relevant theory" (p. 257), Schiffer constructs his own. But what he describes as his "major premise . . . that as a technology passes from one community to another, members of recipient communities invent new functional variants, differing in performance characteristics, that are more suitable for participating in their activities" (p. 258) hardly seems new. His exposition of

a theory of technology transfer is a valuable contribution to the field, but it would be more convincing if it were not presented innocent of engagement with the substantial literature on the topic.

In spite of these frustrations, this is a strong book, imaginatively conceived, based on the sources, and informed by theory. It should be read, appreciated, and argued about.

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Rockefeller Archive Center

KATHLEEN D. MCCARTHY. *American Creed: Philanthropy and the Rise of Civil Society, 1700–1865*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 319. \$35.00.

Developments on the world stage and in domestic politics over the past two decades—notably, sociopolitical changes in Eastern Europe and the Reagan-era push for the devolution of social services in the United States from the governmental to the nonprofit sector—have sparked scholarly interest in philanthropic traditions and civil society (defined as “that broad range of institutions and activities that fall between the family and the state,” p. 1). Kathleen D. McCarthy contributes to this growing literature by providing a well-researched historical view of the types of voluntary action (by individuals, groups, and institutions) that forged connections between democracy and civil society in the United States in the period from 1700 to 1865. According to McCarthy, much voluntary action during these formative decades in the nation’s history was inspired by and cohered around a belief in the dignity and power of the individual, and in the collective power of similar-minded individuals. She writes, “faith in egalitarian ideals, religious freedom, and the right to engage in civic activism have constituted an enduring American creed” (p. 2). In McCarthy’s view, philanthropy—the giving of time and financial support for public benefit—has been a means by which these core values have been affirmed and contested and an integral but understudied factor in the nation’s economic development and political life.

McCarthy has written widely on women’s patronage, voluntarism, and contributions to civil society in the United States and has helped encourage the in-depth study of philanthropic traditions and civil society in various national settings. This book, which in many respects is a logical extension of McCarthy’s earlier works (*Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power* [1990], and, more recently, her edited volume *Women, Philanthropy, and Civil Society* [2001]), offers a framework for understanding two major themes in U.S. history: first, how giving, fueled in large part by religious and political beliefs and prominently influenced by the American Revolution and religious disestablishment, subsidized and enabled a tradition of limited government in the United States, and, second, how philanthropy became an avenue by which various groups—not just the financially privileged—have ex-

erted their social vision and vied for power in public life.

McCarthy challenges the assumptions underlying much political and scholarly discussion about the historic relationship between citizens and the state. She writes: “Most studies present the nonprofit sector as a separate sphere, a prop to government, a counterweight, or a forum for public discourse and civic bonding, but rarely as an inherent part of governmental or market operations per se” (p. 3). According to McCarthy, the view that “nonprofits test while government enacts” and, concomitantly, that “private actors” are ultimately “crowded out” once government enters a particular arena began to gain sway in the 1980s “as campaigns to dismantle the welfare state were cast as a quest to return the country to its historic roots, when public and private responsibilities were supposedly pristinely separate, and local citizens cared for their own, *on their own*” (emphasis in original, p. 4). Challenging this interpretation of the past and its assertion that society has been configured in three discrete sectors—business, government, and the nonprofit sector (also commonly referred to as the “third” or “independent” sector)—McCarthy documents various partnerships between government and citizen’s groups (including charities) and the entrepreneurial nature of some nonprofit bodies to support her claim that throughout U.S. history “philanthropy, governance, and the economy were inherently linked” (p. 6).

The book is organized chronologically and thematically and is divided into two parts. Part one, “The Rise of Civil Society,” explores the patterns of giving for public ends and the efflorescence of nonprofits that shaped civil society to the 1820s, while part two, “Testing the Faith,” explores the contentious Jacksonian period when government officials tried to curb certain volunteer activities, such as women’s charities and poor relief, and the “parameters of civil society” were shaped by the contrasts and tensions between the political culture of the white male electorate and the “more inclusive” and often reform-oriented voluntary associations (pp. 123, 192). McCarthy begins effectively with a brief discussion of Thomas Jefferson’s epitaph: “Author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia.” This epitaph introduces themes that resonate throughout the text: namely, the continuing ethos of the revolution (later reflected in the constitutional guarantees of the freedom to assemble and to petition), the division between church and state that provided a terrain for citizen participation in public life, and the role of philanthropy in institution building. The book interweaves individual biographies and the history of associational life to underscore the power of collective action that McCarthy believes has shaped democratic traditions and the rapid rise of civil society that constituted a “second revolution” (p. 143) in American life. For example, the secular-minded Benjamin Franklin is depicted as an icon of this new era, a resourceful

organizer of basic community services that would otherwise have been unfunded, given the government's limited coffers. His Junto, the forerunner of the American Philosophical Society, is described as "a template for the creation of social capital, the trust that enables individuals to work collaboratively to benefit themselves and the larger society" (p. 18). Although some characters, like Franklin, are familiar, the narrative resists hagiography and underscores the complex motivations and outcomes of giving. Avoiding the pitfalls of advocacy and polemics, the book provides a view that is sweeping yet in its focus on political culture (in contrast to the now antiquated concept of American character that dominated writing on philanthropy in the 1950s and early 1960s) is attentive to the history of conflict and to gender, racial, ethnic, religious, and regional differences. While McCarthy's exploration of civil society offers new perspectives on abolitionists, republican mothers, and others, the book's originality also rests in drawing upon Robert Putnam's arguments about the relationship between the vitality of associations and economic development and civic engagement to consider regional differences in the United States. For example, in chapter four, McCarthy shows how the institution of slavery and the hierarchical structure of the state circumscribed the role of voluntary associations in the South and provided a backdrop for North-South tensions leading up to the Civil War. Unfortunately, her concluding discussion of the Civil War and its ramifications for civil society is less well developed than earlier portions of the book.

This valuable book is a welcome addition to a growing literature that seeks to provide an alternative to older consensus accounts like Robert Bremner's *American Philanthropy* (1960). It is not a celebratory history; rather it is "a story of gains won, rescinded, and reclaimed" (p. 9). It is accessible to graduate students and will be of great interest to scholars of United States history generally and especially to those interested in philanthropy, voluntary associations, civil society, and civic engagement.

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LAURA JENSEN. *Patriots, Settlers, and the Origins of American Social Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 244. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$20.00.

Laura Jensen's book offers a thoughtful historian's challenge to the widely influential interpretations of political scientist Stephen Skowronek and historical sociologist Theda Skocpol about the character of the national government of the United States up to the Civil War and the history of U.S. social welfare policy from the Civil War to the present. Jensen sums up her argument in a single sentence: "By the time the Civil War began, the United States had a firmly established history of national-level social provision rooted in the

entitlement of certain categories of Americans who served the purposes of the state as it sought to claim, protect, and expand its sovereignty over an immense portion of the North American continent" (p. 205). Pre-Civil War pensions for veterans should be seen as "entitlements" that set precedents for social provision that endure to the present day, Jensen insists, and so should early policies for the settlement of federal lands.

The "early American state," as Jensen puts it, used creative and effective means to push aside Native American and European claimants and establish control over a continental empire. Lacking either the ability or the willingness to pay an army of adequate size, the early federal government provided land and, eventually, pensions to old soldiers who possessed qualities deemed "deserving," especially when it wished to persuade new soldiers to enlist. Lacking adequate numbers of regular soldiers or officials, the early federal government made considerable use of selective land grants to attract armed white settlers to strategic frontier locations, in the Northwest Territory, in Florida during and after the Seminole Wars, and in Oregon and Washington.

Jensen's juxtaposition of veteran's pension and land-grant policies yields persuasive evidence of federal favoritism for white men, especially white men who supported the federal government. Women, African Americans, and Native Americans were generally made ineligible for veterans' pensions or land grants; long before Dred Scott, many federal officials were already asserting that only white men were truly citizens of the United States. Old soldiers who remained within the Confederate states after 1861 lost pensions they had earned in earlier wars, ex-Confederates and their states gained access to individual and to Morrill Act land grants only after a delay, and Confederate veterans never received federal pensions. Race, gender, and national service trumped other characteristics: most proposals to disadvantage immigrants and land "speculators" failed.

Jensen's emphasis on "the state," as opposed to unequal bargaining among political groups, is to a considerable degree justified by the policy histories she recounts. Party, regional, and interest-group considerations did shape debates, but once the federal government launched a limited pension or land grant policy, a powerful political and administrative logic of policy expansion took hold. Limited initially to small amounts for veterans who had seen extended periods of fighting, suffered injuries, and fallen into poverty, pensions expanded inexorably until they provided significant income to all who had served even for short periods. Early federal land policy rejected distribution plans that would have enhanced state autonomy in favor of approaches designed to generate revenue for the national budget and an orderly expansion of the land market. Concessions to "squatters" frustrated these designs, however. Once one group of squatters had successfully argued that their race, enterprise, and

willingness to support national expansion with their own arms entitled them to the right to purchase clear title to the land they occupied, it proved difficult to deny that right to others.

Some of Jensen's interpretations will attract criticism, especially her equation of contemporary pensions for government employees—pensions that the employees rightfully see as part of the compensation the government has contracted to pay them—with government aid to the poor. Such an equation did apply before the Civil War, when the federal government slowly agreed to relieve the poverty only of those who had served the state as soldiers or as the advance guard of settlement. But as Richard R. John has shown with regard to postal employees, even then the pay of government officials reflected bargains that took private compensation levels into account (see *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* [1995]). Nor can Jensen's evidence from the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century support her broadest conclusion: that "[t]he United States' historic failure to embrace the most basic of guarantees for all of its citizens . . . is rooted not in the policy missteps of the Great Society, or in the compromises of the New Deal, or even in the divisive cataclysm of the Civil War, but in the original legal dimensions of American governance" (p. 26). Yet she is right to emphasize that the provision of education, health care, or financial support can create something very like a property right. Overall, her stimulating book adds significantly to our understanding of the early federal government.

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PAUL O. CARRESE. *The Cloaking of Power: Montesquieu, Blackstone, and the Rise of Judicial Activism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 335. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

There are few political questions more interesting than the nature and extent of the judicial power within the context of modern constitutional thought. Paul O. Carrese sets out to shed needed light on the philosophic grounding of judicial power and its proper place within a constitution of written and enumerated powers such as that of the United States. His conclusion is that the American idea of judicial power was originally one of "common-law judging infused with a liberal spirit" (p. 162) that was ultimately "more characteristically Aristotelian than Hobbesian" (p. 202); indeed, he finds an understanding of judging among the founders that is "significantly Aristotelian" (p. 179). Unfortunately, this is a book that claims more than it can prove.

Carrese's analysis is divided into three parts: the first considers Montesquieu's jurisprudence and his theory that "judging is the critical link between constitutionalism and individual liberty" (p. 62); second, he explores Sir William Blackstone's understanding of that Montesquieuan theory and his embellishment of it into

a "constitutionalism of liberty and complexity" (p. 112) that ultimately occupies a "middle position between modern positivism and a Scholastic, common-law naturalism" (p. 130); and finally he assesses the influence of Montesquieu's "prudential philosophy and philosophic prudence" (p. 94) on the American founders, and, later, on Alexis de Tocqueville's understanding of judicial power in *Democracy in America*.

Throughout his analysis, Carrese keeps a wary eye on the later jurisprudence of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and what the author calls Holmes's "acid of realism" (p. 108). The underlying thesis here is that the founders' original understanding of a common-law and Scholastic theory of Aristotelian judging has been undermined by Holmesian realism. That undermining has been so pervasive that both strands of contemporary thinking about these matters—what Carrese calls a "strictly positivist originalism" and a theory of "historicist judicial legislation" (p. 222)—are the descendants of Holmes's original moral and jurisprudential confusions. As a result, the author is no less critical of Justice Antonin Scalia's textualism than he is of Justice William Brennan's idea of interpreting the Constitution according to his own notions of evolving standards of human dignity. In light of his theory of common-law Aristotelianism, to note just one example, both the majority and the minority in the important abortion rights case of *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992) are wrong.

No small part of the weakness of Carrese's account is that as he moves from Montesquieu to Blackstone to Alexander Hamilton to John Marshall and Joseph Story, his evidence for any concern for Aristotelian philosophy in forming their theories of judging grows ever more tenuous. To put it bluntly, while there is no doubt that the traditional sources of the common law were of some influence as the founders worked their way from the rights of Englishmen to the rights of man, they were not the dominant influences. Explicit references to Sir Edward Coke in the major sources of founding thought are few and far between; reliance on others such as Sir John Fortescue and Christopher St. Germain is even scarcer. And while the author overemphasizes these writers, he insists on diminishing the influence of such obvious sources of authority as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Algernon Sidney.

One of the oddest and least convincing aspects of the argument made here for "common-law judicial statesmanship" (p. 252) is the author's insistence that any notion of a theory of original intention rooted in positive law is at odds with the founders' true original intention. To make this case he has to ignore explicit statements to the contrary from most of his major sources. Blackstone, for example, insisted that the "fairest and most rational method to interpret the will of the legislator is by exploring his intentions at the time when the law was made, by *signs* the most natural and probable." Similarly, Chief Justice John Marshall not only famously declared in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) that a written constitution was "the greatest

improvement on political institutions” but also argued elsewhere that, on the basis of the common law itself, “*intention* is the most sacred rule of interpretation.” And Justice Story, in his *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States* (1833), insisted that “Constitutions are not designed for metaphysical or logical subtleties,” nor are they who interpret them to “admit in them any recondite meaning or any extraordinary gloss.” Such fundamental laws, Story said, are “designed for common use and fitted for common understandings.”

In many ways, this book builds upon and exaggerates the ideas concerning the relationship between common law and liberal theory put forth by James R. Stoner, Jr. in *Common Law and Liberal Theory: Coke, Hobbes, and the Origins of American Constitutionalism* (1992). Like Stoner’s work, there is much here to be learned, much to be taken seriously. Carrese’s close—some will say too close—textual analysis of Montesquieu’s *Spirit of the Laws* (1748) alone makes it worth reading. So, too, his study of Blackstone, while not completely convincing, is thought provoking and deserves careful attention. And his attack on Holmes, whom Walter Berns once pegged a mere philosophical “dilettante,” is surely worth taking seriously. Yet somehow the book is less than the sum of its parts, asserting more than it convincingly proves in attributing influence in the great chain of the history of ideas.

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JOHN PHILLIP REID. *Controlling the Law: Legal Politics in Early National New Hampshire*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. 258. \$45.00.

John Phillip Reid’s book tells the story of the Federalist jurist Jeremiah Smith and his career-long, uphill struggle to achieve hegemony for “receptionist” legal doctrine in a state where Democratic Republicans preferred a legal system ruled by lay judges and juries. Receptionists believed in the English Common Law system of jurisprudence that relied on professional expertise, attention to precedents, and technical mastery to achieve uniformity and predictability for a national legal system. Reid, who relies on Lynn W. Turner, *The Ninth State: New Hampshire’s Formative Years* (1983) and William Plumer of *New Hampshire, 1759–1850* (1962), to help supply the setting, provides a thorough analysis of the juristic implications of early national partisan conflict in New Hampshire. More broadly, he uses the New Hampshire case to comment on Morton J. Horwitz’s *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860* (1977) and William Edward Nelson’s *The Americanization of the Common Law: The Impact of Legal Change on Massachusetts Society, 1760–1830* (1975).

The author’s chief subjects are Smith’s legal doctrine, his early alliance with Plumer and, following the latter’s shift from Federalist to Jeffersonian ideology and allegiance, their later rivalry. Because Smith

emerges as the prime mover in the state’s legal reform, this reader was disappointed by the author’s brief treatment of Smith’s biography and only passing mention of the familial, community, and educational environments in which Smith came to the receptionist viewpoint that differed so sharply from many rural residents. Reid notes, for example, that Smith and Plumer were the same age, but never reports the year of their birth (1759). And though we learn that Smith’s father was a 1753 Scots-Irish immigrant who quickly rose to leadership in Peterborough, a predominantly Scots-Irish community, Reid does not explore the influence Smith’s origins may have had on him or on New Hampshire politics. Since significant support for Democratic Republicans came from rural men of Scots-Irish ancestry, both in New Hampshire and elsewhere, Reid’s reluctance to probe New Hampshire society and culture more deeply limits readers’ understanding of battles over lay versus learned judges, and over the importance of lay jurymen in making law. Reid sees Smith and his receptionist program, which leads to modern United States legal practice, as so reasonable and self-evident that he does not ask why his protagonist embraced it so fervently.

Yet in chronicling the recurring partisan battles over the state’s Superior Court of Judicature, Reid explores Republican rhetoric in detail so as to convey some sense of why a majority of New Hampshire’s propertied men preferred courts dominated by commonsense laymen like themselves, men who made judgments in language they could understand, and who adjusted their decision making and verdicts to local circumstances, rather than letting judges rule them according to technicalities. In a democratic republic, these majorities believed that elected legislatures and laymen should decide not just the facts of the case but the law as well. To them, judge-made law, and anything that enhanced the power of the legal elite, were anathema.

One of Reid’s chapters, “The Stinginess of New Hampshire,” is emblematic. Smith, the author explains, fought repeatedly to raise judges’ salaries to attract talented professionals like him to the bench. As Smith saw it, by paying inferior salaries the state bought sloppy, unpredictable justice, and he claimed his \$1,000 annual salary was inadequate. Reid seconds him, agreeing that talented lawyers were much better compensated in private practice, and calls the legislators “stingy.” But Democratic Republican legislators did not believe judges should be paid more than other state officials, including the governor, even if Massachusetts paid more. Today, with the widespread victory of market-determined salaries, the Jeffersonian argument is unpersuasive to Reid. But rural people did not yet live in a cash economy, and they often thought in terms of “just prices” that were stable over long periods, in contrast to commercial and professional elites who expected, as we do, market-driven prices.

Despite these caveats, this is a learned and informative work that makes a substantial contribution to American legal and political history. Although the

little-known Smith operated in a commercial and industrial backwater, Reid demonstrates that he was as advanced and innovative as better-known jurists, pioneering court reporting, for example, and anticipating Lemuel Shaw's ruling that jurors must follow the judge's instructions on the law and rule on the facts only. Moreover Reid notes that receptionists like Smith, though possessing access to a network of Federalist leaders, worked independently. Reid treats only a single state, but his analysis of the politics of legal reform shows the interplay of ideology, cosmopolitanism, and provincialism—forces at work throughout the United States.

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ROBERT E. SHALHOPE. *A Tale of New England: The Diaries of Hiram Harwood, Vermont Farmer, 1810–1837*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. 313. \$45.00.

Following the trend to use old diaries as the basis for new narratives, this work adds to contemporary interest in the lives of common people. It is the biography of an ordinary farmer, his work, and his family life as lived in early nineteenth-century Vermont. Robert E. Shalhope has distilled fourteen volumes of material (four thousand pages of single-spaced typescript) for his story, and he provides full scholarly apparatus.

Although Hiram Harwood was expected to become the patriarch of a multigenerational farming family, he was an unlikely candidate for this role because his love of literature, music, and nature conflicted with the rigorous demands of agricultural work. Criticized continually by his parents, who hoped to correct his seeming deficiencies, he eventually conformed to their expectations and made a financial success of the farm, but at great personal cost.

Short quotations from his diary at the beginning of each chapter give focus to the subsequent theme. Hiram's father, Benjamin, who began the journal, pursued the quest for prosperity and respectability and proved his worthiness. A devout member of the Congregational Church, Benjamin was committed to the principles of localism, republicanism, and the Democratic-Republican Party, values that he wished to pass on to his son.

In 1810, when Hiram, Benjamin's only son, continued the account begun by his father, it increasingly took on the character of a diary in which he attempted to find a personal identity. Unlike his father, he would take pen and ink, his flute, and a newspaper or book into the woods to write, read, and play music for hours. He lacked self-confidence and felt ill at ease around genteel women. Humiliated by an experience with one young woman, and shamed by his father's criticism of his unmanly behavior about the farm, he grew despondent and sought a way to establish his manhood. He joined the military in order to master his insecurity, yet soon was disillusioned by the experience.

After a period of melancholy, he again faced the issue of marriage. He entered into a romantic correspondence with attractive Clarissa Norton, using the stilted language that characterized the novels he read, but his insecurities never allowed him to consider such a person for a wife. After ending this relationship, he began keeping company with Sally Stone, a plain, poorly educated working girl whom he married in 1815. In his roles as husband, father, and neighbor, Hiram seemed contented. He met communal responsibilities, settled differences with neighbors peaceably, and was charitable to the less fortunate.

Hiram expanded his farm operations to include large-scale dairying, intending to enter the commercial markets opening in western Vermont and eastern New York. He worked to establish a new masculine persona based on economic skill and to raise the social standing of his family. He sent his daughter to Castleton Seminary, and he improved the family home, developments characteristic of the increasing refinement taking place among the new middle class.

Partisan conflict emerged in Bennington following the War of 1812, and Shalhope locates Hiram's opinions on such issues as the bank, nullification, the tariff, temperance, and abolitionism. Disillusioned by Andrew Jackson and his supporters, he and his father joined the emerging Whig Party. (These tensions affecting the town are analyzed in more detail in Shalhope's *Bennington and the Green Mountain Boys: The Emergence of Liberal Democracy in Vermont, 1760–1850* [1996]).

In discussing Hiram's maturity, Shalhope refers to his religious uncertainties and genealogical interest. Hiram wished to write a history of Bennington, although the growing demands of the dairy displaced that hope. He experienced increasing physical deterioration and inner chaos. Although he had come to fit the pattern that his father had insisted upon, the cost was considerable. He abandoned creative interests, experienced a breakdown, was institutionalized, and, upon release, committed suicide.

Historiographical discussion of political, economic, religious, and social matters is confined to the endnotes. Among the credits concerning the study of gendered groups are the work of Lisa Wilson, *Ye Heart of a Man: The Domestic Life of Men in Colonial New England* (1999), and Catherine E. Kelly, *In the New England Fashion: Reshaping Women's Lives in the Nineteenth Century* (1999). This book is a welcome addition to the social history of rural New England. It is also a briskly narrated page turner, whose protagonist is temperamentally unsuited to assume the expected role of patriarch. The implicit moral of the "tale" is that parents who force unwilling children into the pattern of their own lives may be courting tragedy.

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KENNETH S. SACKS. *Understanding Emerson: "The American Scholar" and His Struggle for Self-Reliance*.

Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 199. \$29.95.

An adequate account of the historical origins of Ralph Waldo Emerson's delivery in 1837 of the Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard, a speech that eventually became known as "The American Scholar," must tie together a complicated variety of personalities, institutions, and events. These run from the Unitarian cabal in control of Harvard and the Transcendentalist dissenters (especially Bronson Alcott), on through the emerging lyceum circuit and the nation's rapidly expanding literary marketplace, and then into Emerson's voluminous journals and private correspondence. Kenneth S. Sacks's carefully researched new study attempts to make sense of the story by dividing it neatly into two parts. The first focuses on the "public Emerson," explaining "the revolutionary intent of the oration, as Emerson turned his back on tradition and offered an entirely new understanding of what it meant to be an American scholar." The second, which attracts most of his attention, explores the "private Emerson," reconstructing his mental state in the summer of 1837, explaining how he received an unexpected invitation to deliver the address and then struggled with "almost pedestrian feelings of inadequacy" to become the very scholar he proposed to his audience (p. 3-4).

More inner biography than intellectual or cultural history, the book's guiding argument is that America's "most revered expression of intellectual integrity" is best understood as "mainly about Emerson himself" (p. 4)—or, more precisely, as an effort to resolve a two-sided personal crisis. Five years after renouncing his pulpit in 1832, Emerson found that, in his new career as lyceum speaker, he had continued to "compromise his desire to express himself with complete candor." At the same time, haunted by worries he had failed his more outspoken Transcendentalist friends, Emerson increasingly "felt compelled to surrender something of his self-reliance" and join battles for reform they had already begun (p. 4). Sent to an unlikely rebel and a divided man, Harvard's invitation provided Emerson with an unexpected opportunity to solve both of his problems: the first by proclaiming his own intellectual self-reliance in a highly visible public setting, and the second by presenting a memorable plea for America's cultural independence and originality.

This book makes a rigorous effort to enlarge our historical understanding of "The American Scholar." But there are at least two problems with its approach. First, Sacks urges us to "read Emerson in the same binary manner in which he wrote—first for himself and then for the public" (p. 122). But his book actually proceeds the other way around, and its second half leaves us with what some readers may find a curiously unflattering portrait. Sacks tells us at the outset that he finds "The American Scholar" "personally inspiring" (p. xi). He adds, however, that not only did Emerson's

Transcendentalist friends "shame him" into delivering the address (p. 68), most of them were not much impressed with the results, and with good reason. At the time of "The American Scholar," the perception that Emerson did not think rigorously was widespread, and on Sacks's account the Harvard address did little to change things. Still "very much at the beginning of identity formation" in the summer of 1837, Emerson was a figure whose more ambitious friends welcomed his decision to speak out but found no cause to rally to his ideas.

More problematic is a larger issue that Sacks alludes to at the outset but never manages to address systematically: why bother with careful study of "The American Scholar" in the first place? That an effort to understand circumstances that gave rise to the address may have little to say about this question seems not to have occurred to Sacks. The effort to enlarge historical understanding of "The American Scholar" must entail more than reconstructing it as he does in the second part of the book, essentially an opaque screen, inscribed with the anxieties and insecurities of a figure deeply unsure of both of his own vocation and his closest personal friendships. It must also help us understand how, over time, Emerson's address, as well as many of his essays, proved adaptable to other, unexpected uses, as a source of a complex and vital set of meanings. Put more bluntly, if what close study of the origins of "The American Scholar" allows us to see is that Emerson "was after all only human" (p. xi), why would anyone but academic interpreters care? Ultimately, history has valued Emerson more for the new questions he raised than for any hidden personal dilemmas he sought to resolve, more for an inclusive, democratic vision of American culture he first opened up in his Harvard address than for private worries that he might fail to meet the expectations of his tin-eared friends.

At a time when most educated Americans know they are expected to revere Emerson but cannot adequately explain why, Sacks's effort to demystify "The American Scholar" ultimately confesses to a kind of failure as it loses direct contact with the subject at hand. In the book's final chapter, "Forever the American Scholar," Sacks observes that while the talk "would come to inspire many others, Emerson himself could not see that in 1837" (p. 124). Maybe so. But we certainly can, and what we need most at the moment are new and better accounts of how that inspiration has worked. This book is a very impressive piece of historical research. The story it tells about the early quandaries of the "private Emerson," however, will be of interest mainly to those who assume the historical significance of "the public Emerson" still can be taken for granted.

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ROGER G. KENNEDY. *Mr. Jefferson's Lost Cause: Land, Farmers, Slavery, and the Louisiana Purchase*. New

York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 350. \$30.00.

Eminent administrator and authority on American architecture and history, Roger G. Kennedy explains that he planned this book for half a century. In it, he argues that prior to 1784 Thomas Jefferson "expressed in radical language his aversion to slavery and his preference for a republic of free and independent farmers, offering proposals whereby a virtuous republic might wisely dispose of its public lands and" promote "a benign labor system" on them. Yet subsequently, he "interposed no public objections as his edifice of dreams was systematically reduced to rubble" (p. 2). "Had different outcomes been achieved in a score of narrow contests between 1802 and 1820," Kennedy writes, particularly regarding the Louisiana Purchase, the Civil War "might have been prevented." Jefferson failed "to tip the balance" when choices benefited "the spread of slavery" (pp. 28–29).

Kennedy divides his text into four parts. In "The Land and Mr. Jefferson," he describes the Virginia landscape and soil, the crops and tillage, the socioeconomic structures, the state and national land disposal policies, and the relative friendliness to the land of Indian, yeoman, and planter. Although most approving of Indian land use, Kennedy endorses a diversified yeoman society with interactive rural and urban economies, as developed in the North. When combined with southern staple production, particularly cotton, the colonial and early federal land policies encouraged large estates and fueled a westward sweep of settlement in the South that left behind a desolate landscape. Although a planter, Jefferson defended the rights of individuals and criticized slavery during the revolutionary and early Confederation years, championing the proper path for American development. Settlement of trans-Appalachia offered Jefferson a second chance to set the new nation on proper course, including opportunities to endorse generational emancipation. Expansion into the lower Mississippi Valley also provided opportunities to restrict slavery or endorse yeoman society. Jefferson failed to exploit these openings.

In part two, Kennedy describes the business arrangements that underlay the cotton kingdom, noting that the southerners replaced a British political empire with an invisible empire of debt, land exhaustion, and westward removal. The plantation system encountered opposition, however. Kennedy devotes a third section to resisters, featuring Alexander McGillivray and the southern tribes, colorful William Augustus Bowles, various maroon colonies, the activities of William Pantón's trading firm, and the devious General James Wilkinson. Part four, "Agents of the Master Organism: Assistants to the Plantation System," traces the Louisiana Purchase negotiations and American undercover activities in the Spanish Floridas, highlighting the activities of the diplomat handyman and Florida subversive Fulwar Skipwith. An epilogue meditates on

Jefferson's legacy, the Civil War, and yeomanry's great victory: the Homestead Act of 1862. Tangential matters on which Kennedy wishes a final word are discussed in an appendix.

The book is an interpretive synthesis of an impressive bibliography and provides much food for argument. Could Jefferson have actually changed the policy outcomes that Kennedy identifies, or checked cotton capitalism? Does his evaluation of southern agricultural practices conform to the understanding of modern soil scientists? Was Jefferson's deference to fellow planters the behavior of an "unpropitiated son" and "uninitiated man" (p. 34)? Kennedy, however, gives us the major themes of environmental degradation and racial equality, our most fascinating president, a host of colorful supporting players, and intrigues and violence at levels high and low: what more should readers desire? Jefferson in this story "is Hamlet," writes Kennedy, who adeptly reads meaning in the architecture of Monticello and links events to modern landscape (p. 239). He scatters clever phrasing through his narrative, although this is perhaps overdone when the Appalachians lie "like the spines of great lizards asleep amid cranberry bogs and early frosts" (p. 55). Occasionally the author is vexatiously learned, likening phases of American capitalism to the Triassic, Jurassic, and Cretaceous periods of the Mesozoic era and expansion into the Floridas as illustrating "amoebic imperialism" and "phagocytic" state expansion (pp. 63–64, 169–70). But Kennedy is a talented story teller, and many will find this adventure in speculative history to be informative and fascinating.

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WILMA A. DUNAWAY. *Slavery in the American Mountain South*. (Studies in Modern Capitalism.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 352. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$25.00.

Slavery does not fit our traditional image of antebellum Appalachia. Self-sufficient farmers tilling the fields of isolated hills and hollows would have had little use for bound labor, it would seem. That left the mountains with a scattering of slaves, a regional anomaly that historians could cite when describing the diversity and divisions of "the Old South." Wilma A. Dunaway challenges that notion of Appalachian isolation and self-sufficiency as she turns a sharp eye toward the African-American and Native American slaves who labored in the mountain counties of nine states stretching from Maryland to Alabama. Building on of her first book, *The First American Frontier: Transition to Capitalism in Southern Appalachia, 1700–1860* (1996), Dunaway locates the mountain South on the periphery of a rapidly expanding capitalist world system. Far from being isolated, residents of southern Appalachia shipped a wide range of agricultural and

extractive goods to distant markets and utilized a variety of forms of labor, from landless tenants and wageworkers to slaves. African Americans made up only fifteen percent of the total population of Appalachia in 1860 but comprised almost one-third of the workforce and were vital to the economic development of the region. Using a statistical database of 26,000 households and extensive research in the Works Progress Administration (WPA) slave narratives and other qualitative sources, Dunaway explores slave work, family, community, and resistance as well as white efforts to control their bound labor force.

Eighteen percent of households throughout Appalachia owned slaves in 1860, but they were scattered unevenly across the region. Many counties in eastern Kentucky, far western Virginia, and western Maryland had little connection to slavery and came closest to fitting the traditional image of the mountain South, while close to one-third of the families in the counties along the Blue Ridge of Virginia, and the mountain portions of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama owned slaves. In all parts of Appalachia, slaveholders held a disproportionate share of economic assets, owning over half of the agricultural land despite their small numbers. Planters with twenty or more slaves, who comprised less than two percent of the region's households, owned more than a quarter of regional wealth. Through their dominance of county offices and state legislatures and their ownership of transportation networks, banks, and industries, slaveholders promoted economic development and shaped the political economy of the region.

Dunaway devotes much of her book to a detailed examination of the varieties of labor performed by slaves in different sectors of the economy. Some toiled in cotton and tobacco fields, but mountain slaveholders more generally profited from surplus agriculture, especially of wheat, cattle, and swine. Slaves thus spent far more time tending to and driving livestock and processing meat in Appalachia than did their counterparts in other regions of the South. A quarter of the mountain slaves worked in nonagricultural sectors of the economy, some laboring at the mountain spas that attracted wealthy tourists, others in retail, manufacturing, and extractive industries. Mountain slaves were more likely to work alongside white wage workers or tenants than were their counterparts in other parts of the South, whether in the fields, in timber camps and at saw mills, or in iron foundries and coal mines. Despite her emphasis on the close contact between slaves and whites at work, Dunaway pays little attention to the illicit socialization and underground economy that other historians of poor white and slave relations have explored.

When Dunaway turns to issues of control and resistance, both the distinctive nature of mountain slavery and the ways in which it fit familiar patterns become clear. While some might suppose that the typically smaller slaveholdings in the Appalachian South would have encouraged a more benign institution, Dunaway

finds just the opposite. Slaveholders whipped their slaves with great frequency, usually for "social offenses" such as "sassing, lying, disagreeing, or 'back talking'" (p. 169). On smaller plantations, slaveholders became micro-managers and interacted more frequently with their slaves and often were more sensitive to lapses in deferential behavior that might undermine their mastery than were their counterparts on larger plantations throughout the South. The small scale of many slaveholdings also shaped slave resistance, community, and culture. Slaveholders were more likely to sell or hire out slaves, disrupting family and community ties and encouraging truancy as slaves left places of work to visit spouses and other kin and friends. But Dunaway argues that the very fluidity of slaveholding "fostered cultural fusion by allowing hired slaves to travel to distant areas and by bringing new members into the slave community" (p. 254). Despite a low population density, slaves were able to develop their own community and culture in ways familiar to students of slavery.

Dunaway offers an extensive online archive with information on "sources, methods, and quantitative evidence," (p. 14) as well as photographs and other illustrations. While this companion site is a welcome addition, readers interested in the basic tables that underpin Dunaway's argument might be frustrated that they were not included in the book itself.

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ROBERT H. GUDMESTAD. *A Troublesome Commerce: The Transformation of the Interstate Slave Trade*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 246. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$21.95.

This is a study of the emergence and transformation of the interstate slave trade after the War of 1812 down to the outbreak of the Civil War. Its role in the fragmentation of the union is not exactly Robert H. Gudmestad's concern, although there is sufficient evidence here for others to read the book with that question in mind. Gudmestad rather is concerned with the relationship between slavery and capitalism. In the end, the trade stood out as "the most blatant form of capitalist exploitation in the South" (p. 184). One of the most productive scholarly views of slavery has been concerned with its place in an emerging capitalist world, and Gudmestad's work should be seen within that framework. There are occasional flashes of insight in the book, but, unfortunately there are also some confusions, occasional contradictions, and some puzzling claims.

At the center of the book stands the "speculator," exemplified by Isaac Franklin, and his partner, John Armfield. They are among a small number of leaders of the trade, and Gudmestad's description of such figures is one of the stronger parts of his study. Methodologically, he tends to use a small number of

people to carry the weight of his analysis. Given the complexity, not to say quirkiness of some of his choices (John Randolph of Virginia comes to mind; he was often on the margins of political developments in the early republic), it is a heavy interpretive burden the author has chosen. Sometimes the link between the person and the generalization does not quite work. An example is Gudmestad's treatment of Andrew Jackson and the transformation of the trade. Jackson's critics described him as a "slave trader," for instance. It was a term of derision. The point is that Jackson was not a "slave trader," but it is not certain why Jackson is chosen as illustration of the way southerners came to see the trader, a figure Gudmestad wants to keep separate from a "speculator" for some analytical purposes. The latter in time became domesticated, almost respectable, even though he was engaged in "speculation."

At the outset, Gudmestad provides a definition of a speculator that is crucial to the whole study. A "slave trader or speculator is a man who bought slaves in one state and sold them in another on a regular basis as the sole or principal source of his income" (p. 4). Speculation in slaves over time tended to become something respectable as traders like Franklin and Armfield diligently tried to adopt modern business practices. They tried to create a character known as the "good" trader who "merely facilitated the exchange of bond-servants, serving as benign middlemen in a trade that brought benefits to whites and blacks" (p. 153). The benefits blacks received are unclear, and that might serve as one example of a puzzling statement. While the author is attempting to describe the arguments of those involved are we to understand that these were widespread views? Some criticism of the trade within the South reflected the moral views of the churches. How widespread or how strong the arguments were is not really evident. The moral argument against the trade included the claim that among traders there was a "tendency to rape female slaves," followed by this claim: the result was that the trade promoted promiscuity "by putting attractive young women in the hands of lecherous old men" (p. 75).

The real evil, from Gudmestad's view, however was with "speculation" itself. The notion of "speculation" permeates the book like a Dickensian fog; it also seems to stand as a surrogate for capitalism. The word "capitalism" rarely appears in the book, and there is no coherent examination of what capitalism might be. Instead there is the pursuit of profit that is speculation. The author is entitled to provide his own definition, of course, but it needs to be clear what analytical job it is supposed to do. There is no doubt that speculation is not to be admired, despite the slave trader's efforts to make it so. One of the first public attacks on the trade from a southerner was that of Randolph in 1816. He claimed that the interstate trade treated slaves as "commodities through speculation," and this created a problem because it turned the "traditional southern presumption about slaveholding on its head by denying

that an organic relationship existed between master and slave" (p. 41). It is not clear whether Gudmestad believes there to be real substance in Randolph's argument: but, surely, it is a significant view. It might, in fact, provide another scholarly direction: namely the history of the international slave trade in the colonial and early years of the republic.

The current study says nothing about the international slave trade. That was not Gudmestad's focus and it does not have to be. But it could provide some striking insights into the problem of the relationship between capitalism and slavery. The career of John Laurens of South Carolina, one of the richest merchants in the region whose wealth rested largely on the international slave trade might present a very useful contrast. Would he support Randolph's notion that the slave trade and the paternalistic view of slavery coexisted in disharmony, for instance? Commodification, in any case, denied an "organic relationship" that might have been at the center of the worldview of early slaveowners. "Speculation," Gudmestad writes, "laid bare the contradiction between the unrealistic assumptions of a paternalistic honor code and the blunt reality of slavery" (p. 150).

What of the victims of that harsh reality? I am not sure what Gudmestad had in mind, but an example of his judgment about the slaves is the claim that in the fifteen years after the War of 1812, slaves shaped the debate about slavery. "Their bravery in the face of crushing dehumanization," he writes, "injected a new element into the scene—the idea that they were not merely property and deserved a better life" (p. 42). I am not at all sure exactly how this odd judgment about the injection of something new is supposed to fit into a study of the slave trade. Finally, what about the slaveowners who provided the fodder for the interstate trade? A "crucial problem" he properly notes, "in dealing with those who sold slaves" is "determining motive" (p. 138). As the trade emerged and developed, the churches had to deal with slaveowners who became involved in the trade. The position adopted was that it was acceptable to buy and sell slaves as long as the motivation was "humanitarian." What that might mean is not clear, but Gudmestad reaches a vital conclusion: "What constituted benevolence," he argues, "was open to debate, and the eventual result was a permissive attitude regarding the speculation in slaves" (p. 139). This is a thoughtful conclusion. It suggests that the meaning or rather meanings of words can not be relied upon as a barrier against inhumanity. I can only wish Gudmestad's conclusion had been grounded more firmly in the historical evidence, especially since he admits that identifying motives for the selling and buying of slaves is a very difficult methodological issue. We need to look more widely, more systematically into whatever evidence is available about such things as sales as a means of discipline, the effect of court-ordered partition sales, even what proof there might be that some owners bred slaves for sale—a controversial issue that the author does not touch. Until then,

Gudmestad's point must remain a provocative thought.

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WILLIAM KAUFFMAN SCARBOROUGH. *Masters of the Big House: Elite Slaveholders of the Mid-Nineteenth-Century South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 521. \$39.95.

A core element of the northern critique of slavery was the belief that southern society was ruled by a small, selfish aristocracy opposed to basic elements of American democracy, Christian morality, and economic and social progress. Southern defenders as well as abolitionists helped to construct this image of a traditional southern ruling class, and antebellum propaganda wars continued in post-Civil War interpretations of the sectional conflict. A century later, they would be echoed in scholarly debates as Eugene D. Genovese, in several important works, argued that the South was ruled by a class of planters who embraced and propagated an ideology of paternalism that was rooted in the master-slave relationship and opposed to the liberal values that shaped free labor capitalism elsewhere in the modern world. Much of the reaction to Genovese aimed at refuting his ideas about the paternalistic nature of the master-slave relationship. Other revisionists, notably James Oakes, examined slaveholders as a group, noted their great diversity, and emphasized their affinity with capitalism and their striving acquisitiveness.

William Kauffman Scarborough has presented the first thorough analysis of the South's largest slaveholders, those who owned at least 250 slaves in 1850 or 1860. His is an ambitious book that sheds light on a number of controversies. Historians planning to rebut Scarborough will have their work cut out if they try to match his empirical research, which includes a meticulously compiled data set on the wealth and social characteristics of some 340 leading slaveholders across the South. Still more impressive is the massive amount of research into family papers, plantation records, and other primary sources that enables him to reach beyond the "masters of the big house" to reveal the lives of others who inhabited this world, including wives and children, slaves and overseers. The book includes richly detailed accounts of religious life, women and gender relations, master-slave relations, and economic affairs, as well as political thought and behavior.

We learn immediately that the "large planters" were larger than was thought because slave ownership was reported in the census for each county. Scarborough has linked this county-level data to demonstrate that one master's slave holdings might extend across multiple plantations, counties, and even states. In so doing, he also underscores a central conclusion: that these large slaveholdings were part of vast entrepreneurial ventures that involved highly organized layers

of management and a calculated deployment of capital in land and slaves in the cotton, sugar, and rice economies. Wealthy slave owners also diversified their assets, investing liberally in industrial enterprises in the North and South. The "big house" was but headquarters for much more extensive and varied economic operations.

Many great fortunes were accumulated in the recently expanding cotton and sugar plantation lands of the West, while others had been built earlier in the rice plantations of the low country. Although many among the slaveholding elite inherited at least the beginnings of their wealth (including several widows in this group), it seemed that most were no more than one generation away from those who first built vast wealth. Whether or not they were self-made men, the slaveholding elite were guided by a creed that valued personal industry, education, and virtue—not inherited privilege—as the requisites to wealth and success. Private correspondence between mothers and fathers reveal their great concern about educating their children and instilling in them moral discipline and ambition. In their private values as well as their economic activities, the slaveholding elite were deeply enmeshed in an acquisitive American capitalist society. Nothing about their commitment to slavery, their self-conscious image as "gentlemen" and "ladies," or their occasional scorn for Yankee avarice compromised their ambition or success.

The South's elite families, as Scarborough describes them here, shared many of the same qualities and values of the upper classes of the North. Many wealthy southern families vacationed in the Northeast, and they typically sent their children to be educated there. Perhaps because of this affinity with the northern elite, abolitionist attacks on the slaveholding elite generated their vehement resentment, which became a vital ingredient to southern nationalism during the 1850s. Elite slaveholders also shared common racial assumptions about the fitness of Africans for slavery, and common social condescension toward lower-class whites. But neither racism nor snobbery seemed to sustain a distinctive social ideology of paternalism.

The most important basis for solidarity within this elite group of slaveholders was their commitment to protecting slavery. While they agreed on the absolute necessity of safeguarding slavery, however, not all shared the radical view that secession was the best means to that end. On the contrary, outside South Carolina (where elite support for secession was strong and yeoman political opposition relatively weak), wealthy slaveholders frequently "looked on aghast" at secessionist "hotheads" (p. 292), fearing their actions would lead to war and massive disruption and that defeat would hasten the end of slavery. Scarborough shows that the dominance planters may have enjoyed in local political affairs often dissipated at the state level, where popular democratic voices challenged elite claims to power. Contrary to abolitionist assumptions about the slaveholding aristocracy leading the

South to secession, Scarborough shows them being pulled into a rebellion they would have gladly avoided. When war came, most elites fell in with the Confederate cause, but their private correspondence reveals that their support and sacrifice continued to be tempered. Many elite families evaded military service and looked to their own best interests during the war.

This book will force a reexamination of much that historians have thought about the Old South and its slaveholding elite. All who read it will be indebted to Scarborough for this deeply researched and clearly argued historical interpretation of an important subject.

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DYLAN C. PENNINGROTH. *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. x, 310. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

It is easy to romanticize slave families and slave communities, which seem to present historians with a seductively heroic and, in many ways, quintessentially American narrative of struggle, survival, and even triumph over systematic subjugation and intense hardship. Indeed, many of the recurring and most provocative areas of scholarly debate in nineteenth-century African American history reflect such a narrative, focusing as they so often do on how enslaved families and communities were created and functioned within dialectics of accommodation and resistance, oppression and autonomy, or acculturation and African cultural "retentions." Yet as Dylan C. Penningroth argues, such analyses not only presume a false unity among African Americans (and Africans, for that matter) but work from the assumption that black lives are best understood in terms of their relations to white people and white power rather than on their own terms. By probing how African Americans gave meaning to and understood connections between kinship and property, Penningroth instead manages to make the heroic narrative and the paradigmatic debates seem flat and simplistic without ever denying either the brutalities of white supremacy or the import and the power of black family and community life for individual and collective dignity, strength, and pride both in slavery and beyond.

Scholars have long known that American slaves could and often did "own" property that they acquired through a wide array of productive activities beyond the work performed for their owners. The enslaved sold garden crops and craft items, earned cash through self-hire and overwork, and more generally participated with other blacks and whites in a large though informal underground economy of barter and exchange that enabled the slow and usually small accu-

mulation of cash and items ranging from clothing to wagons to livestock.

As a matter of law, however, slaves were themselves the property of their masters and thus had no formally recognized legal right to own anything, including their own bodies. To explain how property "ownership" by slaves could actually attain meaning in such an environment, Penningroth applies an intellectual framework laden with insights gleaned from African Studies and anthropology, making this book an ambitious exercise in interdisciplinary scholarship and comparative history. Penningroth devotes an initial chapter to a case study of slavery, emancipation, family, and property among the Fante of southern Ghana, but not for the purpose of showing a direct cultural connection between nineteenth-century Africans and their African-American contemporaries. Instead, Penningroth turns many of the analytical perspectives and methodologies of that case study toward an examination of similar developments as they played out in the American South, using as his evidentiary base slave narratives, travel writings, court records, and especially the files of the Reconstruction-era Southern Claims Commission that considered hundreds of property claims from former slaves as they determined which southerners ought to be compensated for goods commandeered by Union armies.

Penningroth demonstrates that extralegal recognition of property ownership by American slaves came partially from whites, whether it was masters who allowed slaves time to work for themselves, storekeepers who kept accounts on their books for enslaved customers, or city dwellers who purchased items from slaves at urban market stalls. More significantly, however, the concept of property ownership for slaves entailed a set of understandings and assumptions dependent upon the cooperation of and relationships among fellow slaves. Penningroth shows how slaves protected property claims by publicly displaying their possessions in yards and at church, thus securing acknowledgement from other slaves that such items belonged to them. The book's most significant contribution, however, may be how Penningroth reveals the centrality of materialism to the very construction of slave family and community life. Property accumulation by the enslaved nearly always depended on cooperative labor. Such a reality in turn meant that families "made" property together and held overlapping (and frequently contested) interests and ownership claims. Moreover, the collective accretion of material goods itself helped make flexible slave "families" that might include members who were not related by blood or even by marriage.

The end of slavery dramatically altered how blacks related to the law and to other state institutions. But even as freedpeople embraced and tried to use the formal legal and court systems to which they now had access in order to make kinship and material claims against one another, against the federal government, and against southern whites, they also continued to

draw upon the informal understandings of property and family developed during slavery. As a consequence, legal and extralegal concepts both converged and sat in tension with one another in the decades after emancipation, forcing a reconstruction not only of black-white material and social relations after the Civil War but also of those relations among African Americans themselves, processes that Penningroth deftly describes in all their messiness, dynamism, and complexity.

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SHANE WHITE. *Stories of Freedom in Black New York*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. 260. \$27.95.

Shane White's compelling work is in fact two books in one: the first an examination of daily life among emancipated black Americans in New York City during the 1820s and 1830s, and the second a study of the rise and fall of the African Theatre Company within the same period. According to White, black life during the first few years of emancipation "possessed a distinctive edge, a particular kind of restless vitality" (p. 8). This newfound energy among black New Yorkers is described in some detail; the first chapter, for instance, analyzes various accounts of blacks who made use of their independence and freedom. Most importantly, black New Yorkers focused their cultural expressions in the performing arts. The result was "the development and expression of distinctive African American aesthetic principles at some remove from those prized by the dominant culture" (p. 67).

Chapter two, "Staging Freedom," shifts gears to explore the African Grove Company. This company (later called the African Theatre Company), was led by the playwright William Brown (author of the nonextant *The Drama of King Shotaway*, the first recorded play by an African American) and the charismatic actor-producer, James Hewlett. Hewlett had earlier offered William Shakespeare's *Richard III* and other productions to mixed audiences. For several seasons, the African Grove Company was able to overcome significant opposition to its productions, including attempts by rowdy whites in the audience, and the police, as well as negative reviews from the white press to shut the theater down. At one point, White compares the ways in which the productions were received; white audiences were often shocked that blacks were more than capable of presenting Shakespearean drama, while blacks encouraged the productions as exemplars of civic pride and cultural awareness.

In chapter three, "Shakespeare's True Representative," White focuses on the remarkable figure of Hewlett. Hewlett and his adversaries, the publisher Mordecai Noah and the English actor Charles Mathews, jousted in print. Despite Noah's racism, he published advertisements for Hewlett's performances and rebuttal letters by Hewlett when the latter felt the

need to address unwarranted criticism. In addition to being a superb Shakespearean actor, Hewlett performed solo shows in which he mimicked white actors. In chapter four, White examines the "cultural mélange in which whites imitated blacks who were already imitating whites (and visa versa)" (p. 186). Here White focuses on the "black balls" of the 1820s and 1830s, made famous by African Americans who imitated upper-crust white society while inserting their own cultural imperatives.

White's anecdotal account is crisp and illuminated by well-chosen quotations that provide a glimpse of daily life among African Americans. While demonstrating sound historical research more generally, the author exhibits occasional shortcomings as a theater historian. For example, he contends that *New York As It Is* (1848) was "one of the most popular plays ever performed on the American stage" (p. 121). This is, at best, an exaggeration: in the nineteenth century alone, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* exhibited greater popularity, while *New York As It Is*, although briefly popular, had little stage history outside of New York. This was due to the fact that its chief appeal was the reproduction of scenes familiar to New Yorkers only. Another overstatement occurs when White claims that the 1820s "were precisely the period in which the print convention of black dialect became cemented as a way of marking off newly freed blacks as separate and inferior" (p. 157). Yet plays of the eighteenth century, such as *The Key*, used black dialect as well, indicating widespread use of this device (at least onstage) prior to 1820. White inverts an important date, stating that "In 1829, the white entertainer George Washington Dixon" performed his minstrel act in New York, "and the following year T. D. Rice first 'jumped Jim Crow'" (p. 169). Rice likely began his Jump Jim Crow act in 1828, not 1830, thus inaugurating a century-long minstrel tradition. While this may appear nitpicking, theater scholars will recognize Rice, not Dixon, as the principal initiator of minstrelsy. Moreover, the author makes occasional sweeping generalizations, asserting that, for African Americans, "Theater mattered in early nineteenth-century New York in ways that it no longer does" (p. 185). Theater mattered a great deal during the Harlem Renaissance, when the "Negro vogue" of black musicals attracted considerable attention, and during the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s and 1970s as well, when dramatists galvanized the revolutionary spirit of black nationalism.

Such criticisms aside, this is the work of a scholar who has sifted through the primary sources—the tomes and minutia—in an effort to shed light on a vibrant period. This book, along with Marvin McAllister's *White People Do Not Know How to Behave at Entertainments Designed for Ladies and Gentleman of Colour: William Brown's African and American Theater* (2003) and George A. Thompson's *A Documentary History of the African Theatre* (1998), provide a growing interest in early African American theater. Finally, it is

well worth noting that White displays an enthusiasm for the subject rare among academic writers.

DAVID KRASNER
Yale University

DAN MCKANAN. *Identifying the Image of God: Radical Christians and Nonviolent Power in the Antebellum United States*. (Religion in America.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 294. \$52.00.

Dan McKanan's book is revisionist in intent. McKanan excavates a radical liberal Christian theology beneath antebellum reform. His thesis is a corrective to a long line of scholars who have grounded antebellum reform—at least the antislavery part of it—in a more secular liberalism, and an even longer line of scholars who have grounded it in the more orthodox theology of the Second Great Awakening.

McKanan presents a convincing case that such antebellum reformers as William Lloyd Garrison, Henry Clarke Wright, and Adin Ballou embraced a radical liberal Christian theology. As he describes it, the tenets of this theology included a millennialist view of history, faith in a providential and caring god, and the certainty that all people are created in the image of such a god (*imago dei*). According to McKanan, this set of beliefs inspired Garrison and the other "ultras" to identify with the victims of a wide range of social evils. McKanan thus emphasizes how they sought to change the world wholesale, not merely pursue one or more reform cause.

McKanan also presents a convincing case for a deeper consistency between the nonresistance philosophy of the "ultras" and the way that most of them (though not Ballou) eventually accepted "righteous" violence during the Civil War (pp. 177–78). He finds a similar deeper consistency in explaining how early-American women authors could both reject their orthodox Puritan legacy and yet believe themselves to be its true heirs (pp. 33–34). Some of McKanan's most interesting analysis is of literary sources. Prime examples would be his explanations of why white abolitionists wrote fictionalized fugitive-slave narratives (p. 132) and of why the message of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851) was not necessarily one of quietism before the evils of slavery (p. 170).

In the end, however, I am more persuaded that the "ultras" were very adept at expressing themselves in a particular religious language than that they were actually inspired by the beliefs expressed in that language. Their religious rhetoric hardly seems surprising, given that it was the one rhetoric with which their contemporaries were most familiar.

McKanan's lack of sensitivity to the rhetorical dimensions of discourse is especially evident in his analysis of Abraham Lincoln, who, he admits, fits uncomfortably into his framework of analysis (p. 204). He accepts Lincoln's expressions of support for colonization and of lack of support for racial equality at face value (p. 202). Yet those two positions clearly had

rhetorical dimensions. If Garrison's reform ambitions required him to take positions that were more radical than those of the general public, then Lincoln's political ambitions required him to take positions that were more congruent with those of the general public. On occasion, Lincoln, like Garrison, expressed himself in a religious, even apocalyptic, language, but that hardly proves that he was a religious person, at least not in the ways that his language might suggest. Of course, it does not prove that he was not such a person. McKanan is certainly not alone in resurrecting a very religious (even if non-traditionally religious) sixteenth president of the United States. This type of interpretation of Lincoln has become something of a cottage industry of late. To be persuasive, however, the interpretation requires a much broader canvass of Lincoln's rhetoric than McKanan offers in his book. At a minimum, it requires demonstrating that Lincoln expressed himself in a very similar religious language with a great deal of consistency across a diverse set of rhetorical settings when he was president, from speeches at sanitary fairs to responses to serenades as well as in inaugural addresses (which, after all, are supposed to invoke a providential deity).

Following McKanan's work and other similar works on antebellum reform, the next task would seem to be parsing out how much of it belongs to liberal theology, how much to orthodox theology, and how much to a more secular liberalism. But even in this respect, I suspect that those distinctions are more important to historians than they were to historical actors. Lincoln, Garrison, and other antebellum reformers were probably more inclined to use whatever language seemed the most effective to them at the time than to worry about the internal consistency of those languages, just as they were more inclined to construct working bodies of thought from the ideas culturally available to them than to worry about the precise pedigrees of those ideas. From this perspective, the lines between the competing interpretations of antebellum reform become blurred, as does the revisionist thrust of McKanan's project.

DAVID F. ERICSON
Wichita State University

SUSAN M. RYAN. *The Grammar of Good Intentions: Race and the Antebellum Culture of Benevolence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 235. \$42.50.

Susan M. Ryan is a literary scholar, not a historian. Nevertheless, the topics that she addresses in this book—benevolence, race, nation, and citizenship—are common parlance among historians, as are discussions about how nineteenth-century Americans understood each in relation to the other. Using the tools of her craft, Ryan analyzes written representations of benevolence, seeking to explicate "the relationships among benevolent discourse, racial ideologies, and national identities" (p. 14). In addition, because she believes

modern readers find it hard to credit the good intentions of nineteenth-century charitable workers, she hopes to press them to "move beyond the question of whether benevolence was progressive or retrogressive" (p. 5). Her approach involves parsing how selected authors "used, shaped, and lived within" what she terms "competing rhetorics of benevolence" (p. 1) or "the discourse of benevolence" (p. 148). Those authors range from charitable society organizers to novelists such as Harriet Beecher Stowe and Herman Melville to political writers such as Frederick Douglass. With such a diverse cast of characters, Ryan finds little common ground on the meanings of benevolence. Instead, her chapters "tell multiple—at times even contradictory—stories about Americans and their good intentions" (p. 22).

One such story emerges in a chapter on Cherokee removal. Downplaying internal divisions among the Cherokee on the subject of removal, Ryan explicates the "benevolent violence" (p. 26) on which white supporters relied to achieve their goals. Whereas some, such as the Baptist missionary Isaac McCoy, believed removal satisfied his benevolent concerns because it would protect Indians from the "degradation" wrought by contact with "worthless" (p. 33) whites, others, such as Thomas McKenney, head of Andrew Jackson's Office of Indian Affairs, sought removal as a benevolent solution required by whites' superiority. Cherokee resistance adopted "the rhetoric of benevolent nationhood" (p. 43) in a fruitless attempt to join the debate on a basis of equality rather than subservience. The very act of defining what is good or benevolent, suggests Ryan, "is best understood as an exercise of power in itself" (p. 45).

That insight informs Ryan's analysis of free African Americans' "lively, often rancorous conversation . . . about the theory and practice of benevolence" (p. 164). African Americans' efforts to determine what constituted benevolent agency produced varying visions from such figures as Charlotte Forten, Douglass, and William Wells Brown. All of them puzzled over the question of how best to aid their enslaved or fugitive countrymen: through emigration, violent resistance, cross-racial coalitions, or pedagogical projects. All understood that within free black communities in the North, reliance on white benevolence was problematic, and had to be coupled with various mutual assistance and self-help projects. Ryan's analyses of Brown's travel narratives and his autobiography offer fresh and interesting insights into his perspective on these matters. In the end, she suggests, most free African-American writers sought to "embrace some form of benevolence as an ideal, even as they rejected its infantilizing or coercive elements" (p. 164), thereby laying claim to equal citizenship, a citizenship rooted in mutuality rather than hierarchy.

Delineating the ways in which white literary figures, especially Melville, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Stowe articulated their own understandings of benevolence, Ryan considers how the problems of duplicity and

dependence especially engaged their concern. In this, she follows the lead of Karen Halttunen (*Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830–1870* [1982]) and other scholars. The figures of the lying beggar and the fake charity collector appeared often as emblems of broad cultural anxiety about whether true benevolence was possible. If Emerson mistrusted benevolence because it feminized self-reliant men and bred a sense of entitlement in its recipients, Melville could imagine "no model of benevolence that does not degrade and no request that does not dupe" (p. 88). In *Dred* (1856), Stowe worked out her concerns about how emancipated slaves might achieve independence and equal citizenship by establishing "benevolence, rather than race or nativity or freeborn status" as "the mark and guarantor of legitimate membership in the nation" (p. 161).

Historians will find Ryan's rather dense book interesting primarily for its readings of specific literary texts and for its attention to ideas about citizenship. Beyond that, it generally follows recent trends in historical scholarship. Few historians would take issue, for example, with the sensible arguments that scholars should "tak[e] seriously the good intentions of historical actors" and "acknowledge the . . . power relations that structure well-intentioned acts" (p. 192). It might have been useful had Ryan, in pursuing those arguments, considered the benevolence-based defense of slavery. But she does not do so, except for some brief coverage of Margaret Douglass, who, despite sharing the surname of a more famous autobiographer, was both white and proslavery.

ANNE M. BOYLAN

University of Delaware

KENNETH J. WINKLE. *The Young Eagle: The Rise of Abraham Lincoln*. Lanham, Md.: Taylor Trade. 2001. Pp. x, 395. \$28.95.

The question that the vast bulk of Lincoln studies want to ask is *what made Abraham Lincoln so extraordinary?* It takes an extraordinarily different way of looking at Lincoln to ask entirely the opposite question: in what ways was Lincoln actually quite typical of his times? Asking that question seems only to have occurred to Kenneth J. Winkle, and the job he has done of answering it gives us for the first time what we might call a social history of the sixteenth president.

That Lincoln rose to national prominence from obscurity is something even Lincoln attested to—though without pride. But what kind of obscurity, exactly? Winkle's fundamental accomplishment is not just to identify the patterns of that obscurity but to measure in what ways Lincoln conformed to and then transcended them. This process begins with Winkle's consideration of the long history of the Lincoln family in America. Every Lincoln, after the first Lincoln arrived in Massachusetts in the 1630s, moved "to another colony or state as a boy or young man, marrying in that intermediate location, fathering at

least one son there, and then moving with his family to yet a third destination, where he died"—and so did Abraham Lincoln.

Of the four "paths to adulthood" Winkle discovers in America in the 1830s and 1840s, Lincoln practiced all four: family farming (which he abandoned as soon as he was legally of age), entry into commercial life, multitask pursuits, and a professional career. The hand he grasped most firmly was that of John Todd Stuart, who helped train him for law and introduced him as a protégé to the state legislature. Although lawyers comprised only two percent of central Illinois's breadwinners, they strongly resembled each other as upwardly mobile, self-made men who earned their wealth rather than inheriting it. In a town like Springfield, where four-fifths of all the settlers were from the Upper South, Lincoln's Kentucky origins were a decided asset in acquiring his closest lifelong friend, Joshua Speed, and a wife, Mary Todd, both Kentuckians. And he emerged as a partisan and activist for the Whigs, whose only secure district in Illinois lay in Springfield, and who paid tribute to another Kentuckian, Henry Clay, as their "beau ideal of a statesman." Springfield Whigs "were concentrated in the professions, public service, nonproductive occupations, and commerce," and so was Lincoln (p. 247). Even the tensions of the Lincoln marriage were in large part a clash of two very typical people, Lincoln, who was typical of "the traditional patterns of family life in which he had been reared," and Todd, who "consistently attempted to reproduce the upper-class lifestyle that she found so familiar" (p. 223).

Winkle's great accomplishment is to demystify the pre-presidential Lincoln, without at the same time allowing demystification to turn into defenestration. But at the same time, in his passion to reveal a socially understandable Lincoln, Winkle has to set aside a number of ways in which Lincoln departed noticeably from type. Even in Springfield, he was not, as William H. Herndon admitted, "appreciated in this city, nor was he at all times the most popular man among us." And, turning the coin, Lincoln showed little enthusiasm for entering into the broad variety of community based societies and activities that the Illinois capitol afforded.

Winkle's book ends as Lincoln stands on the rear platform of the train taking him to Washington, and one closes it with a more profound sense of understanding Lincoln and his Springfield than is possible to obtain from any other source. For this reason alone, the book belongs on the top shelf of required Lincoln reading. In the subsequent volume Winkle plans on Lincoln in Washington, it may be the deviations from the norm that emerge as the source of Lincoln's leadership. Lincoln always claimed that his nomination and election were accidents, and that much confirms Winkle's fundamental argument that Lincoln was not sprung miraculously from the head of an American Zeus. But Abraham Lincoln was also the first to break the Lincoln mold of moving west, by moving east to

become president, and it may be that his greatness as president would have to arise, not from the other gestures and instincts he shared so abundantly with his peers, but from the reservoir of difference and individuality that constituted the more mysterious part of Lincoln's nature.

ALLEN C. GUELZO
Gettysburg College

EDWARD L. AYERS. *In the Presence of Mine Enemies: War in the Heart of America, 1859–1863*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2003. Pp. xxi, 472. \$27.95.

In this extraordinarily well-crafted volume, Edward L. Ayers compares social experience and shifting political sentiment among the peoples of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and Augusta County, Virginia, during the late antebellum period and the first two years of the Civil War. In the context of that war, these counties of the Great Valley of Appalachia formed portions of the northern and southern borderland region—Ayers's titular "Heart of America." The Mason-Dixon line forms Franklin's southern border, while Augusta is situated about 150 miles to the south, in the upper Shenandoah Valley. Despite fundamental similarities between these two counties of open-country neighborhoods, rural villages, and small service towns—in the nature of their agrarian economies and the ethnic composition of their populations, for example—key differences existed as well. Not least among these, of course, was that Augusta was a slave society while Franklin was not; slaves comprised about twenty percent of the population of Augusta County. In their political views, as well as spatially, peoples of this borderland found themselves on middle ground between northern abolitionists and cotton South fire-eaters. Thus, although Franklin County was of the North, its population did not embrace abolitionism, and although Augusta County was of the slave South, its population remained staunchly Unionist until the very eve of the war.

Part one of this four-part book, which covers from the fall of 1859 to the fall of 1860, describes the geography, social structure, and political culture of each county on the eve of the Civil War. Each successive part describes and analyzes local and national developments during an ensuing year or so, with coverage running to the eve of the Battle of Gettysburg in the summer of 1863. Ayers's narrative is a skillfully wrought blend of materials from a diverse array of primary documents such as letters, diaries, newspapers, and census reports from the two counties, which readers may consult, in digital form, on Ayers's award-winning website, "The Valley of the Shadow." Throughout the book, Ayers focuses alternately on developments in one county and then the other, with the back-and-forth pattern interrupted occasionally by sections of narrative (printed in italics) in which he provides context and comparative overview, often for

the purpose of showing linkages between local and national developments.

As Ayers examines the significant events of the period (e.g. John Brown's raid, the secession crisis, troop mobilizations, battles, and the like), he does so with an eye to understanding how peoples of the borderland experienced or perceived them. Ayers's analyses are informed by the perspective that the Civil War was so complex that even people who lived during the period and experienced it directly were able to form only an incomplete, fragmented understanding of it. Eschewing "simple explanations, stark opposites, sweeping generalizations, and unfolding inevitabilities," Ayers's interpretation emphasizes "deep contingency" (p. xix). Thus he documents what the inhabitants of each county knew (or believed they knew) about events that occurred elsewhere, and he explains how they reacted to this knowledge. On one level, Ayers's narrative is a study of the shifting collective psychology of the inhabitants of each county as they countenanced the coming of war and experienced the first years of its suffering and the privation it induced.

Many themes of the American Civil War unfolded in microcosm in these borderland communities, and residents of each county played important roles in events of national significance relating to the advent of war, or in the war itself. Famous and even iconic figures had connections to Ayers's subject counties: John Brown lived in Chambersburg, the Franklin County seat, and planned his raid on Harpers Ferry from there; Frederick Douglass paid a surreptitious visit to Brown in Chambersburg; Jedediah Hotchkiss, Confederate mapmaker extraordinaire, hailed from Augusta County, as did John Imboden, the Confederate partisan ranger and general. The activities of these and other more or less famous men tend to drive the narrative, but Ayers's chief purpose is to explain how ordinary people of these borderland counties—farmers, laborers, craftsmen, shopkeepers, and their families—experienced the coming of war and participated in it once it came, on the home front as well as in battle. Ayers compares rates of enlistment, death, and desertion for Franklin and Augusta and he describes changing attitudes in each county regarding a host of concerns (the enemy, political opponents at home, the war and the prospect of dying or losing a loved one in it). Throughout, Ayers is especially attentive to the experiences of African Americans in both counties.

This is an imaginatively conceived and gracefully written book. It will attract a wide readership. Although the focus of the book is sociohistorical, it deepens understanding of one of the great political cleavages of American history. Scholars will be drawn to Ayers's study because of the rich insights yielded by his innovative use of comparative methods. Ayers is a gifted storyteller.

KENNETH E. KOONS
Virginia Military Institute

PEG A. LAMPHIER. *Kate Chase and William Sprague: Politics and Gender in a Civil War Marriage*. University of Nebraska Press. 2003. Pp. x, 315. \$55.00.

Against the background of Victorian society, Peg A. Lamphier has constructed a vivid account of personal politics through her case study of the failed marriage of Kate Chase and William Sprague. Although the author calls her work a biography, the volume is much more concerned with comprehensive social and political themes that cover the second half of the nineteenth century. The work also surveys a variety of issues related to gender, power, and the law.

While Chase and Sprague are identified as the principal players in the melodrama, Kate Chase's father, Salmon P. Chase, prominent Republican figure, is centrally featured, as evidenced by the fact that he merits more entries in the index than William Sprague. Illustrating her dominant thesis of complex family dynamics, Lamphier expresses the complicated relationship of daughter to father as a "perplexing mix of loving concern and emotional distance that would create a girl and a woman who yearned for demonstrative, unconditional love and who used politics as a means to achieve that end" (p. 11). The reader can only conclude that this passage explains the volatility and uncertainties that affected Chase throughout her life. Ambivalence, estrangement, and rejection would characterize most of her meaningful relationships.

A daughter of privilege, Chase nevertheless struggled to gain acceptance. She relied on her traditional nineteenth-century education and her father's political stature to enable her to defy conventional gender norms. Thus she asserted her charm and acumen as she performed expected social duties for her father, who was successively Ohio governor, United States senator, secretary of the treasury, and Chief Justice of the United States. She, however, remained torn between her public and private worlds.

Disparagingly titled "boy governor," Sprague was a chameleon. Simultaneously superficial and engaging, he achieved status in business and politics, only to sacrifice his reputation because of his personal weaknesses and self-indulgence. A chronic underachiever, Sprague managed to become both Rhode Island's governor and United States senator. His lack of business effectiveness coincided with his lack of political leadership. Political and social connections drew Chase and Sprague together and ultimately contributed to the destruction of their marriage.

The narrative might degenerate into sensationalism because of the numerous emotional and hostile aspects of the protagonists' actions with and against each other. Intrigue, manipulation, infidelity, deception, and treachery abound along with willfulness and self-absorption. The author does not pretend to be objective as she aligns herself with Chase. This is understandable, in light of Sprague's transparent character defects, but the position seems at least somewhat disingenuous since Chase was herself perfectly capable

of duplicitous behavior on both personal and political levels. What rescues the story is the author's insightful applications of theoretical concepts. Companionate marriage, patriarchy, and the cult of domesticity form a compelling intellectual framework for the personal saga and allow the author to authenticate claims as well as transcend the particular to a general consideration of gender and political topics.

One especially intriguing episode is the report of the wedding and reception of Chase and Sprague, held in Salmon Chase's Washington, D.C. home in 1863. It was an amazing display of material and political consumption in view of required wartime sacrifices. This event marked the beginning of seventeen tumultuous years of marriage, followed by a contentious divorce. The author appends the divorce petitions of both parties, and what is conspicuous is Chase's request to resume her birth name. There is no explanation of the significance of that development. Perhaps the most audacious interlude of Chase's search for fulfillment was her relationship with Republican politico Roscoe Conkling; this brief companionship epitomized the vast internal party conflicts and rivalries with which she was continually involved.

There are so many strengths in this book, among them the clarity of its vision and tone, that any objections may appear as quibbles, but there are a few weaknesses that must be pointed out. The sources are somewhat limited, and Lamphier might have discovered a more imaginative approach to her material. The central complaint is the minimal annotation provided in the references. In the absence of a bibliography, thorough documentation would improve the quality of the citations. The index is not exhaustive and would benefit from more inclusive listings.

In spite of her avowed sympathies for Chase, the author has created a textured tapestry from the flawed characters in this highly charged drama. The result is an exceptional contribution to a variety of fields, including biography, women's history, and social and cultural studies as well as political history.

BETTY BRANDON

University of South Alabama

ELIZABETH R. VARON. *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy: The True Story of Elizabeth Van Lew, A Union Agent in the Heart of the Confederacy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 317. \$30.00.

The topic of female espionage captivated attention during and after the Civil War, giving rise to contemporary stories as well as historical accounts. Typically those female spies who have received the most attention have shared an element of theatricality, whether Pauline Cushman, who acted on stage, or Belle Boyd and Rose O'Neal Greenhow, who tended toward self-dramatization. In some ways the view of Elizabeth Van Lew, a prominent Richmond native who provided information to the Union army, has been a variant: for years the popular depiction of Van Lew cast her as a

woman who affected an eccentric, slightly daft demeanor as "Crazy Bet" to cover her tracks as a spy. In this rendition, Van Lew outfoxed Richmonders through her performances.

In a fast-paced, lively account based on extensive research, Elizabeth R. Varon challenges this popular image of Van Lew. In its place she substitutes a nuanced biography of a southern lady whose heart lay with the Union and a war against slavery. In Varon's account, Van Lew was less the daring spy, so beloved of popular fiction, and more the careful leader of a ring of northern sympathizers who aided the Union in various ways.

Varon introduces Van Lew's Civil War activities with a detailed discussion of the latter's background and upbringing. Her father, John Van Lew, while hailing from Long Island, New York, was a successful hardware merchant in Richmond. Her mother, Eliza Baker Van Lew, was the daughter of a Philadelphia mayor who was a prominent supporter of antislavery there. Despite northern origins, the Van Lews blended well into Richmond society and owned slaves as well as a luxurious mansion in the elite Church Hill neighborhood.

Yet in Varon's account, Eliza Baker Van Lew apparently became more critical of slavery after her husband's death in 1843. Varon argues convincingly that the fragmentary evidence shows the Van Lew women sympathized with the colonizationist cause and probably allowed many of their slaves to hire their own time and live independently. Not only did their tax return show fewer slaves over time, but Eliza Baker Van Lew also arranged for the baptism of a young woman of color, Mary Jane Richards, and educated her in the North.

Varon intently seeks the reasons for Elizabeth Van Lew's continued allegiance to the Union and her slow entrance over time into purveying information to Union officials. Forty-two years old in 1861, Elizabeth Van Lew early in the war ministered to prisoners of war, especially sick or wounded ones. The Van Lew women even accepted some ill Unionists and Union soldiers into their home. Varon here argues that Elizabeth took a bolder Unionist course than her mother, who defused some of their neighbors' criticism by aiding Confederate soldiers and contributing to Confederate causes.

In Varon's account, Van Lew almost seamlessly moved from nursing Union prisoners to aiding their escape. At least by 1862, her house was a station for escaping prisoners. Varon believes that Confederate crackdowns on Unionists, increasingly severe after 1862, ironically enough served another purpose: that of revealing the identities of northern sympathizers and bringing them together. This allows Varon to explain how Van Lew came to collaborate with German immigrants and plain farmers who otherwise would never have formed part of her social world.

Crucial to Van Lew's success were her identity as a southern lady and her wealth. These allowed her slaves

to take food and supplies to the jails and messages to prearranged stops. That she disliked slavery and sought a better life for her bondpeople helped to secure the willing assistance of at least some of them in her illicit activities. Varon also argues Van Lew's class and gender identity as fragile southern lady rather than any eccentricity actually disarmed Confederate authorities and dispelled their suspicions about her loyalty.

After the Civil War, Van Lew, on account of her wartime service, secured the postmastership of Richmond. Not only did she modernize and enlarge the office, but she also hired African American as well as white postal workers. Elite white Richmond residents did not forgive her wartime espionage, especially when she combined it with postwar Republican politics and egalitarian racial beliefs. Varon posits that this period began Van Lew's social ostracism and produced the notion of her as "Crazy Bet."

Any educated reader can profit from Varon's engagingly written biography. Sure-handed in its evocation of nineteenth-century Richmond life, this book persuasively details Van Lew's beliefs and chronicles her service to the northern cause. At the same time as Varon builds a suspenseful story of clandestine activities, she also explores the content and meaning of a nineteenth-century woman's patriotism and political allegiances.

JANE TURNER CENSER
George Mason University

ANTONIO RAFAEL DE LA COVA. *Cuban Confederate Colonel: The Life of Ambrosio José Gonzales*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xxviii, 537. \$59.95.

This volume describes thoroughly the career of a relatively minor figure in dramatic events on an extensive historical stage. Ambrosio José Gonzales (1818–1893), born in Matanzas, Cuba, received his secondary education in New York, and served as an organizer of three filibuster expeditions from the United States between 1849 and 1851 against Spanish rule in Cuba. In these preparations, Gonzales served primarily as interpreter and political intermediary for Narciso López (1797–1851), a former Spanish general who traveled extensively in the United States seeking funds, troops, and equipment. The conspiracy's goal was Cuba's independence, probably to be followed quickly by annexation to the United States as a slave state. As Antonio Rafael de la Cova notes, many affluent Cuban backers of López "favored annexation because it would guarantee their chattel property" (p. 6). Gonzales, a U.S. citizen since 1849 and styled as adjutant general to López, took part in a May 1850 landing in the town of Cárdenas on Cuba's north coast. The invading troops, largely from the U.S. South, were able to remain ashore less than twenty-four hours, as Spanish troops approached and no local recruits flocked to the invaders' banner. Following the failure of these insurgent efforts, Gonzales fruitlessly pursued

federal diplomatic appointments in Latin America, and in 1856 married into an affluent South Carolina family, the Elliots of Oak Lawn.

Within the politics of antebellum South Carolina, Gonzales is described by de la Cova as a Unionist who viewed slavery as economically necessary. Maintaining both these views became untenable as secessionist enthusiasm prevailed in the state in 1860, and Gonzales immediately volunteered his talents to the Confederacy as a military organizer. Appointed colonel of artillery, he energetically arranged (and worked to procure) the ordnance that helped to prevent Union conquest of Charleston for nearly four years, despite northern desires to punish the rebellious city in exemplary fashion. Paroled a few weeks after Appomattox, Gonzales sought to provide for his wife Hattie and for the six children they had together. Reconstruction visited unfamiliar privation on the Gonzales and Elliott families. Their efforts at farming and lumber production never yielded appreciable returns, and (in a turn of fate perhaps tinged with poetic justice) several branches of the family lived for years in former slave quarters, the only plantation structures to survive wartime destruction. Ambrosio, Hattie, and the children tried life in Cuba in 1869, but Hattie died of yellow fever within a year. Returning to the United States, Gonzales was separated from his children as he again took up his never successful search for government patronage. He shuttled among Washington, Baltimore, New York, and North Carolina, relying on brief assignments as interpreter, teacher, stock trader, and translator. He was reconciled with his children in his last years, which also witnessed a laudatory 1892 meeting in Key West with José Martí and the leaders of Cuba's 1868 rebellion against Spain. Gonzales died in relative obscurity in New York less than a year later.

De la Cova's account displays a number of strengths. By meticulous research in correspondence and published hotel registers, he reconstructs Gonzales's travels with López within the United States, and their contacts with other filibuster conspirators. These chapters demonstrate the broad appeal of Cuban annexationism in the South around 1850 and the importance of Masonic ties among the plotters. The reader also gains insights into Gonzales's personality and character. The Cuban-born colonel could be an energetic organizer and military subordinate, but at times he also showed vanity and poor judgment. He alienated Confederate President Jefferson Davis with an impolitic letter in 1861, although his long acquaintance with Davis might have warned him of the dangers in adopting such a tone. Turned down (six times!) for military promotion, in later years Gonzales awarded himself a courtesy title of "general," referring to his briefly held rank as a filibuster. Gonzales was a devoted husband, however, and after the Civil War he also reconciled with Davis and with many northerners.

Logically, the author emphasizes Gonzales's private life during the Reconstruction years, and this vivid and distressing account emphasizes how cultural prejudice

from within his adopted family added to the miseries of regional depression and unemployment. Following Hattie's death (for which they sometimes blamed Gonzales), many of the Elliotts sought to cut him off from his children, two of whom they even rechristened with less Cuban names. Though possessed of a Micawberish perennial optimism, Gonzales had an uncanny knack for falling victim to historical misfortunes, moving to Cuba just as the Ten Years' War (1868–1878) broke out, and obtaining a job on Wall Street only to lose it in the Panic of 1873.

The book's shortcomings must also be noted. First, it is often difficult to grasp the general setting and background for events that are recited in profuse detail. The comings and goings of annexationist conspirators are recorded painstakingly, but we learn little of the changing views and motivations of the participants in these gatherings. This volume also records what must be all of Gonzales's recommendations for placement, upgrading, or abandonment of every Confederate artillery piece in the Charleston area during the Civil War, but scant indication is provided of the tactical or strategic criteria underlying these decisions.

Second, readers may well differ with de la Cova's overall assessment of Gonzales's motives, which bear considerably on the colonel's historical significance. The author approvingly quotes Jefferson Davis's assessment of Gonzales (p. xvii) as "a soldier under two flags but one cause; that of community independence." Yet one might observe with equal justification that in both Cuba and South Carolina, Gonzales served the cause of slaveholding, although he did not personally own slaves. Separation from Spain (which was feared to be planning to liberalize or abolish slavery in Cuba) was, for many annexationists, simply a means to an end. Both Cuban annexation and Confederate secession failed. Although true Cuban independence was ultimately achieved, Ambrosio Gonzales's commitment to that cause during the 1840s and 1850s is, at the least, quite debatable.

CHRISTOPHER MITCHELL
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THOMAS A. DESJARDIN. *The Honored Dead: How the Story of Gettysburg Shaped American Memory*. Cambridge: Da Capo Press. 2003. Pp. xxii, 246. \$26.00.

Gettysburg exerts a powerful hold on the American imagination. Widely perceived to be the moment when Confederate fortunes turned inexorably toward Appomattox, the battle offers a number of famous and intensely dramatic moments, among them the defense of Little Round Top by Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain and the Twentieth Maine Infantry and the massive rebel assault known as Pickett's Charge. A scene from Michael Shaara's novel *The Killer Angels* (1974), which the film *Gettysburg* (1993) translated to the screen, conveys the commonly accepted centrality of the battle. As the Army of the Potomac marches toward Gettysburg, Colonel Chamberlain leaves no doubt

about the impending action: "I think if we lose this fight the war will be over."

Thomas A. Desjardin's book should be required reading for anyone captivated by the often heavily romanticized story of the battle. "American mythology has established Gettysburg as the greatest, biggest, most important, most heroic, most savage, bloodiest battle the nation ever fought," observes Desjardin, "Without surviving Gettysburg, legend has it, the United States would not have survived, and with its death would have fallen the idea of global democracy" (pp. 6–7). Desjardin resists the notion that a "true" narrative of Gettysburg can somehow be recovered. Instead, he efficiently examines some ways in which the battle has become encrusted with myth and exaggeration. He explores how Union veterans (most notably Chamberlain), Shaara, and filmmakers Ken Burns and Ronald F. Maxwell shaped public understanding of the fighting on Little Round Top; how Lost Cause writers such as Jubal A. Early helped establish the framework within which Gettysburg would be studied; and how John B. Bachelder, who worked tirelessly to establish and then protect his reputation as the battle's preeminent authority, sought to implant in the public mind that Gettysburg was the war's great turning point—a belief Desjardin places at the core of Gettysburg mythology. Bachelder highlighted the climax of Pickett's Charge, which functioned as a dramatic resolution to three days of savage combat. "The thought of naming the copse of trees the 'High Water Mark of the Rebellion,'" he noted proudly, "and the idea of perpetuating its memory by a monument, was mine" (p. 96). "Copse" almost never appears in non-Gettysburg contexts, remarks Desjardin; Bachelder shrewdly chose a seldom-used word people would associate directly with Gettysburg.

Gettysburg's vast collection of monuments, which dominate the modern battlefield, provides much grist for Desjardin's interpretive mill. Although visitors often assume that regimental monuments mark a unit's key position, Desjardin shows how the politics of memory could intervene in determining a location. For example, members of the Seventy-second Pennsylvania Infantry, which held a supporting position during Pickett's Charge on July 3, successfully sued to have their monument placed along the main Union line on Cemetery Ridge. Similarly, when it came time to mark the spot at which Lewis A. Armistead fell wounded while leading a Confederate brigade in Pickett's Charge, veterans from Virginia and Pennsylvania supported its placement too far inside Union lines, a decision calculated to pay equal tribute to the valor of southern infantrymen who breached the line and to northern reinforcements who beat back an attack that had come so close to sundering the nation.

A chapter titled "Where's Buster Kilrain Buried?" illuminates how modern media influence understanding of the battle. Desjardin took the title from visitors who seek the grave of a fictional character in Shaara's novel. Those impressed by Shaara's positive treatment

of Confederate corps commander James Longstreet can visit the equestrian statue, dedicated in July 1998, that more closely resembles actor Tom Berenger, who played Longstreet in the film *Gettysburg*, than the real general (Desjardin could have mentioned as well the Gettysburg paintings of Mort Künstler, whose renderings of various historical actors resemble their cinematic counterparts).

Readers familiar with the work of historians such as Carol Reardon, Richard A. Sauer, and James P. Weeks will find few surprises in this book. Some scholars will wish that Desjardin had done more with the reconciliation movement's use of Gettysburg, high points of which came when Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke at the fiftieth and seventy-fifth anniversaries respectively. Others will note that the editorial process could have been more careful. But most readers drawn to the Civil War will profit from Desjardin's admonition that "Gettysburg has become as much a laboratory as it is a national historic landmark. Here one can study the ways in which people learn about the past and how they pass it along to others in an endless chain that is more often flawed than accurate" (p. 206).

GARY W. GALLAGHER
University of Virginia

W. SCOTT POOLE. *Never Surrender: Confederate Memory and Conservatism in the South Carolina Upcountry*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2004. Pp. x, 263. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

W. Scott Poole has given us a detailed and careful account of Reconstruction and its aftermath in South Carolina. Not surprisingly, Reconstruction was a turgid and deeply controversial period, an extension of the Civil War itself. Poole's book concentrates on the state's upcountry, but this reviewer found that the attitudes and experiences of the upcountry people did not seem to be unique among South Carolina's post-war population.

At the bottom of things during the period lay a virulent racism and the state's bitter sense of defeat by the nefarious Yankees. The southern myth of the Lost Cause was widespread and vigorous, masking the reality of the war and its end in a cloud of misrepresentation and defense of slavery and Confederate conduct. According to Poole, "Southern conservatives flourished in South Carolina through the medium of the Lost Cause, an aesthetic representation of memory and yearning. Confederate memory provided southerners with an ideology of historical declension, the fact of Confederate loss meant the triumph of materialism, irreligion and social anarchy" (p. 17). Sternly rejecting modernity, South Carolinians "sought to create the imagined glories of the past." The state's political leadership was committed to such regressive activities as Black Codes and the reinstatement of slavery's social relations. Racial violence developed and "attempts to display Confederate manhood were

marked by rituals of violence and consumption" (p. 26). The term "consumption" was a polite term for liquor drinking.

Featured characters in this account of Reconstruction include William King Easley, Maxcy Gregg, and, most prominently, Wade Hampton—all celebrated Confederate military veterans. Evangelical Protestantism dominated Confederate religious life. Poole finds that the centrality of the doctrine of human depravity dovetailed nicely with the theories of the Lost Cause and the themes associated with Confederate memorializing.

At all times, conflict between the races appeared, frequently involving labor contract disputes and, after 1868, Lost Cause observances as a result of the 1867 Act of Reconstruction. The Ku Klux Klan brought on a further era of racial and sexual violence because of conflict with the Union Leagues. Violence typically affected political activity. The Democratic rifle clubs also threatened the freedom of the ballot.

In 1876, Hampton was reelected governor by the votes of white and black constituents, but the political situation was deteriorating. The Southern Farmers' Alliance was directed toward the masses of plain voters politically in conflict with the old white bourbon classes of the state. Pitchfork Ben Tillman appeared on the political scene in reaction to gentility. He was an advocate of violence and provoked intense anti-black attitudes. The United Confederate Veterans, in a popular publication of the same name, preached sectional reconciliation late in the century, and that spirit found root in South Carolina.

Americans today have witnessed the rise of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and black political power. In South Carolina, the NAACP has recently been victorious in arguing against the displaying of the Confederate battle flag, at least on publicly supported premises. Poole's book provides a context for such contemporary South Carolina controversies.

ALAN T. NOLAN
Indiana Historical Society

DAVID QUIGLEY. *Second Founding: New York City, Reconstruction, and the Making of American Democracy*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2004. Pp. xv, 238. \$24.00.

David Quigley's contention in this compact volume is that during the Reconstruction era New York City played a central role in a "second founding" of American democracy that was as fundamental as the first founding of 1787, thus contributing to the emergence of a new political order and the beginning of modern American politics.

Political crosscurrents made the years from 1865 to 1877 a contentious period in New York City's history. Initially, interventionist-minded Republicans wanted to create an interracial democracy by giving the vote to black males. Rebuffed at the state level in 1867 by a

crushing electoral defeat in which the opposition, led by machine Democrats, overwhelmingly rejected black suffrage, Republican strategists turned to the federal government and made the Fifteenth Amendment their device for winning the vote for blacks. However, as Redeemer regimes won control of southern states, Republican hopes for continued national success through a coalition that depended on black voters in the South diminished, and New York's importance to Republican hegemony grew. One consequence of the Republican leadership's renewed emphasis on securing the party's northern base was that the Grant administration allocated to New York City a very large percentage of federal funds appropriated under the Enforcement Acts for the purpose of protecting black voters.

Quigley's interpretative focus thus shifts the story of Reconstruction from the rural South to the urban North. However, he devotes much more attention to antidemocratic elites and northern white racists than he does to crusading Republican advocates of interracial democracy. For instance, by the late 1860s, members of Manhattan's Republican elite and their reform allies in the Democratic Party were backing away from the early postwar vision of democratization and beginning to advocate various restrictions on popular democracy. One reason they did so was that in New York City universal manhood suffrage had brought masses of propertyless workers and new immigrants to the polls, which usually resulted in victories for machine Democrats. To weaken Tammany's electoral power, anti-Tammany reformers backed an amendment to the state constitution that would have restricted voting to male taxpayers, a proposal summarily abandoned by legislators after the 1877 election demonstrated widespread voter opposition to the measure. A second line of attack intended to limit popular control of city services enjoyed more success. This was legislation to have essential city services administered by commissions of supposedly nonpartisan experts rather than party appointees—a system favored by many members of New York's elite, including leading businessmen, and one that became the standard approach to modernizing city governments in the twentieth century.

In making his case for New York City's centrality in the history of Reconstruction, Quigley touches on a wide variety of topics: northern white resistance to extending suffrage to blacks, the evolution of the city's African-American community, the emergence of such elite reform institutions as the Citizens' Association and the anti-Tweed Committee of Seventy, the ouster of Boss Tweed, the Tompkins Square violence of 1874, the depression of the 1870s, the Orange Riots, and the 1876 presidential election. Key individuals—T. Thomas Fortune, E. L. Godkin, Horace Greeley, William Tweed, Samuel Tilden, and others—receive attention as well.

The risk in telling the story of the Reconstruction years from the perspective of a single city's history, even if that city is Manhattan, and then claiming that a

second founding comparable to the first had its primary roots in the give-and-take of New York City politics, is that of seeming to claim too much. Certainly Republicans needed to win New York state in presidential elections, but that electoral outcome depended more on success elsewhere in the state than it did on carrying Manhattan. When New Yorkers beat back elite efforts to restrict suffrage to taxpayers, did the defeat of property qualifications for voting owe more to the spirit of the times during Quigley's "second founding" or to the legacy of the movement for universal white male suffrage that had triumphed during the Jacksonian era? Does the Reconstruction-era revolt of New York's wealthy taxpayers who sought to promote policies of parsimony in government services (an attitude that bears some similarity to anti-government rhetoric in our time) qualify as a defining feature of modern American politics, given that periods of expansive government social spending arose in the 1930s and 1960s? Quigley's book offers well-articulated starting points for considering all these issues and many more, and even where he overstates his case, he does so in a provocative way that is well worth considering.

GERALD W. MCFARLAND
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STEVEN HAHN. *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 610. \$35.00.

This volume has already won the Pulitzer and Bancroft prizes. The honors are richly deserved, for Steven Hahn has produced a magnificent study of African Americans in the southern United States during the years from the 1850s to the early twentieth century. The product of exhaustive research, it is a book that summarizes our current understanding of the field and puts forth bold new interpretations that will generate debate for years to come.

One of the book's many virtues is its expansive scope. Beginning with the late antebellum era, Hahn provides a largely chronological account of African Americans' struggle for freedom and independence under slavery, Civil War, Reconstruction, and the New South, while paying careful attention to geographical variations. The story that he tells is in some ways well known, but in tracing it he combines richness of detail with sweeping narrative and interpretive sophistication to produce a work of unusual interest and importance. Indeed, in its epic quality, this book stands alongside two other masterpieces of Reconstruction history, W. E. B. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* (1935) and Eric Foner's *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (1988). Two interrelated themes underlie Hahn's approach and provide interpretive unity to his account. The first is his broad understanding of politics as something that

encompasses not just elections and formal government but “collective struggles for what might be termed socially meaningful power” (p. 3). The second is his emphasis on black agency, the extent to which “African Americans continually made and remade their politics and political history in complex relation to shifting events” (p. 7). These two themes are not without risks; defining almost everything as political can reduce the term’s significance, and focusing too exclusively on black agency can obscure the extent to which African Americans were objects of brutal repression and were *not* able to remake their world as they wished. For the most part, however, Hahn skillfully skirts these risks to produce a compelling story of a never-ending struggle for human dignity. At the heart of this struggle was the desire to avoid being pushed around, to achieve a modicum of autonomy, independence, or what Hahn calls “self-governance” (p. 5).

Hahn assigns a central role in this struggle to what he describes as “the building blocks of collective behavior,”—“kinship, and shared experience” (p. 176). Under slavery, these engendered a “spatially fluid” (p. 35) idea of community and a “proto-peasant consciousness” (p. 44) that enabled slaves to resist their bondage even while coming to terms with it on a day-to-day basis. During the Civil War, this resistance blossomed into a mighty slave rebellion, albeit one that “proved difficult to detect and even more difficult to staunch” (p. 64). After the war, freedom enabled African Americans to broaden the struggle for self-governance, whether by rejecting dependent work relations, defending their families and churches, or mobilizing for formal political participation through the Union League and the Republican Party. They also manifested a growing nationalism as they “made themselves into a new people—a veritable nation, as many of them came to understand it” (p. 9).

Many of these and other arguments, which Hahn develops with great skill, will prove controversial. His depiction of a massive slave rebellion during the Civil War, for example, which builds upon, and rachets up, Du Bois’s thesis of a general strike, depends in part on a willingness to conflate *flight* with *rebellion*; when Hahn declares that “by the middle of 1864 . . . nearly 400,000 slaves had rebelled against their masters” (p. 82), he means not that they had engaged in the kind of armed insurrection that the term “rebellion” usually denotes, but that they had run away. At times, the very boldness of Hahn’s arguments works against nuanced judgments. His descriptions of the way slaves and freedpeople reacted to the Civil War and emancipation, for example, reveal few of the ambivalent sentiments, ambiguities, and inconsistencies evident in Leon F. Litwack’s *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (1979). Similarly, in stressing the unity of political purpose among southern blacks, Hahn plays down (although he does not entirely ignore) the very real divisions among them that existed simultaneously, divisions that Dylan C. Penningroth

has perceptively addressed in *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South* (2003).

One of Hahn’s most compelling interpretations lies in his treatment of rumor, both under slavery and after, as a subtle political weapon. Although federal officials after the war saw black expectations of land redistribution and white fears of black insurrection as exaggerated and irrational, Hahn depicts these rumors as signs of political sophistication. “Just as white landowners turned rumors of land distribution into harbingers of insurrection so as to reassert their local prerogatives,” he writes, “the freedpeople used the rumors of land redistribution to bolster their own bargaining positions” (p. 152).

More likely to elicit controversy are Hahn’s discussions of black emigrationism and populism. Placing unusual emphasis on the strength of emigrationist sentiment among African Americans, Hahn delineates a “grass-roots emigrationism” (p. 323) that displayed little of the missionary impulse that some black (and white) intellectuals expressed as they sought to promote migration to Africa. Widespread among the rural poor (although relatively few of them acted upon it until the Great Migration that began in the 1910s), this grass-roots sentiment reflected an “incipient popular nationalism,” a sense that “we wants to be a People” (p. 333) that undergirded migrations to Liberia, Kansas, Oklahoma, and later the North. If many blacks were attracted to the idea of escaping their oppressive conditions by fleeing the South, Hahn suggests that few were fooled by populist rhetoric of black-white political unity. Providing an unusually bleak portrait of the Populist Party and the potential it offered for interracial cooperation, he writes that “by the early 1890s, blacks had a fairly clear idea as to what they might expect from the people who filled the Populist ranks. They were people who had ridden with the Klan, the Red Shirts, and the White Leaguers . . . They were people commonly known to blacks as ‘regulators’” (p. 432).

In short, this is an important work that will generate debate on a host of interpretive questions. It will quickly take its place as a classic of Reconstruction history (broadly conceived). It is a splendid achievement.

PETER KOLCHIN
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JANE TURNER CENSER. *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood 1865–1895*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 316. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

Few topics continue to intrigue historians so much as the impact of the Civil War, especially on the former Confederate States. Jane Turner Censer reexamines the ideas of Anne Firor Scott’s path-breaking *The Southern Lady* (1970) through a careful look at three generations of women in North Carolina and Virginia.

Censer focuses her study on so-called "elite women," defined as those from families who owned more than fifteen slaves. This study relies on women's diaries and letters, the published writings of women, and the published writings of their male friends and relatives. These source materials reiterate the elite nature of the sample, but Censer notes that the education and status of privileged women gave them opportunities that their contemporaries did not enjoy.

Censer divides her sample by generations: women who were forty years old or already had adult children at the outbreak of the war; a second generation born between 1820 and 1850; and a younger generation. Not surprisingly, Censer found that the experiences for each group were different. She makes a strong case that, immediately following the Civil War, elite women actually critiqued southern society and the traditional view of southern women as "belles." They experimented with a more independent and achievement-oriented lifestyle and with new definitions of race relations. Toward the end of the century, however, more traditional views of southern women began to reassert themselves.

Even though many elite families found themselves in reduced economic situations following the Civil War, most continued to expend money to educate women beyond the literacy level. The purpose of this education was economic independence and self-support as more women engaged in paid work, especially teaching. According to Censer, a desire for autonomy joined the need for money as a motivation for women in the workforce.

The Civil War certainly resulted in southern households that were in flux: the war "rearranged combinations of those living together" (p. 51). Censer does an excellent job of explaining how southern women from the various generations coped with these changes. Families necessarily had to create "restructured relationships between elite whites and their former slaves" (p. 59). Older women had more difficulty accepting the new realities than did their younger counterparts. White families had fewer African Americans in their households. According to Censer, scholars have ignored the impact of African-American men abandoning domestic service almost completely. Southern adoption of technological advancements—especially the cast iron stove and the sewing machine—aided this transition.

While common wisdom is that the war brought alterations to women's property rights, Censer demonstrates that there were no drastic changes; if anything, women experienced a "modest postwar increase in their relative access to various forms of wealth" (p. 101). More never-married women exercised control over property, in part due to demographic changes but also due to an apparent conscious choice to remain unmarried.

Southern women added benevolent work to teaching, overseeing households, and managing property. While providing only brief discussions of temperance,

suffrage, and other social welfare efforts, Censer's consideration of women's memorial society efforts is useful. Initially, southern women worked to erect cemeteries. The monuments they built in the 1870s and 1880s featured reverential and spiritual themes. Toward the end of the century, more martial forms of Confederate commemoration held sway. This is in keeping with Censer's notion that southern women's perceptions underwent an evolution over time.

The greatest contribution of this book is the analysis of women's fiction, especially that of little-known authors. Censer correctly notes that, aside from Ellen Glasgow and Kate Chopin, scholars have paid scant attention to published fiction by southern women, focusing instead on nonfiction and unpublished fiction. She attributes this to the fact that nineteenth-century contemporaries, especially men, did not take these fiction writers seriously. Mary Virginia Hawes and Augusta Evans wrote national bestsellers, and many other elite Virginia and South Carolina women enjoyed regional and local recognition. Through a careful examination of these women writers and their work, Censer is able to offer key conclusions. Shifts in women writers' themes and points of view reflected overall changes in southern elite women's opinions. In the postwar period, writers placed some emphasis on sectional reunion and even demonstrated a fascination with the North. By the end of the century, their fiction presented a more "self-congratulatory" view, employed more racial stereotypes, and was more generally critical of the North.

Censer's extensive research and clear prose makes the case that women in the immediate post-Civil War South defined new roles for themselves, played a leading part in the reorganization of households, and gained greater independence. For a brief period, they sometimes made "detours" from the region's racism. By the 1890s, however, "the female ideal of non-dependence and achievement was challenged by various revived notions of 'belledome,'" and "southern women of all classes became more thoroughly enmeshed in the racial tragedy that came to characterize the twentieth century South" (p. 279).

KATHERINE G. AIKEN
University of Idaho

KENT REDDING. *Making Race, Making Power: North Carolina's Road to Disfranchisement*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. x, 180. \$34.95.

Especially poignant, North Carolina's political history in the 1890s embodies both the promise and tragedy of the New South. The only southern state where Republicans and Populists successfully "fused" to oust the Democrats, between 1894 and 1898, North Carolina experienced the venomous white supremacy campaign, forged by Democrats to break the back of the fusionist coalition. After regaining power, they ensured they

would never lose it again by ushering in the era of disfranchisement and one-party politics.

Although this story has been told many times, from many different angles, sociologist Kent Redding provides a truly fresh perspective. Redding rejects views of disfranchisement as inevitable or simply as the "overwhelming power of one group over another" (p. 1). Instead he places political mobilization at the center of the disfranchisement story. Examining politics through the lens of "new institutionalism," Redding argues that political institutions "constitute and constrain the basic raw materials of politics . . . and thus channel political battles in particular ways" (p. 12). Those in control must be viewed "as power makers rather than mere power holders" (p. 2). Redding's innovative approach breathes new life into the North Carolina story and helps answer the nagging question of the timing of disfranchisement.

Deftly and concisely reviewing the substantial body of work on disfranchisement politics, Redding argues that race, class, and gender-based analyses of southern politics have often fallen short. Late nineteenth-century politics, he explains, were especially localized, so much so that these issues "were not always central factors" and they "did not work in the obvious or static ways that scholars attribute to them" (p. 10). Redding examines instead "how certain identities came to be thoroughly politicized in new ways" (p. 11) and how and why they became central. Through in-depth quantitative analysis of two counties, Chatham, in the Piedmont, and Edgecombe, on the coast, Redding comes up with some fascinating conclusions. In the 1880s, North Carolina's decline into malevolent racial politics was far from evident. Democrats maintained control but only by the slightest of margins. Cementing their power through "relational networks spun from elite resources, kinship, neighborhood, and patronage," extreme racial politics were "both undesirable and unnecessary" (p. 33). Democrats created the semblance of democracy through a decentralized, vertical system of political control; power flowed downward and denied voters control of key offices. By contrast, Republicans, building a party from scratch, developed an alternative, horizontal system to organize and maintain support. More democratic in nature, the party also shaped "a politicized black identity" (p. 73) that managed to turn out the vote consistently. Despite their use of racial rhetoric, Democrats had not created a politicized white identity as "the rhetoric was not buttressed by clear racially targeted policy nor did the organizational machinery of the party focus on the interests and identities of whites" (p. 75).

This disjuncture provided the opening for Populists, whose identity politics and horizontal structuring resembled that of the Republicans, and provided a viable alternative for disaffected white farmers. Not only had the Democrats failed in creating a "white man's party," but they also refused to address the myriad problems stemming from the commercialization of agriculture and the crop-lien system. The success of Republican-

Populist fusion showed the weaknesses in the old Democratic system of mobilization, prompting Democrats, by 1898, to "make power" in new ways. While historians have generally focused on their poisonous race-based campaigns as the key to their success, Redding points out that much more was going on. Political defeat forced Democrats to abandon their outdated, ineffective party apparatus and to adapt the political structures and strategies of their foes, most notably by summoning a political identity that would help ensure the consistent support of white men. Redding maintains that both the degree and use of race in 1898 "involved a substantial shift in the racial rhetoric of campaigns," (p. 119) with blacks now presented as bestial "other." In addition, the rhetoric of white supremacy linked "identifiable 'white' interests, political, economic, or otherwise" (p. 122) in ways not seen before 1898. After 1898, Democrats never looked back, enacting a disfranchisement amendment that obliterated their political foes. Redding concludes, "'making race' in 1898 and 1900 required far more than simply turning up the volume of Democratic party racist rhetoric; it required a major shift in the way the party mobilized support, in the way it tried to engage its potential constituents" (p. 133).

While Redding's sociological perspective provides significant insights, his "new institutionalism" at times marginalizes key cultural factors that also shaped political mobilization. Democrats may not have previously developed white identity politics as fully as they did in 1898. But he downplays the degree to which "whiteness" defined the party before that time. The fact that so many white farmers agonized over whether to leave the party for the Populists resulted largely from their identification of the party with the Confederacy and fear of reprising Reconstruction and "Negro rule." Also, how did notions of masculinity, so central to nineteenth-century political culture, intersect with political mobilization and institutionalism? Still, this is an important and convincing book. Redding shows that historians have much to learn by examining the intricate processes of "making power," and that his model, applied to other southern states, promises to revitalize our understanding of the politics of disfranchisement.

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LOUIS M. KYRIAKOUCES. *The Social Origins of the Urban South: Race, Gender, and Migration in Nashville and Middle Tennessee, 1890–1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 226. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Migration history has often focused on landmark events that have caused great upheaval in society leading to the movement of large groups of people from one geographic area of the country to another. One example that is discussed in every twentieth-century American history course is the migration of African Americans from the agricultural South to the

industrial North before and after World War I. Louis M. Kyriakoudes expands the theme of migration by exploring one smaller movement during this period in which there was regional or more localized migration from a rural area to an urban area. In this book, he analyzes the migration of rural Tennesseans in forty-two counties in middle Tennessee, a geographic area bounded by the Tennessee River in the west and the Cumberland Plateau to the east, into the city of Nashville, which served as a hub for the region. Kyriakoudes explores the influence of Nashville on the surrounding rural area as an example of the cultural exchange that developed between the urban and rural South. Each area influenced the other, and they became interdependent.

During a forty-year period that is loosely bounded by the Panic of 1893 and the Great Depression, young men and women left the farm and moved to Nashville, the nearest city, in search of secure employment. The push that motivated many was the economic decline of farming. The pull that brought those leaving the farm into Nashville was the promise of a job with a stable income. Because the distances were relatively short from rural middle Tennessee into Nashville, the hope that one could always return home when the situation improved remained. This also enabled those moving to Nashville to maintain close ties with family members left behind. This migration was confined to a circle of less than 100 miles in any direction. By and large, Nashville did not attract workers from other parts of the state. This migration into Nashville reached its height in the 1920s. Some saw their moves to Nashville to obtain work as temporary. The area frequently experienced what Kyriakoudes describes as "circular migration," with some young people moving back and forth to the city and then back to the farm (p. 109). Progressive reformers who wanted to improve the standard of living of America's poor failed to understand the economic causes of people leaving the farm. Their remedies of providing better local schools and improved roads in an effort to make the rural areas more like the cities actually contributed to the migration by making mobility easier.

This work provides an excellent description of the sources of Nashville's economic base, which was somewhat different from other southern cities. Railroads, banking, and insurance emerged as the source of wealth. Manufacturing, although visibly present in the city, did not make a major contribution to the economy. Kyriakoudes's study provides a careful analysis of the causes of the decline of agriculture in middle Tennessee. As Nashville began to rely on national produce and meat markets with the improvements in transportation networks at the turn of the century, the surrounding rural areas suffered from a decrease in the profitability of farming, leading to a decline in agriculture. The path up what Kyriakoudes identifies as the "agriculture ladder" of share-cropping leading to the security of property ownership ended (p. 72). Nashville's lack of a sustained manufacturing base,

however, ultimately limited more extensive migration. Nashville, Tennessee, was similar to many southern cities in that it was unable to develop more than a regional identity and never exerted significant influence beyond the local area.

This study examines the differing motivations that led to migration. According to Kyriakoudes, "Nashville's pull on the rural population was uneven," with white women ultimately comprising the majority of migrants (p. 39). Although economic stability was the leading force, the reasons for leaving home varied. Women made up most of the migration to Nashville after World War I. They moved into the city to provide additional income for families that remained on the farm. Kyriakoudes uses the rich records of the local YWCA to analyze the motivations of its residents, which included independence and escape. Unfortunately, similar records were not available so that Kyriakoudes could uniformly document motivation for all groups who moved. He makes excellent use of the available data and provides numerous charts, graphs, and tables that enhance the text. His application of the data to historical analysis strengthens his narrative. The author avoids saying that Nashville is a microcosm by which conclusions can be drawn about other locations, but he draws the conclusion that this example of limited migration within a region was a defining experience in the creation of the modern South.

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GAVIN JAMES CAMPBELL. *Music and the Making of the New South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 222. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

At first glance, it may seem unusual, even improbable, that theatrical performances of opera, black spirituals, and old-time fiddle tunes could be discussed, let alone interpreted, as part of a single theme. They constitute separate worlds, or so well-disciplined music scholarship might lead us to believe. But backed by evidence of newspapers and magazines reporting civic events in the early twentieth century, Gavin James Campbell draws these phenomena together in a performance or cultural history of one southern city's transition to a new era. Atlanta, Georgia, is his focus—indeed, a metaphor—for the struggle of the South as a whole to find a modern, cosmopolitan way to present its traditional values as something novel. With slavery and Civil War still a persistent memory, Atlanta was not alone in the South in making the transition from white mastery in slavery to racial superiority in emancipation.

The explanatory promise of music in this interpretation of cultural history is that it shows how a medium designed to bring people together in public display could also serve to entrench their separation. Opera, Campbell finds, united white men and women in a show of cosmopolitanism and worked to exclude blacks. The all-white gatherings in gala opera "weeks"

were hardly harmonious, Campbell deftly shows. Organized by women and associated with “feminization,” the opera weeks in the city elicited commentary on the appropriate reactions of the southern man to his emasculation, offset somewhat by rhetorical moves to claim civic pride rather than art appreciation.

Campbell makes the transition to the Colored Music Festival by showing that it was largely a reaction to the exclusion of blacks during opera week and the assumption of a lack of culture of black residents. Meant to showcase black classical talent for upwardly aspiring African Americans, the festival drifted back toward impressing whites by featuring spirituals that evoked the slave plantation and all its antebellum romanticism. Tracing the festival to its organizer’s ideology, and idealism, Campbell uses arguments over the proper display of black musical talent to explore the divisions within the community at the time between accommodationist and integrationist views. The festival rose and fell as the black newspaper withdrew its support and the festival’s founder left for the North. More than entertainment, the festival was invested with hopes of protesting Jim Crow, building black pride, and impressing whites with the new urbane black citizen. It failed, Campbell asserts, on all counts and thus added to black disillusionment. He contextualizes this failure in regard to southern black attempts to rescue or recreate their own heritage at Hampton and Tuskegee, among other places, but appears to overstate the ideological unity or cultural purpose of collecting the plantation melodies.

Campbell’s segue to the Georgia Old-Time Fiddling Contest is intended to show the positive recasting of Appalachian heritage as a fantasy of what an all-white world would look like. It was an amazing transformation, Campbell adroitly points out, since Appalachia previously had been derided. For Campbell, the fiddlers on stage turned into symbols of the possibility of America’s racial purity, repeatedly demonstrated in vivid performances of a world that never knew blacks, much as that image may have been illusory. He gives music determinative significance by insisting that “Atlanta was only one of a host of cities and towns that turned to fiddling as a means of enforcing white supremacy” (p. 135). Gender also enters into the performances via references that Campbell uncovers to Appalachian music representing clear distinctions between men and women that urban feminization had tended to erase. Campbell implicates ballad collectors and folklorists as unwitting collaborators in this racial-gender sham, although here the nuance of his intellectual history does not match that of his cultural one. Generalizations about why collectors preserved oral traditions seem too broad, and too reductionist, to reflect accurately the wide array of motivations for seeking out mountaineers’ songs. What does work in this chapter is Campbell’s revelation of cracks in the facade of racial purity when rising tensions over mill strikes heightened class and labor differences. Further, he shows how the fiddlers themselves resisted being

coopted or condescended to by Atlanta’s leading citizens. Stage acts brutally burlesqued elites’ pomposity, and the audience responded with rather uncivil behavior for a city aspiring to show its modern-age civility.

The lingering question is what difference music made in the cultural construction of the South during this period. Campbell allows in his epilogue that “music was neither the only nor even the most important engine of social and cultural transformation in the making of a New South” (p. 143). Despite this disclaimer, he makes it clear that the organization of a public culture through music had significant consequences. The broadness of Atlanta citizens’ musical tastes was evidence of a unifying impulse but also generated hatred, suspicion, and resentment.

Written with flair, as well as scholarly insight, Campbell’s narrative is admirably composed and should inspire further reflection on the ways that music, and culture, organize identity.

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DENISE VON GLAHN. *The Sounds of Place: Music and the American Cultural Landscape*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 361. \$55.00.

Denise von Glahn’s study, as she puts it, “focuses on the unique way in which music of the cultivated tradition expresses, defines and celebrates place. In so doing it articulates one way the nation has expressed, defined and celebrated itself” (p. 12). In other words, she asks how American composers, like painters and poets, have regularly celebrated place in America—natural features, great cities, the frontier, and so on—as icons of American exceptionalism.

The author builds her argument around twenty-five works (plus William Grant Still’s *Lenox Avenue*, to which she devotes some attention in her discussion of Duke Ellington’s *Harlem*) by fourteen American composers, from the nineteenth-century Bohemian immigrant Anthony Philip Heinrich to such contemporary figures as Steve Reich and Ellen Taaffe Zwilich. Some of the pieces, like the several musical depictions of Niagara Falls, Ferde Grofé’s *Grand Canyon Suite*, and Charles Ives’s introspective *The Housatonic at Stockbridge*, represent places distinguished by their natural features. Others—for example Aaron Copland’s similarly introspective vision of New York, *Quiet City*; Ellington’s *Harlem* and *Harlem Air Shaft*; and Roy Harris’s celebration of the frontier, *Cimarron*—portray places distinctive for human events associated with them.

Several of the pieces are more or less a part of the standard concert or jazz repertoire, readily available on compact disc, and relatively familiar to concert audiences. A number of the works discussed, however, are programmed infrequently if at all (some of the music, like all three of the fine works by Still and Harris’s *Cimarron*, should be heard far more often).

Other pieces are academic essays, like Edgar Varèse's *Amériques*, or of historical rather than artistic interest, like Heinrich's *The War of the Elements* and *The Thundering of Niagara*, written sometime between 1831 and 1845, rehearsed but never performed, so far as is known.

Von Glahn places each work in its cultural, musical, and aesthetic context. She outlines the basic stylistic elements like form, melody, harmony, rhythm, orchestration, and so on. She then describes the sequence of musical events, with particular attention to pictorial and representational devices, explaining their significance. Such is a fair summary of the author's method; however, it does not begin to assess the breadth of her study. The book is rich with insights and sidelights. For instance, the author illuminates a nineteenth-century perspective sacralizing music and place, using an article entitled "Music of Niagara," written by Whitney Eugene Thayer and published in the February 1881 issue of *Scribner's*. Thayer, a performer, teacher, and composer (albeit of limited gifts), claimed to hear with his organist's ear, and to demonstrate with charts of harmonics, the single sublime "great diapason" as the voice of God, and the rhythm of the Falls as the "clock of God" (p. 21).

Von Glahn's introduction contrasts the American public's acceptance and appreciation of native artists and writers with the relative neglect of American composers and their music. She describes how respected music journalists of the nineteenth century, like Richard Storrs Willis in New York and John Sullivan Dwight in Boston, both of whom edited influential periodicals, espoused a Germanic ideal of abstract music as exemplified in the symphonies of Ludwig van Beethoven, and how their influence discouraged the development of a distinctively American musical voice.

The book's organization and approach are systematic and clear. The writing is lucid and graceful, and even the musical analyses are readily accessible to the general reader with a very basic grasp of musical elements and terminology. The extracts from the pieces themselves are of interest, but they are not essential for following the narrative, and those who do not read musical score can safely skip over them.

There is little to take issue with in this study. One might question the number of musical works, as well as the choice of some more or less obscure pieces. After all, the first characteristic of a viable icon is that it be recognizable as such. Fewer pieces—at least fewer obscure ones—would arguably have made the author's case at least as effectively. For instance, why discuss three nineteenth-century depictions of Niagara Falls by New York composers of modest talent to illustrate an analog with the Hudson River school of painting? William Henry Fry's *Niagara Symphony*, written in 1854 and available on compact disc, would probably have sufficed.

But these are minor quibbles. When all is said and done, this is an excellent book, a pleasure to read and

a substantial contribution to American musicology, cultural geography, and interdisciplinary scholarship.

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ANDREW C. RIESER. *The Chautauqua Moment: Protestants, Progressives, and the Culture of Modern Liberalism*. (Religion and American Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 399. \$37.50.

Institutional histories are necessary evils. By sifting through mind-numbing reams of official documents, reports, and personal histories, the scholar compiles a narrative preserving a valuable past but interesting only to a few insiders. Unless an interpretive framework can be constructed in which to place the institution, its history remains largely unread and unappreciated. The critic congratulates the historian for the monotonous and painstaking research but decries a lack of contextual significance. One cannot help but be reminded of the common phrase written on the undergraduate paper using primary research: so what?

Andrew C. Rieser has transcended this common problem with flying colors. His history of the Chautauqua movement is solid research transformed into an inquiry into the development and definitions of culture and class in post-Civil War America. The author makes clear that his is not an institutional history but rather, social history.

Chautauqua is a complex institution with multiple branches. Arising from the Methodist camp meeting, Chautauqua was born as a distinctive institution in 1874. The "mother" site outside of Jamestown in western New York on the shores of Chautauqua Lake, evolved from the meeting place of the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Church in 1874 to a prosperous, gated modern community. Along the way, the movement spun off dozens of assemblies that were constructed near small towns across the country. Part revival, part adult continuing education, Chautauqua provided a combination vacation and self-improvement seminar to those who could afford to leave home and work. Emphasizing the healthful benefits of their rural locations, organizers hoped to lure city dwellers away from the physical and moral pollution of the urban environment. Instead, they primarily attracted rural types hailing from neighboring towns and villages. Residing in affordable boarding houses or small cottages, individuals and families could attend lectures, demonstrations, musical performances, ecumenical services, and, by the early 1900s, theater. Thousands heard disciples of the Social Gospel, political and economic commentators such as William Jennings Bryan and William Graham Sumner, African-American leader Booker T. Washington, literary figures such as Rudyard Kipling, and academics from the University of Chicago and Johns Hopkins University.

Desiring to expand the Chautauqua influence beyond the physical confines of the assemblies, the

Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (CLSC), a four-year self-education system, used a set curriculum, short and inexpensive textbooks, discussion groups, and exams. This vehicle promoted the Chautauqua ideal, and to some contemporary observers, the democratization of education. But, as one might predict, the “people’s university” had its detractors, primarily academics concerned over the public perception of higher education and, as the author interestingly points out, the Catholic Church. Defending their position in the American cultural landscape, Catholics suspected Chautauqua of proselytizing by covert means, namely the CLSC texts. The Catholic response to Chautauqua was to create a summer school located on the shores of Lake Champlain, south of Plattsburgh. Protestants chose the verdant woods of western New York; Catholics opted for the Adirondacks of eastern New York.

Chautauquans successfully promoted their Protestant culture through assemblies and reading lists, but how did they reconcile sectarian values to a rapidly changing moral environment? We know they stressed the benefits of clean country living, temperance, and premarital sexual abstinence. But by the 1910s, Chautauquans included theater and dance, two areas of self-expression banned during an earlier era. Of course, by this time even John D. Rockefeller, a financial supporter of Chautauqua, encouraged square dancing (a wholesome American activity) among his auto workers.

Typically we view the evolving role of women in an institution as a barometer of greater social change, and the author, using institutional records and published pamphlets, does an admirable job in gauging the effectiveness of women’s participation. Much of what we read about women at Chautauqua—temperance activism, environmental beautification, and scientific motherhood—was also part of a changing woman’s sphere in the larger society. But in this account, we also learn about the Chautauquans’ view of masculinity, combining the temperate with the purposeful moral and civic life. Gender ideals squared with their views of Americanism. More troublesome were the Chautauquans’ racist tendencies. The author points out that organizers did not turn African Americans away from attending, but they promoted a stereotype of race through presentations and readings consistent among white society at the time.

Rieser has succeeded in using Chautauqua as a mechanism to explore issues surrounding the formation of culture and class between the Civil War and the Great War. Rather than seeing Chautauqua as a dull collection of milque-toast midwestern Protestants, he has unearthed a movement whose vitality, ambition, and relative inclusiveness reflected an America of shifting cultural perceptions. This is indeed not just an institutional history but rather a brilliant exploration into the formation of American character.

MARGARET A. SPRATT
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HOWARD SCHWEBER. *The Creation of American Common Law, 1850–1880: Technology, Politics, and the Construction of Citizenship*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 296. \$60.00.

Howard Schweber holds advanced degrees in law, history, and political science, all of them put to good use in this insightful book. As the title indicates, Schweber’s central claim is a bold one. In response to the rapid growth of railroads, he argues, American courts so altered the common law in the decade before the Civil War as to give it a new and distinctively American form. Whether Schweber adequately supports this claim is likely to be a matter of contention among legal historians, some of whom may well doubt that the changes he notes in judges’ common law rulings were extensive or significant enough to constitute the creation of an American common law. That some sort of significant transformation in the common law took place in this period, however, seems well established by Schweber’s subtle analysis of rulings in eight states between 1850 and 1880.

The analysis is subtle in two respects. First, Schweber recognizes that the advent of railroads does not by itself account for this transformation; and second, he explains how and why the transformation proceeded more slowly in the South than the North. The railroads play a leading role in the story he tells, to be sure, but so does “political culture.” In brief, the story is that the “railroads created a political economy of speed” (p. 30) that stressed the value of efficiency, regularity, and rapidity. Justices who found this “Need for Speed” (p. 2) congenial began to issue opinions that transformed the common law from a complicated system of precedents based on “the status of each person and the precise relationship between the actors” to “a universal set of duties, equally applicable to everyone regardless of his or her social position or role in a transaction, that completely reconfigured the rules for determining legal liability” (p. 2). In the case of railroads, these rulings established what Schweber calls “the Duty to Get Out of the Way,” which “made it the obligation of persons to avoid allowing themselves or their animals to be struck by trains, rather than the duty of trains to avoid hitting persons or stock” (pp. 2–3). Thus the creation of an American common law brought with it the creation of a new, standardized model of citizenship that replaced “old distinctions” with “uniformity” (p. 261). Under the pressure of the “Need for Speed,” the “duty to watch over one’s own property to avoid injury to others became, instead, the duty to be vigilant to avoid being harmed by others’ actions” (p. 261).

Not all justices were happy about the new developments, however, and southern justices especially resisted them. On Schweber’s telling, the changes effected in the 1850s in the northern states did not appear in the southern courts until the 1870s. In the meantime, of course, slavery had been abolished, and with its abolition southern justices lost their primary reason for “the great intellectual efforts” they “in-

vested in the project of stasis" (p. 168). That is, adopting a more uniform conception of common law, with its attendant model of a universal citizenship that imposed on everyone a Duty to Get Out of the Way, would have posed a direct threat to the "political ontology" that justified slavery (p. 193). Slaves were neither fully persons nor simply property, in this view, and the traditional common law emphasis on status and personal relationships was able to accommodate "the presumption of a scale, running from chattel to citizen, that was the justifying ontology for slave society in the first instance" (p. 185). Hence the southern resistance to the newly simplified and rationalized common law.

Schweber finds evidence for the creation of an American common law primarily in the opinions of the supreme court justices of Illinois and Virginia, with briefer glances at rulings in three other northern (Ohio, Vermont, and New York) and southern states (Georgia, North Carolina, and Kentucky). The evidence is powerful, and his interpretations are persuasive. Carelessness, however, occasionally appears. For example, we find that the Virginia Supreme Court "simply refused to hear railroad cases" throughout the decade of the 1850s (p. 171); but only nineteen pages later we read that "[o]ne of the few cases heard by the Virginia Supreme Court that dealt with claims brought by railroad passengers was *Virginia Central R.R. Co. v. Sanger*, 15 Vir. 230 (1859)." More disturbing is the account of a dissenting opinion by "a noted judicial conservative, New York Justice Learned Hand," in the case of "*Wilbert v. The New-York and Erie Railroad Company*, 12 N.Y. 245 (1855)" (p. 145). But the case was *Wibert*, not *Wilbert*, and it was Learned Hand's grandfather, Augustus C. Hand, who wrote this opinion. Precocious he may have been, but even Learned Hand could not have written a dissent in a case settled seventeen years before his birth.

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WILLIAM T. HAGAN. *Taking Indian Lands: The Cherokee (Jerome) Commission 1889–1893*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2003. Pp. x, 279. \$59.95.

On October 17, 1892, the Cherokee Commission, a three-man body authorized by Congress to negotiate the purchase of Indian lands "west of the ninety-sixth degree of longitude in Indian Territory," held a formal session with Kiowa tribal leaders at Anadarko. The commission chair, former Michigan governor David H. Jerome, began the morning session by repeating the government's offer to purchase the bulk of the Kiowa's three-million-acre reserve for \$2 million. Frustrated by this return to a proposal tribal leaders had already rejected, a middle-aged Kiowa named Big Tree, rose to cut the white man off. "I [have] listened . . . until the words go through the other ear and still you talk and talk," Big Tree declared. "Now you sit down and let us talk a little time." Jerome refused, barking back "I will

not be stopped by you or any other Indian" (pp. 201–202). This exchange captures both the substance and the flavor of the Cherokee Commission's sorry procession through the central region of modern Oklahoma between 1889 and 1892. That campaign produced fifteen million acres of new homestead land for non-Indian settlers and speculators, triggering a new cycle of greed and betrayal and spelling the imminent end of the tribal governments that had come to Indian Territory in response to government promises of safe havens and new homes. William T. Hagan's book allows us to travel with the commission and lets us watch this disgraceful episode from a front-row seat.

Hagan has been a pioneer in the writing of Native American history for four decades. Beginning in the 1950s, Hagan and other young western historians such as Alvin Josephy, Jr., Donald Berthrong, Francis Paul Prucha, Robert Utley, Wilbur Jacobs, and Reginald Horsman urged their colleagues to take the Native past seriously and to craft a more creative and inclusive vision of American expansion. Hagan's scholarship has been marked by thorough research, carefully rendered prose, modest conclusions, and persistent challenges to romantic nostrums about the West. This book fits neatly with his previous work.

The Cherokee Commission was created by a Congress deadlocked over the future of Indian Territory. Several treaties and six decades of Victorian rhetoric had committed the United States to the protection of tribes who agreed to settle there. However, booming new populations in Kansas, Arkansas, and Texas produced frequent demands that the Indian's "homeland" be "opened" for "development." The inviolability of tribal lands in the territory was undermined after the Civil War when the United States forced the first and largest tribal settlers—Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles—to sell land so the government could resettle tribes there from across the West. In 1889, one substantial tract of this purchased former tribal land was opened to non-Indian settlers and called "Oklahoma." Unable to agree on a straightforward seizure (or unwilling to face the condemnation of tribal leaders and their humanitarian allies for explicitly betraying earlier promises), Congress charged the Cherokee Commission with the task of acquiring "surplus" lands from the tribes so that they could be added to the new settler territory. While eager to capture all the land it could get, the commission's principal targets would be the Cherokee "Outlet," a largely unoccupied territory then being leased to Texas cattlemen, and pasture lands held by large, recently resettled plains groups: Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Comanches. Hagan's narrative traces the commission's encounters with each of these groups, offering riveting (and depressing) accounts of "negotiations" in which commission members alternated between threatening to abandon them to the chaos of a homesteader invasion and badgering them to accept paltry sums for their land.

In addition to its quiet indictment of Oklahoma's

founding myths, Hagan's book offers a fascinating window onto tribal politics. Most Indian leaders who met with the commission were accompanied by lawyers, many of whom were Native American. Many leaders from "resettled tribes" such as the Kiowas and Comanches sought the counsel of the more experienced Cherokees. And all tribal leaders were quick to seek allies among Washington critics of the Harrison administration. Clearly there was a store of "local knowledge" and favored tactics about how tribes should respond to this political assault. And clearly tribal leaders communicated with each other about their predicament. These leads—only hinted at here—would make a wonderful focus for a follow-up volume.

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CLARE V. MCKANNA, JR. *Race and Homicide in Nineteenth-Century California*. (Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in History and Humanities.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 148. \$29.95.

Clare V. McKanna, Jr. compares the experiences of American Indians, Hispanics, Chinese, and whites who were accused of homicide in California between 1850 and 1900. He devotes a chapter to each of these groups. McKanna defines "whites" as anyone of European origin other than Hispanic, and for the purposes of this review I will follow his definition. McKanna argues that "the interaction of race, social status, and marginality in nineteenth-century California greatly affected what happened to defendants within the criminal justice systems, and in fact acted as a stimulus for racial violence" (p. 2). He analyzes homicide data from seven counties (Calaveras, Sacramento, San Diego, San Luis Obispo, San Joaquin, Santa Barbara, and Tuolumne). His statistical observations include the number and percentage of accused murderers and their victims by race; percentage of indictments and convictions by race; prison population by race; prison mortality rates; and homicide rates for selected counties. McKanna fleshes out his statistics with narratives of specific crimes drawn from court testimony and coroners' reports. In general, McKanna's conclusions are what one would expect. People of color (with one interesting exception) seldom got a fair hearing because they could not afford adequate legal counsel and because of the deep racial prejudice of the day. Poor white defendants were also disadvantaged.

Unlike Indians in other parts of the West, California Indians were closely associated with the Anglos and Mexicans. They engaged in farm work and other casual labor and lived on the margins of Euro-American settlements. Indians were accused of 106 murders in the counties studied. A little over half of their victims were Indians, and more than one-third were whites. As with other groups, alcohol abuse played a major role in Indian homicides. Once apprehended, Indians seldom understood that they had a legal right to remain silent.

Officers and bystanders freely interrogated the suspects in English, even though that may have been their third tongue after their native language and Spanish. White juries often drew conclusions, McKanna argues, based in part on the defendants' physical appearance. In the end, eighty percent of them were found guilty.

Hispanic defendants were accused of killing 175 victims. Their crimes occurred across racial lines in approximately the same proportion as Indian killings. As usual, most murders occurred within the same perpetrators' own racial group (almost sixty percent in this case). McKanna attributes these crimes in part to Hispanic males' presumed sense of *machismo*, to drinking, and to the dislocations of the Mexican War and gold rush. White prejudice against Hispanics was strong, but the conviction rate for Hispanics was much lower than it was for Indians (fifty-four percent). While the white justice system was alien to Hispanics, at least some of them could afford attorneys. A few Mexican Californians owned substantial property and held political positions. These factors probably account for their better chances in the justice system, at least when compared with Indians.

McKanna's analysis of the Chinese experience will be the most surprising part of the book for some readers. Members of this group were accused of ninety-two killings, but even though the Chinese were a despised racial minority in California, only forty percent of them were found guilty. McKanna attributes the success of Chinese defendants to the support they received from Chinese *tongs*, benevolent societies to which virtually all immigrant Chinese belonged. The *tong* often provided legal representation for the accused, so strong group solidarity trumped racial prejudice in the courtroom. In addition, many cases were dismissed because, McKanna argues, more than ninety percent of the victims were Chinese. Such cases were complicated because the witnesses were likely to be Chinese men who did not speak English and who were wary of white authorities. Hence, white authorities did not prosecute these crimes because they seemed too difficult and affected only the Chinese communities involved. Nearly thirty percent of such cases were dismissed before trial.

In his chapter on white homicide, McKanna discusses some of the cultural motivations for homicide, including the southern code of honor and the code of the West. These codes were closely related and emphasized that every perceived slight to one's honor must be redressed. In a society where many men went heavily armed while drinking, the murderous results were predictable. Here, too, a surprising number of cases were dismissed (twenty-three percent), even if the victim was white and especially in cases where honor was involved. A large number of cases were dismissed or brought not guilty verdicts when the victims were not white.

In his conclusion, McKanna enters into the old debate over whether the West was more violent than the East. He thinks that California and the West were

more violent, but he qualifies his argument by identifying regional enclaves where violence was most frequent. This is a step in the right direction, but it might be improved by using geographical units that are more fine-grained than counties and towns: townships, neighborhoods, ethnic districts, and the like. Nevertheless, it is difficult for this reviewer to dispute the idea that the West was a very violent place when confronted with comparisons between California counties and entire eastern states. In 1859–1860 there were fifteen homicides in Tuolumne County (population 16,000) compared with thirteen in the states of Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, and Connecticut combined during the same period. The total population of those states was more than 1.7 million. Nor can one easily disagree with McKanna's conclusion that racial prejudice "ensured that minorities would pay a much heavier price than whites" in California where "the scales of justice were unbalanced" (p. 108).

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KATHRYN MORSE. *The Nature of Gold: An Environmental History of the Klondike Gold Rush*. Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Book.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 290. \$29.95.

The Klondike gold rush is perhaps better known as a metaphor than as an actual event. For some, it symbolizes the folly of human nature, the willingness of people to do anything, to go anywhere, in pursuit of gold. Here, one needs only see the photograph of prospectors trudging up Alaska's Chilkoot Pass, their supplies strapped to their backs, their bodies arched forward as they march into the snow-blown nothingness of the arctic. The image conveys the only necessary detail: fired by greed, Americans will do the darnedest things. For readers of the goldrush's most famous writer, Jack London, the Yukon wilderness made the event a symbol of struggle and survival: tales of men battling wind chill and frostbite; social Darwinist novels of citified pets unleashed by "the wild's" call to compete, to become dogsled team leaders, to run at the head of the wolf pack.

Kathryn Morse treats the Klondike gold rush as both metaphor and real event. As an event, she argues, it was shaped by connections to the nature of the arctic and the culture of an industrializing United States. As a metaphor, it stands as an example of the ways an industrial people understand nature: ways, she concludes, that have resulted in environmental destruction and the abstraction of labor. As Morse admits, she could have written this book about a can of pork and beans and made many of the same points—without, that is, the sense of drama.

Fortunately, Morse decided against this route, for she has a keen eye for drama. To begin with, she humanizes Klondike gold seekers. At the time of the gold discovery in 1896, many were factory workers in

the United States, "greenbackers" and "silverites" during its presidential elections, willing critics of gold and the "fat cats" who controlled it. They made an active decision to naturalize gold as an object of value, configuring it as money and a chance at independent labor. During the following two years, their goal was to figure out how nature worked so they could move through it, reach the Klondike, and get rich. They discovered how to move through ice, snow, and thawing river, on foot, by dogsled, and in hastily constructed boats. They gathered to watch their fellows shoot rapids and cheered when they smashed themselves on rocks. They bought horses to carry their supplies up one side of mountain passes and abandoned them to die on the other. They worked, disassembling the Klondike's ecosystem to get at the gold embedded within it, turning it into a dead landscape of deforested hillsides, giant machinery, empty tin cans, and toxic-sludge fouled streams.

But they never abandoned their cultural perspectives. Instead, Morse argues, they experienced the rush as members of an industrial society, in part as producers but increasingly as consumers. As producers, Klondike miners labored to move their bodies through nature and worked hard to find gold. But soon, for them and for others, it was the Klondike itself, not their labors, that became the source of gold and adventure. As consumers, they purchased tickets on steamers and railroad cars, transferring their knowledge, labor, and contact with nature to others. Within a short time, the nature they had once struggled with became divorced from labor, reconceived as time, distance, and "passing scenery." They bought mining supplies and food in Seattle. Their purchases and the work of an active chamber of commerce transformed Seattle into the "natural" source for all the miner's needs, even though its goods came from environments and laborers throughout the United States. They ate massive amounts of pork and beans. Soon enough, the natural source of this product was not the land or labor necessary for its production, but a can with a characteristic Van Kamp's label.

As Morse hints in her conclusion, the cultural decisions to value gold to the exclusion of all else can easily be translated into current fixations on oil, "growth," or "jobs." The metaphorical associations among events, places, products, and nature can easily be seen in ideas equating war with "human nature," or certain superstores with unstoppable forces and "low prices." The real value of this book is Morse's point that each of these decisions and associations can have devastating effects, distancing people from nature and the environment, leading to destruction and exploitation. This is clearly a far cry from the Klondike's standard tales of conflict with nature or communing with wolves. For readers who expect such tales, Morse's highly interpretive account may be a disappointment. For others, this short, well-written, and complex book will provide new ways of thinking about nature,

environmental history, and American industrial culture.

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CAROLINE F. LEVANDER and CAROL J. SINGLEY, editors.
The American Child: A Cultural Studies Reader. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 318. Cloth \$62.00, paper \$24.00.

Introducing this collection, editors Caroline F. Levander and Carol J. Singley note that "American childhood is a dynamic rather than static analytical site" and, as such, "offers a unique lens through which to glimpse assumed, neglected, or hidden processes of cultural signification" (p. 11). Their book not only delivers on this promise but also is the rare academic volume that is fun to read. The fourteen essays study a range of "texts"—literature, animated films, photographs, correspondence, case histories, magazines—to consider the how the meanings of American childhood have changed, and what those changes tell us about American identity.

In the first of three essays on nineteenth-century childhood identities, Gillian Brown shows that the roots of present-day anxieties about children can be traced to "nineteenth-century American discourse about childhood" (p. 20). Echoing a point Brown makes, Melanie Dawson—in her insightful examination of advice books, books on toys, and novels by Louisa May Alcott, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Susan Warner—finds boyhood "effectively severed from adult concerns" (p. 69), while girlhood serves as preparation for womanhood. Gender differences also emerge in Karen Sánchez-Eppler's study of the childhood construction of class identity. Comparing the literary uses of street children with reports by former street children, she notes a tendency to pity street girls but to both pity and idealize street boys, who come to represent the "free" childhood sought by middle-class children—paradoxically, because of course the street child lacks such freedoms.

The next group of essays addresses the ways in which genre may liberate or oppress. Reading antebellum children's periodicals, Lesley Ginsberg shows how stories both for and against slavery compare slaves to animals, but toward different ends. Abolitionist publications suggest the rightness of freeing slaves by showing the rightness of liberating animals; proslavery publications dehumanize slaves, suggesting that they need supervision just as domestic animals do. Kelly Hager offers a Foucauldian reading of how the fictions of Alcott, Kate Douglas Wiggin, L. M. Montgomery, and Maud Hart Lovelace enforce a literary canon composed of "classics" instead of the sensational or lowbrow reading to which their protagonists are drawn. As she says, "The discipline enacted in and by these novels for young girls works both to set a norm for these literary heroines' taste and to effect a similar kind of discipline on the reader" (p. 113). Examining

how narratives by the adult psychoanalyst construct a child's identity, Michelle A. Massé reevaluates Freud's famous case history of Sergei Pankejeff (the "Wolf Man"). Jane F. Thraillkill's literary-critical tour-de-force links (among other things) the maudlin poetry of *Huckleberry Finn*'s Emmeline Grangerford to publicity surrounding baby Jessica McClure's fall down and rescue from a Texas well. Showing how contemporary trauma theorists reenact nineteenth-century debates on literary realism versus sentimentalism, Thraillkill calls for critics to acknowledge their complicity with the sentimental and to develop "an adequate phenomenology of affect" (p. 143).

Leading a section of essays about images, Laura Dawkins considers the prevalence of stories in which a black baby symbolizes "horror, disruption or simply imperfection" (p. 168). This trope figures in cautionary tales by white racists, but also appears in the works of most Harlem Renaissance writers—with the notable exception of Jean Toomer, who viewed the dark child "as a potential savior" (p. 176). Turning from figurative images to photographic ones, Richard S. Lowry argues that Lewis W. Hine's early twentieth-century photos both establish working children as "other" and evoke sympathy for their plight, inviting the viewer to join the fight against child labor. Ultimately, so powerful were Hine's pictures that the "child displaced the worker as the image of the citizen" in America (p. 204). In a deft reconstruction of social history, Jeffrey S. Turner uncovers how Sidney Kingsley's play *Dead End* (1935) titillated while it educated. The play intended to expose the predicament of poor urban children and succeeded, inspiring President Franklin D. Roosevelt to appoint a commission to study slums. However, crowds came to view the homoerotic spectacle of half-naked boys on stage—a claim Turner supports by situating the performance within the context of George Bellows's paintings, contemporary responses, and correspondence between playwright and director.

Providing a perfect transition to a quartet of articles on ideological education, Turner leads us to Julia Mickenberg's "The Pedagogy of the Popular Front," which focuses on progressive educators' belief that children will build a better future if we grant them the freedom to develop their own ideas, and teach them to think critically. As the Progressive Education Association's president wrote in 1941, progressive education "does not indoctrinate children with any particular solution to problems, but instills in them a desire to examine all proposals, to get beneath propaganda and prejudice, to seek facts and reasons, and to think boldly" (p. 231). Directing our attention to what children learn when school is out, Leslie Paris examines how early twentieth-century summer camps fought homesickness: seizing on the relative fluidity of the child's identity, counselors made unhappy children into happy campers by encouraging them to join the substitute family provided by the camp community. Offering a more contemporary look at identity and

belonging, Catherine Ceniza Choy and Gregory Paul Choy challenge the widely held belief that Korean-American children assimilate better than members of other minority groups, showing instead that they encounter a "racial schizophrenia" similar to that experienced by other minorities (p. 269). Analyzing *Pocahontas*, *The Road to El Dorado*, and *The Emperor's New Groove*, Manuel M. Martín-Rodríguez considers how and why Hollywood films have been teaching history. Unable to rely on the simple stereotypes of the past, these films use ambivalent images that "reflect mainstream anxiety about racial and ethnic unrest" (p. 295); in so doing, they construct a "utopian vision" of American history that "severs past from present" (p. 296).

These brief but deep excursions into social history offer models of interdisciplinary scholarship. Combining intellectual rigor with user-friendly prose, the essays in this volume would be valuable for classes (graduate or undergraduate) in Childhood Studies, American Studies, or Cultural Studies. Its contents prompt us to think deeply about why children have been and continue to be at the center of debates over what it means to be American.

PHILIP NEL

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PETER STONELEY. *Consumerism and American Girls' Literature, 1860-1940*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 167. \$55.00.

Peter Stoneley gives us a detailed look at girls' fiction, attempting to establish, in his words, why the figure of the "girl" came to "dominate the American imagination from the nineteenth century into the twentieth" (p. 1). He maintains that the middle-class girl provided a stable center within the chaos of advanced capitalism, and as such was "instrumental to articulating and assuaging the fear of social change" (p. 2). The social changes that he focuses on are the rise of consumerism, the interchange between country and city life, and issues of class, gender, race, and ethnicity.

Why isolate a study of such issues by gender, and why confine it to girls' fiction? Acknowledging that adult fiction also reflects these issues, Stoneley points to the greater popularity of girls' fiction. Because it was written in accessible language and reached such a large audience of readers (he notes that it was also read by adults), outselling other fiction by many times over, girls' fiction, he says, did more "cultural work" than other fiction (pp. 10-11). He maintains that his strongest motive for doing this study is that scholars have not previously recognized the "instrumentality" and "complexities" of the genre.

Stoneley divides his study into three sections. The first section, which he titles "Emergence," looks at fiction published between 1865 and 1890, and deals with Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868) and *An Old-Fashioned Girl* (1870); magazine fiction; Mary

Mapes Dodge's *Hans Brinker, or the Silver Skates* (1865); and Harriet Lothrop's *Five Little Peppers and How they Grew* (1881). Section Two, "Fulfillment," deals with works by what Stoneley calls the "second generation" of writers: Kate Douglas Wiggin's *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1903); Jean Webster's *Daddy-Long-Legs* (1912); and syndicated serial fiction like *The Motor Girls*. The final section, "Revision," looks at Gene Stratton-Porter's *A Girl of the Limberlost* (1909) and *Her Father's Daughter* (1921); the syndicated Nancy Drew series; and Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House* books.

This interdisciplinary study is a useful reminder of the importance of looking at cultural phenomena from multiple perspectives. Its particular strength is its serious consideration of popular girls' fiction, which has often been overlooked in scholarly analyses of social change. Stoneley, however, runs into trouble in his attempt to combine a study of syndicated fiction—which was conceived by businesspeople like Howard Stratemeyer, who outlined the plots and hired literary labor to flesh out the formulaic stories—with an analysis of the work of individual women writers, whose works express one person's artistic vision. Since the syndicates' product was market driven, its purpose was to fulfill the ideology of the dominant culture. It is hardly a surprise that mass-produced stories by commercial syndicates show evidence of consumerism and other cultural trends or ideas. However, the whole point of *Little Women*, *An Old-Fashioned Girl*, *Daddy-Long-Legs*, and the *Little House* books is to counteract materialistic values. "Christmas won't be Christmas without any presents," says Jo at the beginning of *Little Women*, but the theme of the novel is that material goods are not what are important at Christmas—or at any other time. Polly in *An Old Fashioned Girl* teaches the Shaws that money is not everything, and Judy Abbott, the orphan in *Daddy-Long-Legs*, insists upon repaying her benefactor before she will marry him—making clear that she is not a parasitic consumer but an equal partner. The *Little House* books emphasize that hard work and love are what is necessary for happiness, not consumer goods. These are the principal messages that girl readers took away from these books, along with how-to lessons on economic independence and self esteem.

Stoneley strains to show that these authors were advancing the consumerist culture, but his evidence is not convincing. That the self-denying Alcott bought expensive dresses later in her career and protected her privacy hardly proves that she had bought into consumer culture, nor do these facts change the message of her books. Webster's novel was made into a play, and Stoneley's principal evidence for consumerism in this novel comes from the advertising posters for the play, which have nothing to do with Webster, the novel, or its reading audience. His evidence for consumerism in the Wilder books is equally flimsy: he pounces on the fact that the Ingalls girls are excited about the prospect that once when Pa goes to town to

trade furs, he might bring them a treat from the store (p. 137). Surely there are not many deprived children in any era who would not be excited at such a prospect.

This raises another question: what is Stoneley's definition of "consumerism"? Sometimes it seems as if he means buying to excess, as in his concluding statement that "girls' fiction evinces a hunger for conspicuous wealth" (p. 141), but when his examples include the Ingalls girls' joy at the prospect that on one day out of three hundred sixty-five they might be given a small treat, he seems to mean buying anything.

In addition to the questions noted above, there are other objections one might raise, from the inordinate significance that Stoneley gives to the (white, middle-class) adolescent girl to his error in transposing Charlotte Perkins Gilman's name. In spite of these problems, however, Stoneley's book is a worthwhile and useful exploration of an important subject.

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IRON JAWED ANGELS. Directed by Katja von Garnier. Written by Jennifer Friedes. United States. 2004; color; 125 minutes. Distributed by Home Box Office.

The story of women's struggle for the vote in the United States is an inherently dramatic one, and each generation of Americans coming to this story emphasizes those elements deemed relevant to its own moment. *Iron Jawed Angels* is no exception. Its narrative projects recent historical scholarship on the women's suffrage movement utilizing contemporary music video production values in an effort to portray the subjective experience of female activists engaged in the struggle for the vote. While arguably struggling beneath a rock-and-roll sensibility, it nevertheless captures the emotional resonance of an important chapter in American history, and does so for a young, postfeminist audience sorely in need of its message.

Spotlighting the campaign for women's suffrage between 1912 and 1920, *Iron Jawed Angels* is fundamentally a story about generational conflict. 1912 becomes a new beginning for the movement as Alice Paul (Hilary Swank), recently returned from training with militant suffragettes in England, accepts responsibility for the Washington, D.C., committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from Carrie Chapman Catt (Anjelica Huston). The film's action focuses on the tension between those veteran campaigners struggling for women's right to vote in individual states of the Union, and a young cohort of activists who believed that suffragists should instead demand a constitutional amendment. The long history of the organized campaign for women's enfranchisement prior to 1912 must be inferred from isolated scenes, but these episodic hints at the long history of the campaign make sense largely to viewers already familiar with the contours of this story. Those unaware of this history could be forgiven for believing, upon

viewing this film, that American women owe their right to vote solely to the efforts of Paul and her young comrades.

Those of us who research and write about the past expend much intellectual and psychic energy attempting to understand the world our protagonists inhabited: its assumptions, its rules, its order. Filmmakers, however, seek to make the past sensible within current frameworks. *Iron Jawed Angels* (produced by HBO) interprets the struggle for the vote as a conflict between women's desires for work and sexual fulfillment. This theme is laid bare in juxtaposed scenes of Paul in the bathtub, discreetly but unmistakably masturbating, cross-cut with scenes of her widowed love interest and his young son at home. Repeatedly, the film makes the point that sexual identity is central to modern subjectivity (something we could argue was under debate in the early part of the twentieth century), and that women do not have to be in relationship to men to find sexual fulfillment. The problem with this interpretation, however, is that it misrepresents the motivations of those women who struggled for the vote. Sexual empowerment, after all, was not their primary goal: casting a vote at the ballot box was.

Yet, in this respect, the film is perhaps truer to those early twentieth-century activists who struggled for women's political rights than one might think. It turns out that the genre of the music video, from which the director borrows liberally, is a wonderfully well-adapted tool for portraying the youthful zeal of Paul and her colleagues, the excitement of working a grass-roots cause in the nation's capital, and the difficulties of balancing work and love. *Iron Jawed Angels* restores passion to the telling of women's struggle for political rights by insisting that voting *matters*. Paul and her sisters in the movement display energetic idealism and strong loyalty to each other as they refuse to bow to the exigencies of pragmatic politics. The website HBO has constructed for the film conveys this enthusiasm and dedication, attempting to make the film relevant to today's young adults by displaying period photographs, presenting a women's suffrage timeline, and providing valuable links to other websites such as the League of Women Voters and the Youth Vote Coalition. Thus, while the film may imbibe a bit too freely of an MTV aesthetic, if it serves the purpose of engaging young women (the group least likely to vote in presidential elections), then perhaps a little historical license should be excused.

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BENJAMIN HEBER JOHNSON. *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans*. (Western Americana Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. 260. \$30.00.

An extraordinary episode of violence erupted along the Texas-Mexico border that reached its zenith in

1915–1917 and was repressed in the historical memory of both countries. Largely justified by the Plan de San Diego (PSD), named for a small Texas town where it had allegedly originated, a group of Tejanos had launched an uprising against the newly emerging Anglo economic and social order that was displacing them in South Texas. Initially calling for a liberation of races and peoples by waging a war of extermination against all male Anglos over the age of sixteen, the purpose of the rising was to create a new republic from the territory of the Mexican Cession that might later align itself with Mexico. A separate republic for Negroes would be created adjacent to the new republic, and Indians would have their tribal lands restored. Within two months of its proclamation, the PSD was revised on February 20, 1915, making it unmistakably an anarchist document. Accepting the earlier iteration, it now proclaimed the social war of the downtrodden proletariat against the forces of capitalism with the “Liberating Army of Races and Peoples,” promising to deliver cultivated land to the disinherited confiscated from their exploiters.

There was far more to the PSD than local protest, for Mexican revolutionaries under the banner of the Constitutionalist faction led by Venustiano Carranza supported the movement, and pressure from the administration of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson for Carranza to suppress the raiders did not bring results quickly enough for American authorities. Persistent rumors maintained that Germany and Japan also supported the PSD. Benjamin Heber Johnson’s book seeks to show the local conditions in which the PSD emerged and the local consequences that eventually produced Mexican American political action in forming the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in 1929. He downplays the importance of anarchism and its international ideas to the detriment of understanding the central leaders of the PSD, Luis de la Rosa and Aniceto Pizaña. These men led attacks on symbols of Anglo oppression in the valley such as the King Ranch, railroads and irrigation pumping stations, and vigilante leaders. Their treatment of Germans raised an ongoing specter of foreign sabotage that transcended Anglo fears of Mexican revolutionary involvement. Johnson describes the kidnapping and murder of vigilantes Alfred and Charles Austin but fails to observe that de la Rosa led the raid and ordered their execution. When de la Rosa and his band derailed the Brownsville train and attacked the passengers, an incident Johnson describes, Johnson omits that two of the Anglos claimed (falsely) to be Germans and were left unharmed. When Pizaña attacked Fresno’s Pump Canal and kidnapped some of its employees, Johnson does not report that two Anglos, when asked if they were German, shook their heads and were summarily executed. Anarchism’s internationalism makes it messy for those who concentrate on local history.

Johnson regards the PSD as foolish, costing the survivors much more than it was worth. Yet the plight

of some Tejanos had become so desperate, even before the great repression that followed it, that anarchism provided an explanation and a plan of action to redress their grievances. Johnson reflects a general bias in the U.S. against serious study of anarchism by historians writing on the Latin American and Chicano experience. For at least a generation, Europeanists and many Latin Americanists have tried to present historical studies of anarchism on its own terms, without letting its historical failure prevent the author from taking anarchism seriously as, under certain circumstances, a meaningful option. That the consequences of that option made conditions worse is irrelevant to the desperation that drove women and men to seek it.

Johnson does a good job describing the dire results of the PSD locally. Calculating that the number of Tejano deaths in the “low thousands is probable,” he writes that “a Tejano in South Texas was more likely to ‘disappear’ than a citizen of Argentina during that country’s infamous ‘Dirty War’ of the 1970s” (p. 120). This episode in U.S. history of what today is called “ethnic cleansing” needs to be confronted. Yet historical memory has been repressed, as Tejanos and ethnic Mexicans in South Texas were repressed and converted into a pliable labor force by the Texas Rangers and vigilantes, not only in the wake of the PSD but during World War I and throughout the 1920s. Johnson makes a strong case for Anglo solidarity in bringing Jim Crow discrimination effectively into the valley in the 1920s, but this decade deserves deeper treatment than he can give it. He mentions Ku Klux Klan (KKK) activity briefly (p. 178), but its far-ranging power of intimidation needs more coverage. A photograph in the Carlos Larralde Collection from the mid-1920s shows a frightening image of a night ride by the KKK through the streets of San Benito, the home of de la Rosa, a decade after the PSD. Anglos still feared what might come again.

Johnson persuasively argues that the community of Mexican ancestry in the valley struggled for self-identity and found it partially in LULAC, membership in which was restricted to American citizens. Such membership requirements thus excluded many in the community but solidified the political base to fight segregation. I would argue that the anarchism of the PSD eventually forced the conservative elements that founded LULAC to become more engaged and committed to national citizenship. Despite my reservations, Johnson has written an important book, one that deserves the attention of those interested in the history of the United States, Chicanos, and the Texas-Mexico borderlands.

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RANDY B. MCBEE. *Dance Hall Days: Intimacy and Leisure among Working-Class Immigrants in the United States*. New York: New York University Press, 2000. Pp. ix, 293. \$40.00.

Tattered memories of dances enjoyed long ago show up occasionally in on-line auction listings. There are dance cards, song books, band advertisements, and advertising posters, but it is the pictures that are especially evocative. To the urban historian, these snapshots and posed portraits are not only mementoes of pleasure-filled evenings but also documents of the way that public dancing in twentieth-century America long suffered from the contradictory images of innocence and evil. Settlement house workers and anti-delinquency reformers cast the cheap dance halls that appeared after the turn of the century as icons of evil. The dark interiors and reinforcing atmosphere of loose morality in makeshift venues created opportunities for sinful experimentation, while the sensuous music hastened the loss of inhibition. By contrast, the polished floors, escapist architecture, and veneer of respectability that was available for the price of admission to the large commercial ballrooms built during the 1920s created the terpsichorean equivalent of the popcorn palace movie theater. Only a few of the latter, including Chicago's Aragon Ballroom, still survive. Somewhere in between those extremes was the real world of amusement that was inhabited by working-class young people.

Like all books, this one by Randy B. McBee is shaped by its sources. Earlier studies of dance halls and their habitués had been based largely on picking through reformers' jeremiads to glean facts enough to reconstruct social patterns. This book draws heavily on the 1970s oral recollections of those who were young half a century earlier. Because of its sources, it is much more about social relationships than physical dancing venues, although it nicely frames the story in the vigorous national debate over the commercialization of leisure.

The book begins with a good accounting of the different kinds of places where young people could meet to form relationships with those of the opposite sex. They were forced to find mates while operating within the context of tight social constraints created by a limited discretionary income, exhausting work hours, family restrictions, and customs that were part of the immigrant baggage. With the ultimate goal of marriage and a space of their own, young people were forced to create collective strategies for amusement and courtship.

McBee's book does a masterful job of getting inside those relationships. It is a solid contribution to both women's and men's studies; readers are made to feel as if they are eavesdropping on conversations taking place on opposite sides of the dance floor. Young men discuss their "prospects," form social clubs complete with clubhouses, and then gradually make the individual decisions to settle down and marry. McBee's discussion of how they learned etiquette is a masterpiece. Across the dance floor, the women talk about seeking independence from parents, to whom most of those who work surrender their paychecks. Dance venues often became places where working-class

women struggled to shape their own identities without generating conflict with their parents. Often, they found themselves rushing into a hasty marriage with someone they did not know well in an effort to forge an escape route to independence.

This is a very important book that draws together astute analyses of youth, gender, morals, amusements, and ethnic history. But one strength of this book, its depth, may also be a weakness. That is, the author's remarkable analysis of oral interviews takes us inside the thoughts of a relatively small number of participants, whom we get to know very well. Every nuance of their comments is analyzed from every possible perspective. But, the reader may wonder how accurately one can generalize from their experience. Most of the narrative is based on Italian and Polish youth in Chicago and New York City. Did Swedish young people in Minneapolis or St. Louis Germans have the same conversations? There are a few other minor flaws. There is not enough about the dissemination of dance fads, and the narrative is generally time compressed, allowing the reader to lose a sense of progressive historical change. But these problems are minor compared with the book's achievement. And after you read it, you will never look into faces on the old dance photos in the same way.

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JOEL DENKER. *The World on a Plate: A Tour Through the History of America's Ethnic Cuisine*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 2003. Pp. ix, 196. \$24.00.

This book by Joel Denker offers readers a breezy read on the topic of immigrant foodways and their wide diffusion onto the plates, and into the consciousness, of Americans who otherwise had no real contact with or knowledge of ethnic practices. For example, most American consumers of yogurt probably have little idea of the historic process by which this foodstuff of the Middle East ended up on their grocery shelves. Denker traces the journeys of a wide array of foods, making clear by means of a range of individual food stories that Americans of many backgrounds owe a debt to the immigrants who brought these foods to their new home.

Organized along a group by group structure, the book treats with delight how various ethnic cuisines have made their way into America and American life. For each group—and the author includes Italians, Arabs, Greeks, Jews, Chinese, South Asians (Indians and Pakistanis) and, finally, Latin Americans—Denker shows how foods, once the ordinary stuff of immigrant communities and known only to insiders, entered into the larger consciousness and palates of Americans. Each chapter tells the story of a particular set of foods authentic to an immigrant group and highlights the activities of ambitious entrepreneurs who figured out a

variety of ways to make money by marketing “insider” foods to “outsiders.”

A popular writer who has made his mark in the field of food writing, Denker brings to this historical study the eye of the journalist. For each group under discussion, he crafts engaging stories that do a commendable job of depicting the foods commonly eaten by the members of the immigrant enclave. He manages to capture the minute details of food—sights, smells, tastes—that are notoriously difficult to convey in words. Denker likewise brings to life the activities of often flamboyant individuals, the business people and clever risk takers who discerned, correctly, that markets could be created for “exotic” foods. Denker makes it clear that these foods had to be adapted to appeal to a broad base of consumers, and it was this recognition on the part of ethnic merchants that makes Denker’s history possible.

But for all of its assets as a piece of journalism, the book falls far short of being history, at least as a serious intellectual enterprise. Indeed, the very strengths of the book as a piece of popular writing severely limit its historical value. First, this ambitious book, which focuses on no fewer than eight immigrant groups, relies on not a single source in its subjects’ languages. Nearly everything that appears is derived from secondary sources, with the exception of material gleaned from general newspapers. No material comes from the immigration era itself, let alone from the words and perspectives of immigrants.

Second, Denker has paid no attention to issues of class, generation, or gender. All Italians, for example, are lumped together as a single entity, regardless of where they came from, when, or their economic position. Time also does not appear here as an analytic factor. The book assumes not only that all immigrants within a community ate the same foods, but that the foods that they consumed in America had come intact and unchanged from the “old home.” It takes as a given the existence of cultural authenticity, believing that what immigrants ate in America represented an unproblematic transplantation of home foods. Those dishes that eventually moved into the larger American marketplace had once been “traditional,” according to this book, and as such these foods had no history.

Denker’s analysis is overly simplistic and too easy. He has engaged little with the work going on in the field of immigration and ethnic history, and while his book makes for enjoyable reading, it will have no lasting impact or importance to historians.

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MICHAEL MCGERR. *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870–1920*. New York: Free Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 395. \$30.00.

Any treatment of the Progressive era immediately confronts two problems. First, how is one to make sense of the diffuse energies of the “progressive”

reformers themselves, whose efforts have variously been linked to the ideological influence of social democracy, social control, social gospel Protestantism, maternalism, antimonopoly, and the cult of efficiency, among others? Second, how might one weigh the influence of the reformers in relation to other contemporary actors in business, politics, and the workplace as well as in community life, the home, and a consumer marketplace of ever-increasing invention? Balancing reformist projects and changing social contexts, and with an eye for compelling characters and a good storyline, Michael E. McGerr tries out his own ordering principles on the era, with mixed results.

Although Progressive reform is regularly linked to middle-class activism, McGerr goes farther to link the entire dynamism of the period to a remaking of middle-class Victorian identity. In a key chapter entitled “The Radical Center,” McGerr suggests that “by the turn of the century . . . American Victorians were no longer Victorians. Rethinking domesticity, rejecting individualism, reconsidering work and pleasure, and redesigning the body, middle-class men and women had cast off much of their old identity” (p. 64). McGerr emphasizes that this remaking within the middle class depended first of all on a “peace treaty between the sexes” (p. 50), at once confronting the traditional sexual double standard with an ethic of more restrained pleasure and offering women expanded opportunities in education and the workplace. Elbowing aside the alternative but comparatively inert agendas of other social classes, including the “upper ten,” farmers, and the urban working class, a missionary, newly “progressive” middle-class vanguard now set out to “remake the nation’s feuding, polyglot population in their own middle-class image” (p. xiv). For McGerr, it was a second remaking of the middle class (this time by the lure of a renewed individualism based on modernism and a new technology of leisure and commercial amusement) that, combined with disillusionment after World War I, brought the Progressive impulse to a close.

McGerr effectively divides the Progressive agenda into four parts. First, with an environmentalist confidence in the reshaping of individual souls, Progressive reformers sought to help the underprivileged and eliminate vice. Here, McGerr neatly conjoins Robert M. La Follette’s attack on social crime, Carrie Nation’s self-transformation into the Carry A. Nation campaign against saloons, the Country Life Movement for rural modernization, and playground and anti-child labor movements. As the Boston North Bennet Street Boys’ Club ruled, members “mustn’t get excited, chew gum, spit, swear, cheat or talk Italian” (p. 112). Second, to curb class conflict, the Progressives stopped just short of socialism in encouraging associated activity (e.g. trade unionism) and the selective use of state power. McGerr cites President Theodore Roosevelt’s invocation of the interests of a “third party, the great public” in the 1902 anthracite strike as a defining, if somewhat isolated, advance in this arena. Third, Progressives

sought to control big business. Though punctuated with celebrated measures of trust-busting and conservation, their favored solutions—antitrust, regulation, and compensation—were at once internally contradictory and largely ineffectual in transforming the political economy of bigness. Fourth, McGerr takes up what he aptly calls the “shield of segregation” that reformers were inclined to apply not only to African Americans but also to Native Americans, the “feeble-minded” and insane, and Asians and other new immigrants. Bold and confident in taking on the problems of gender, family, class, and economy, McGerr’s Progressives utterly covered before the issue of race.

Caught, like his historiographical predecessors, on the horns of the reformers and the world they inhabited, McGerr’s treatment begs for both amplification and amendment. Perhaps most significantly, his emphasis on the middle class slights other contemporary “progressive” agents. The roles of social science and higher education receive little mention. More surprisingly for the author of *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865–1928* (1986), the role of the political parties goes equally unattended here. Ditto for organized labor’s role in the Progressive coalition: missing without cause are Sidney Hillman, Robert Wagner, Frances Perkins, and the Triangle Fire.

For McGerr, the Progressive moment stands out as a bold, even utopian effort whose failure permanently constricted further reforms in the American polity. Even the 1930s and 1960s, he claims, were “in many ways less radical than progressivism” (p. xvi). More wistful than self-evident, this judgment ignores the extent to which the Progressives had already moderated the tone and narrowed the constituency of the Knights of Labor-populist insurgency that preceded them. Finally, one wonders if individualism does not bear too heavy a load here, as the imputed, conservatizing ideology both of pre-Progressive Victorians and post-Progressive modernists and consumerists. Were not the Greenwich Village radicals expressive modernists, and did not the movies and the phonograph appeal as much to postwar European socialists as to Americans searching for normalcy?

LEON FINK

University of Illinois,

Chicago [All reviews of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

SUSAN TRAVERSO. *Welfare Politics in Boston, 1910–1940*. (Political Development of the American Nation: Studies in Politics and History.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 164. \$34.95.

Susan Traverso examines the evolution of welfare policy during the early decades of the twentieth century, focusing on one particular location: Boston. She takes a local historian’s approach to state and national policy that is certain to add rich detail to an area of study that often focuses more on policies than on

people. Indeed, as Traverso herself suggests, “Boston provides a rich context in which to examine the impact of politics and ethnicity on the development of welfare policy” (p. 8). Ethnic and religious diversity—though as Traverso admits little racial diversity—color the landscape in Boston, and while it is clear that Boston is not necessarily “typical” in its experiences, there is much here that applies to other urban centers during the new immigrant period.

In this detailed study, Traverso looks at changing welfare policies over the course of three decades: the development of Mother’s Aid, the expansion of public welfare, and the eventual contraction of publicly funded welfare that predates the depression. What she highlights is a story about groups of individuals, specifically Catholic and Jewish leaders, who had ideas about public assistance and poverty that challenged those of the traditional Protestant leaders of the city. Specifically she argues that Catholics and Jews found common ground in their assumptions about gender and family that allowed them to push for a slightly enlarged, if still biased, social welfare policy in Boston. Traverso should be lauded for the detailed consideration she gives to the ways in which ethno-religious ideals about poverty, charity, and gender shape policy decisions.

While the strength of this work is the level of detail that such a case study can provide, its weakness seems to stem from an editorial choice. For readers with little background in social welfare policy, the book is quite accessible and interesting. In offering a slim 123 pages of actual text, however, Traverso struggles to connect an excellent localized study with something larger.

While a good local history must offer detail and local “color,” it must also address wider historiographical arguments, adding further evidence to, or calling into question, what has already been said in the field. It is here that Traverso struggles the most. For example, in the beginning of chapter two, Traverso states: “The proponents of widows’ pensions in Massachusetts, like their counterparts in other states” (p. 27). Nowhere in the text, however, does she give us any idea about what was going on in those other states or what other historians have said about them. Readers will have to do the work themselves, using information buried in an endnote three paragraphs later. Similarly, from the beginning, the question of how one connects local policy decisions to state and national policy and, more importantly, to funding begs to be answered.

To a degree, this book struggles to define itself in the field of social welfare history and to differentiate itself from other works. Recently a good deal of important work has been done on connections between welfare policy and gender ideology by scholars such as Theda Skocpol, Gwendolyn Mink, and Linda Gordon. Their books do appear in Traverso’s footnotes, as well they should, and here she is in good company. In terms of differentiating her own contributions to the field, Traverso argues that she is moving policy studies in new directions by focusing specifically on ethno-reli-

gious ideals that helped shape policy. While this may be an innovative approach for the field of policy studies, it is less so in the larger field of the history of social welfare. There scholars looking at, for example, charity and mutual aid often focus specifically on the shaping force of religion and ethnicity. Many of these works focus on a single ethnic group, but some of the best, such as Mary Oates's *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America* (1995), connect a religious or ethnic tradition to a philanthropic one. Traverso does not reference this literature, nor does she place her own work within it. Traverso's book is a first step, providing rich local details. The important task of incorporating this information into a broader synthesis will have to wait for another study.

LAURA TUENNERMAN-KAPLAN
California University of Pennsylvania

DEBORAH FITZGERALD. *Every Farm a Factory: The Industrial Ideal in American Agriculture*. (Yale Agrarian Studies Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 242. \$45.00.

This book is the first to explain systematically the influence of industrialization on American agriculture. Other scholars have explored various aspects of the topic; none has examined it, especially the idea of it, so thoroughly. Deborah Fitzgerald, author of *The Business of Breeding: Public Development of Hybrid Corn in Illinois* (1990) and an expert on the history of technology, brings her skills to an assessment of modern American agriculture as a whole. The results are impressive, as her thought-provoking narrative offers insights and information often overlooked by social and environmental historians who share some of the same subject matter. Fitzgerald insists that "it is essential to grasp the overarching logic of change" (p. 4) that drove agricultural industrialization in the early twentieth century. In her judgment, that logic emphasized the need to rationalize, systematize, and standardize American farm production. Propounded by agricultural engineers and agricultural economists, the industrial ideal encouraged mechanization and record-keeping, and it depicted the farm as a factory and the farmer as a businessman. Fitzgerald's emphasis on the ideal makes the book seem somewhat like an intellectual history. Yet, as an historian of technology, she highlights the engineers and economists who grounded the ideal in such things as tractors and in such places as the high plains of Montana.

Drawing on extensive research in manuscripts, government documents, and trade publications, Fitzgerald explains the sequence of events in the early twentieth century that made industrial production the dominant mode of agricultural thought and practice. World War I, in her view, was pivotal. The war stimulated economic demand while creating a shortage of horses and human labor. Opening land in Montana and other western places at a time of animal and labor scarcity seemed to call for new methods, including mechaniza-

tion. Then came the postwar agricultural price collapse, and in the midst of the disarray, engineers and economists in the state colleges stepped forward with a solution: make farming more like other parts of the corporate-industrial order. Although Fitzgerald acknowledges that small farmers did not necessarily rush to embrace the factory farm ideal, she points out that elements of the program attracted them. Their partial adoption of industrial methods then drew them further into the system. When farmers began using tractors, they continued to use horses for some tasks, but bankers discouraged animal power by favoring the producers who relied solely on machines. The adoption of combines, furthermore, allowed grain farmers to double their acreages, but the farmers also opened additional land because they needed increased production and profits to pay for the combines. Increased acreage in turn deepened these producers' commitment to grain, resulting in the specialization that the factory farm idealists advocated.

Fitzgerald devotes far more attention to a series of spectacular experiments in large-scale industrial farming, most notably the Campbell Farming Corporation in Montana. "Modern farming," remarked Tom Campbell, the company's founder and a trained mechanical engineer, "is 90 percent engineering and 10 percent agriculture." (p. 129) With tens of thousands of acres, fleets of tractors and implements, and many laborers, Campbell's operation seemed the very embodiment of the factory farming ideal. Although Fitzgerald ends her study in 1930, she argues that the principles on which Campbell organized his farm continued to transform American agriculture as a whole. Aided by the New Deal and later policies, factory farming continued to expand, eventually yielding the gigantic hog production complexes of contemporary rural America and modern international agricultural development schemes such as the Green Revolution.

Some historians no doubt will take issue with aspects of Fitzgerald's interpretation. Agricultural history is rendered here in relatively stark terms, devoid of the social and regional diversity that so many scholars insist is necessary to an understanding of the American past. They might disagree with the author's insistence that the industrial ideal in agriculture can be reduced to bare essentials. Partly this is a matter of perspective; social historians will want to see the ideal through the experience of families, environmental historians will want a greater emphasis on nature, California historians will wish for more attention to their state, and so on.

None of these objections, however, should dissuade historians of business, technology, environment, agriculture, and many other fields from opening Fitzgerald's book and considering what it has to say. Agricultural historians, the book's most likely consumers, might consider it in relation to works by such scholars as Randall Beeman and James Pritchard, Mary Neth, Steven Stoll, and Frieda Knobloch. But this excep-

tional book has broad appeal, and anyone interested in twentieth-century industrialization should read it.

MARK FIEGE
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LIPING BU. *Making the World Like Us: Education, Cultural Expansion, and the American Century*. (Perspectives on the Twentieth Century.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. xx, 279. \$70.00.

The title of this scholarly work accurately captures the central dynamics of the United States' use of educational and cultural exchange programs as a fourth dimension of foreign policy. In this historical overview of a century of U.S. engagement with the rest of the world, Liping Bu describes in rich detail the complementary as well as conflicting roles that international scholarly and student exchange programs have played in pursuit of the economic, political, and military goals of various Washington D.C. administrations and non-governmental organizations.

Examining two major historical periods—pre- and post-World War II—Bu focuses on specific agencies and actors, educational movements, and legislative acts that were critical to the promotion of American values and interests abroad. Following the introduction, seven substantive chapters document respectively the missionary thrust in cultural expansion prior to World War I; cultural internationalism to promote world peace in the interwar years; the international house movement as an alternative to the isolationism of this period; the role of higher education institutions, especially Teachers College, Columbia University, in contributing to human advancement overseas; the emergence of the private sector in response to government reluctance to become involved with exchange programs; the role of philanthropy, particularly of the Ford Foundation, in furthering American interests during the Cold War; and the role of the state in the post-World War II period. Among the various initiatives of pivotal religious, professional, and educational institutions and individuals involved in advocating for expanded international exchange programs as mechanisms for advancing both U.S. national interests as well as the cause of international understanding and world peace were: John R. Mott, General Secretary of the World Student Christian Federation and the YMCA International; Harry Edmonds of the International House Movement; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the various family philanthropies; Paul Monroe, Director of the School of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University; Clarence Linton and Allen Blaisdell, first executive officers of the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors; and Stephen Duggan, first president of the Institute of International Education. The final chapter, which focuses on major federal legislation, notably the 1966 International Education Act (IEA), also details the role of key legislators such as Senator William J. Fulbright and presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson in

attempting to frame more enlightened educational policies that diverge from a unilateral approach exclusively promoting American interests internationally without taking into account the diverse aspirations of those coming from overseas to study and work in the United States.

Bu cites several major surveys and other primary documents to give voice to those who came with high expectations and often left with more realistic, if not negative views, of American society. Using a variety of archival and secondary sources, Bu provides a well-balanced depiction of the strengths and shortcomings of international exchange programs caught between conflicting goals, such as the often instrumental, short-term political interests of the government and the long-term, more educational ideals of universities. This tension was most evident during the Cold War period when exchange programs were seized upon as part of the propaganda wars with the Soviet Union.

Although the individual chapters form a coherent whole, the book would have benefited from a summary chapter reviewing the principal findings and presenting the author's overall assessment of the outcomes of cultural expansion and international education programs for mutual understanding, world peace, and Third World development. Similarly, as Bu's narrative ends with the failure of the U.S. Congress to fund the 1966 IEA, the reader is left with questions that the author might have briefly addressed concerning how these exchange initiatives played out in the final decades of the twentieth century as globalization increasingly linked local and national communities to one another. Notwithstanding these provisos, this book is an extraordinarily informative and significant contribution to the scholarship on the cultural and educational dimensions of foreign policy.

ROBERT F. ARNOVE
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DAVID GOLDFIELD. *Southern Histories: Public, Personal, and Sacred*. (Georgia Southern University Jack N. and Addie D. Averitt Lecture Series, number 11.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 123. \$24.95.

This short book is by an able scholar, but it is not a work of scholarship. In three distinct essays, originally written as lectures, David Goldfield offers personal reflections on southern history and on the role of southern historians. His comments do not rise to the level of a philosophy of history. In many cases, his audience is not professional historians but the larger public. In each essay, he reveals his own political commitments—a progressive Democrat—or a position that is now almost conventional among academic historians. A more self-conscious clarification, and a critical defense, of these often assumed preferences would have added needed depth to this book.

The first essay, on who owns southern history, will be of greatest interest to scholars. It contains a brief

survey of the shifts in southern historiography since the Civil War, documents the early control over this history by white historians, applauds the more recent growth of black history, but still laments the failure of southerners to achieve a fully integrated and inclusive history that crosses racial boundaries. In the essay, Goldfield unfortunately identifies the white South with the Confederacy and later myths about it. He ignores the third of whites in the former slave states who supported the Union, and who never bought into the so-called "Lost Cause."

In his second essay, Goldfield assesses the role of religion in the South. Here his personal views are quite clear. He does not like its role. He correctly identifies forms of Protestant evangelicalism, or what he sometimes refers to as orthodoxy, as the majority religion among southerners. But he groups quite varied evangelicals without clarifying internal divisions. In doctrine, and worship style, the gap between Pentecostals, black and white, and most Southern Baptists is vast, as is the divergence between Southern Baptists and mainline Presbyterians and Methodists. He ignores the groups outside what most define as evangelical, such as Churches of Christ, Roman Catholics, and Episcopalians. In brief, he sees an overlap between a defensive religious orthodoxy and the defense of the Lost Cause. In his view, this religious stance has impeded southern progress, despite its "positive" role in several social reforms, in the civil rights movement, and in bringing comfort and solace to individuals. In particular, he laments the extent that an atavistic evangelicalism has abetted the growing role of a "religious right" among white southerners. He concludes that without "a progressive religion, there will be no progressive history for the South to call its own. And its talented people will not thrive in a context of orthodoxy" (p. 71).

The final essay amounts to a personal defense of his use of history in the public arena. In behalf of black voting rights, he used historical research to defend what became legally challenged congressional district boundaries in North Carolina. He conducted a regional study to support environmental concerns that helped block off shore oil production along the Florida Panhandle. Finally, his investigation and sentencing testimony may have helped two convicts escape the death sentence. Goldfield offers a persuasive apology for each of these efforts, and also for the use of historical research for such immediate, and politically sensitive, purposes. Many may disagree with his causes, particularly in the redistricting case, but probably not with the relevance of historical knowledge in their adjudication.

PAUL K. CONKIN
Vanderbilt University

MELISSA WALKER, JEANETTE R. DUNN, and JOE P. DUNN, editors. *Southern Women at the Millennium: A Historical Perspective*. Foreword by JOE P. DUNN. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2003. Pp. x, 243. \$44.95.

Arising from an academic symposium at Converse College in 2001, the essays in this collection investigate the possible trends for southern women in the new century by tracing developments from Reconstruction to the present. Using various methods and approaches, all authors seem to arrive at the conclusion that, at least by the last quarter of the twentieth century, the meaning of "southern" has dwindled to one of geography more than any other characteristic. Although southern distinctions might be disappearing for the future, many of the contributors to this collection offer suggestions for further investigation of the past.

In an interesting essay that offers a complex picture of southern women's economic life, Jacqueline Jones argues that most of women's past economic activities do not appear on tax lists or in census reports, making their labors more difficult to measure. What is known is that, prior to 1950, a higher proportion of southern women compared to women of other regions worked in agriculture. Jones finds that, by the 1960s, racial divisions of labor in the South began to fade as industry and diversified farming replaced the single-crop economy. By the 1970s, gendered divisions of labor also decreased as women looked for support from the 1964 Civil Rights Act to move into traditionally male jobs such as mining and construction. Jones predicts that the twenty-first century will witness fewer regional distinctions for southern women due to more involvement in the global economy.

Sarah Wilkerson-Freeman argues persuasively that southern women's political activism did not take male forms because such action would have been too threatening to the white male power structure. This forced southern women to use such subtle means to influence law and policy that many of their efforts are left out of the scholarship. Wilkerson-Freeman points out that the first issues of importance to women, such as education, welfare, and gender equity, barely addressed by the majority in the nineteenth century, cannot be ignored by national political parties today, suggesting that women's political participation has been successful and deserves further study.

Although women like Fannie Lou Hamer, Angela Davis, and Rosa Parks have received attention from scholars, Barbara A. Woods suggests that there is still a large piece missing from the story of the civil rights movement. Woods offers a model for future research in the field by comparing the experiences of six lesser-known black and white women. In her intimate look at these women, Woods finds that both black and white women were driven by spirituality to work for civil rights, but that black women enjoyed more support from their families than did the white women involved in the movement. Woods suggests that understanding the individual motives and struggles to fight injustice faced by southern women in the past will likely lead more women to unite to correct present social problems.

Amy Thompson McCandless compares debates over race segregation in education to arguments against

single-sex educational facilities, focusing primarily on two publicly supported male institutions of higher education: Virginia Military Institute and the Citadel. When women demanded entrance to these schools, compromise solutions were offered, incorporating auxiliary programs into nearby private women's academies. Eventually, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that these "separate" compromises were not "equal." Unless female students experienced the strenuous regimen demanded of male students, they could not expect to achieve the leadership skills they sought. Although both formerly all-male institutions have fallen into stable coeducational operations, McCandless argues that "separate but equal" arguments relative to both race and sex will persist in the twenty-first-century South.

Southern distinctions for rural women, according to volume coeditor Melissa Walker, have come from resistance to agricultural diversification, the crop-lien system, racial oppression, and the slow rate of growth in industrial alternatives for employment in the South. World wars caused the rural South to lose population as tenant farmers moved into industrial employment. New Deal programs and allotments provided relief more for large than small landowners and, in fact, pushed many tenants and sharecroppers from the land. Although many southern women still live in rural areas, most commute to nonagricultural employment in nearby urban areas.

A racially and ethnically diverse South has been obscured by a cultural fiction, according to Anne Goodwyn Jones. Until various theoretical methods began breaking open southern texts, the region appeared to be a binary society, white/black, rich/poor, a myth that Jones believes was fostered by the "fathers' voices" to maintain control over society. In her own intriguing study, Jones has located patriarchal fiction even in the works of southern women writers who, although known for featuring the voices of women of other races, remained controlled by patriarchal dominance. Jones predicts that the South's true diversity, what she calls "a publicly polyvocal South," will continue to emerge through closer examination of text (p. 180).

Nancy A. Hardesty argues that southern distinctions for women relative to religion derive in part from the fact that a majority of the nation's Baptists reside in the region and that the South has proved more resistant to the ordination of women. Although major denominations split over the issue of abolition in the nineteenth century, most of the national churches reunited by 1987, with the exception of the Southern Baptist Convention, which also continues to refuse leadership positions to women. As migration increases into the region in the twenty-first century, Hardesty predicts that the South will become more spiritually diverse, and she believes that southern women will continue to demand more gender equality in church leadership.

The solid scholarship in these articles suffers at

times from the authors' failure to clearly define the "southernness" of their subjects, although the sum of the essays convinces the reader that southern distinctions seem to be disappearing. As Carol K. Blesser states in her conclusion, "by 2050, there will not be a separate southern women's culture; there will be only an American culture with no significant differences for women, north or south" (p. 232). The work of historians, however, is not to predict the future as much as to interpret the past; the most impressive offerings in this collection are the suggestions for further research that will provide a more complete and complex picture of southern women's history.

SHEILA R. PHIPPS

Appalachian State University

CATHERINE FOSSL. *Subversive Southerner: Anne Braden and the Struggle for Racial Justice in the Cold War South*. Foreword by ANGELA DAVIS. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xxix, 418. \$35.00.

If biography at its most pedestrian traps the reader in numbing details of daily life, expansive biography embeds individual lives in a broad and textured historical context, bringing to light reciprocal relations between real human beings and historical phenomena such as migrations, wars, economic revolutions, and fundamental shifts in public policy. Good biography also highlights links between seemingly disparate events and movements in ways temporally limited period histories cannot. Catherine Fosl's account of the life of Kentucky journalist and antiracist activist Anne Braden is a biography that does all of these things.

Fosl writes beautifully, drawing both with a broad brush and a fine line. She embeds the life of one white southern campaigner for racial justice in a detailed tapestry of the times and places that Braden's life touched. Through Braden's narrative, Fosl makes important historiographic contributions. She roots the 1950s civil rights movement in the "radical interracialism" of the Depression and New Deal-era Southern left. She makes clear that, even before the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision, the left wing of the southern labor movement and the interracial progressive coalition galvanized by Henry Wallace's 1948 campaign for the presidency were chipping away at the foundations of segregation, both by actively challenging it and by doing something equally subversive: building communities across racial lines. These coalitions, Fosl argues, were the basis for a white support structure in the South when the black mass movement for racial justice exploded in the mid-1950s.

Like many feminist biographers, Fosl is interested in the relationship between the personal and the political in the life of her subject, and she makes a strong case that, in Braden's life, the two fed and reinforced each other. Communities formed in the working-class struggle, in resistance to Jim Crow and in resistance to the anticommunist hysteria that swept the nation after

World War II, gave Braden a sense of belonging and meaning that she had never had as a white child growing up in the segregated South. Antiracist work gave Braden entrée into what one of her black activist friends called the "other America," where whites and African Americans worked together to realize Braden's vision of "a world without walls" (p. 139).

Honoring that vision, Braden and her husband Carl, a fellow activist and journalist, agreed in 1954 to purchase a home for an African-American veteran and his family in an all-white suburban Louisville subdivision. The litany of violence that followed the Wade family's move into their new home two days before the Brown decision is all too familiar: the death threats, the cross-burnings, the bombing. The story of what happened to the Bradens after they helped Andrew and Charlotte Wade offers readers terrifying insight into the way southern politicians used the 1950s Red Scare to punish and silence white opponents of segregation. The Bradens were charged with sedition. Prosecutor Scott Hamilton insisted they had themselves bombed the Wades' home to create sympathy for integration. Declaring war on "Communist conspiracy" in Louisville, Hamilton equated interracialism with subversion and made splashy headlines by hauling "Red" reading matter out of the homes of the city's best-known white racial justice activists. Carl Braden was convicted and sentenced to fifteen years in prison. He served seven months before the Supreme Court invalidated state sedition laws in 1956; the first forty-two days were in solitary confinement.

The Kentucky sedition cases became a cause celebre connecting the Bradens to kindred spirits across the United States. Among them were maverick journalist I. F. Stone, who wrote about their case, and New York City Episcopal priest Howard Melish, in whose home Anne and Carl met a young Birmingham activist named Angela Davis. Tapping this network, the Bradens spoke across the country about the vital connection between civil liberties and civil rights.

Anne Braden found joy in her travels through the "other America," but she and her family paid a steep price for her activism. Fosl's book vividly illustrates how the intense pressure of death threats, contempt citations, and social sanction wore away at the nerves of the Bradens and their children. As I read those passages, I thought of Anne Moody's *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (1969) and its reminders of the psychological price paid by black southern activists. We know of the lives lost and the victories won: the legislation passed, the Jim Crow structures dismantled. But this biography also reminds us that activists for social change bear the scars of their struggles, even if they survive, even if they achieve many of their goals. And, as Fosl alludes to but does not discuss in great detail, so, too, do their children.

Powerful segregationist senators like Mississippi's John Eastland and South Carolina's Strom Thurmond were successful in tainting the work of progressives in the civil rights movement like the Bradens who sought

to link issues of labor, free speech, and racial justice. It would take years, says Fosl, before many people were able to let go of the idea that the Bradens were just "using" race as a lever to promote a communist agenda. Only the moral authority of Martin Luther King, Jr., and of the students who were willing to be beaten, jailed, and even killed in the struggle for racial justice, Fosl writes, "could break through the thick buttress of reinforcement for segregation that anti-communism formed in the 1950s" (p. 197).

More than once, Fosl says, as she was writing this book, historians asked her if she had found out whether Anne Braden was a member of the Communist Party (CPUSA), or whether she should trust party-affiliated sources. Fosl declines to answer the first question. As for the second, she writes, "in Depression-to-postwar Southern history . . . the party made a crucial contribution to the struggle for social justice" (p. 334). That assertion is Fosl's entry into the highly contested historical debate over the legacy of the CPUSA.

Fosl's refusal to spend time exploring whether or not Braden was a communist echoes Braden's own uncompromising stand through the 1950s and 1960s. "Whether you were a communist or not," Braden told Fosl in 1989, "if you answered the question, you were conceding to the assumption that the very question was the test of whether you could be considered a human being or not" (p. 171). As Davis's forward to this book reminds us, Braden's insistence that defending civil liberties was not un-American has as much resonance today as it did fifty years ago.

ANNELISE ORLECK
Dartmouth College

DAVID L. CHAPPELL. *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 344. \$34.95.

With this, his second book-length study, David L. Chappell continues his investigation of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Chappell addresses two questions: what was the motive force of the civil rights movement, and why did its segregationist opponents turn out to be so ineffective?

The answer to the first question, he argues, is the "prophetic religion" of the Bible. Through it the civil rights leaders found "the philosophical inspiration to rebel," and the rank and file found the "confidence, solidarity and discipline" to sustain their rebellion through many years of stress and danger (p. 2). At the same time, the segregationist opponents of the movement failed to gain religious support that had anything near the compelling and sustaining power. Chappell claims that he was not predisposed, either by personal outlook or by analytical instincts, to see religion as a motive force. But as he interviewed subjects for his research on the movement, he was struck by how frequently they spoke of the life-transforming conver-

sions they experienced as they joined the movement and of God's miraculous help while engaged in its work.

Studying the ideas of the movement's most influential African-American leaders, Chappell uncovered a dramatic common pattern of social and political thought. It was much more "radical Christian" in form and content than secular liberal. These leaders' views of institutions, political power, and human nature and destiny had much more in common with the Christian realist Reinhold Niebuhr than with John Dewey, the teaching elder of American liberalism. People of color could not sit back and wait for racial progress to come, as liberals believed it would. They needed to force changes on the country by nonviolent action. For the average black participant in the movement, these views meshed well with the biblical faith they learned at home and church. Religious convictions gave them courage to endure hateful mobs, insights into their opponents' hearts and minds, and hope that they would prevail.

Following leads first uncovered, evidently, in his earlier work on southern white moderates' role in ending segregation, Chappell works the other side of the equation, explaining the segregationists' failure as well as the civil rights movement's success. Given that the southern white churches had given a formidable intellectual and spiritual defense of slavery a century earlier, Chappell finds it surprising how little support segregation received from the white churches. Both of the largest regional bodies, the (southern) Presbyterian Church of the United States and the Southern Baptist Convention, passed resolutions against segregation in the mid-1950s. Billy Graham, the Southern Baptist revivalist to the nation, refused to hold segregated meetings in the South, befriended Martin Luther King, Jr., and publicly praised the civil rights movement. Even the South's most respected religious supporters of segregation, such as the Dallas Baptist pastor, W. A. Criswell, and Graham's father-in-law, the Presbyterian stalwart L. Nelson Bell, did not try to make strong biblical cases for it. Segregationist governors, congressmen, and newspaper editors were frustrated in their attempts to sustain a dedicated movement, even while they benefited from favorable southern public opinion and formidable constitutional arguments. What they lacked, Chappell argues, was a potent religious foundation. In the end, many southern whites were weary of the strife and eager to shed their growing pariah status in larger public opinion.

Chappell's treatment is thorough and satisfying in a variety of ways. After two decades of intently focused local studies of the civil rights movement, he returns to the larger picture. On a number of fronts he questions the conventional historical wisdom, such as the efficacy of liberal political support for the movement, the solidarity of its segregationist resisters, and the determinative roles of Cold War politics and grass-roots organizing. One curious feature of the book, however, is the appendix, in which Chappell reasserts his belief

in the primacy of material forces in moving human history. After making a powerful case for the "religion factor," the author seems overly eager to reestablish his bona fides as a "secular" historian. Even so, after examining one of the main events of recent American history, Chappell has shown that it was faith "that drove black southern protestors to their extraordinary victories" (p. 1).

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MARK OPPENHEIMER. *Knocking on Heaven's Door: American Religion in the Age of Counterculture*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 284. \$30.00.

Unquestionably, the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s had an impact on American religion, but how are we to describe it? Historians and sociologists usually view the populist movements of those years in one of two ways: either through a romantic lens, seeing a flowering of personal spirituality and anti-institutionalism with deep American roots leading to a reconfigured set of religious sensibilities, or as an excess of self-indulgence and social protest that, in the end, spawned a conservative backlash and ushered in a new era of cultural wars. Mark Oppenheimer's argument is neither of these and thus refreshingly welcome.

Speaking to the first of these arguments, the author thoroughly resists any notion of a radical shift in consciousness undermining the existing religious base. There was no major turn to Eastern religions at the time. Nor was there a massive dropping away from mainstream denominations. Speaking to the second, his view is that the paradigm of culture wars presumes that political activism is the organizing principle in American religious life, which makes it too limiting. The paradigm looks upon religious change as a zero-sum game, with some groups always winning and others inevitably losing. With respect to both arguments, Oppenheimer's critiques are supported by considerable evidence, much of which he documents.

His view is that the mainstream religious institutions selectively absorbed elements of the counterculture, and in so doing held on to the great majority of their adherents. People and institutions were transformed in subtle ways during the 1960s and 1970s, even as they resisted or redefined themselves in relation to countercultural values. The changes had to do less with respect for power structures and official pronouncements than with grass-roots religious styles and sensitivities. Oppenheimer writes that "the counterculture succeeded in American religion by winning aesthetic and formal, rather than institutional or theological, victories. It insinuated new models by providing new sounds and images: the guitar, the woman in a stole, the living room synagogue" (p. 221).

To make his case, Oppenheimer examines five constituencies: Unitarians, Roman Catholics, Jews, Episcopalians, and Southern Baptists. For each of these, he pinpoints a countercultural change that was influential

within a tradition. Unitarians, not bound by the Bible or doctrine, became a haven of toleration for gays. Roman Catholics, having initiated changes in the Mass in the Second Vatican Council, opened the way to folk music and lyrics. Jews, whose tradition offered more possibilities for dissent, found in the *havurah* movement opportunities for engagement with it. Episcopalians absorbed feminist ideals and opened doors for women to become ordained, though not without struggles. Southern Baptists confronted their own young who protested the Vietnam War and reflected upon their own tradition.

Certainly Oppenheimer is on the mark in describing religious institutions as absorbing influences from their environments. Too many social scientists fail to recognize their porous boundaries, and as a result scholarly literature on religious institutions is saturated with simplistic arguments. Yet Oppenheimer's argument is not without criticism. His five case studies convey rich information through elegant prose, but the reader comes away sometimes wondering just how extensive are the religious changes he describes. How many Jews belong to *havurot*? How extensive is feminist consciousness among Episcopalians? Some quantitative data would help in buttressing his argument. The Southern Baptist case seems at odds with the others. Did the Vietnam War or anything else associated with the counterculture lead to much that was truly significant in the long run other than the overtaking of the Southern Baptists Convention by the fundamentalists?

The concluding chapter entertains some plausible, but not fully developed hypotheses about institutional change. Contrasted are the Unitarians and Southern Baptists, on the one hand, and Catholics and Episcopalians, on the other. The first pair involves cases where institutions, obviously very different, are both captive to their cultures: Unitarians hardly view gay rights as countercultural, Southern Baptists turn deaf ears to antiwar activists. Protest works differently for the two, the author says. True enough, but is this an argument about captivity to a culture or how the ideological extremes of religious institutions interact with external influences? His treatment of the second pair is better articulated: Catholics and Episcopalians are both hierarchically structured and involve international communions, and their institutions have benefited from changes flowing from the top down. Leadership is not to be overlooked, no matter how subtle and pervasive the cultural influences on the memberships. Thanks to Oppenheimer, sociologists like myself have new grist for our mills.

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GARY A. DONALDSON, *Liberalism's Last Hurrah: The Presidential Campaign of 1964*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2003. Pp. x, 376. \$34.95.

Democrat Lyndon B. Johnson and liberalism trounced Republican Barry Goldwater and conservatism in the presidential election of 1964. Carrying every state except the five Deep South states and Arizona, Johnson achieved his goal of winning by a landslide. Such a victory, he believed, released him from the Kennedy mystique and provided him with a mandate to complete the work of his hero, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Liberalism would reign. At the same time, the extent of Goldwater's defeat rang the death knell for conservatism, at least according to numerous pundits at that time.

In his book, Gary A. Donaldson argues that, in fact, the common assumptions concerning the 1964 election—liberalism's triumph and conservatism's defeat—were wrong. Instead, the opposite proved true. The years following Johnson's election were devastating for the president as he saw his beloved dream of a Great Society crushed under the weight of the Vietnam War. Conservatives proved resilient as well, refusing to surrender complete control of the Republican Party and roaring back to life with key congressional victories in 1966. Perhaps more importantly, through Goldwater's campaign, conservative Republicans found a more electable representative in the person of Ronald Reagan. He would help them achieve their ultimate goal by winning the presidency in 1980.

Donaldson builds his argument by examining the key players and events that affected the campaign of 1964. In a manner reminiscent of Theodore S. White's series on the making of U.S. presidents, Donaldson moves back and forth between Republicans and Democrats, letting each side tell its story. Beginning with background on the political parties and their internal ideological struggles, Donaldson effectively shows the complexity behind the labels. For example, he discusses the impact the debate over the Civil Rights Act (1964) had on all of the important individuals and groups: Johnson, Goldwater, liberals, conservatives, African Americans, and white southerners. In the process, he sets the scene very nicely for the battle of 1964.

Included as well are the wild card factors of George Wallace and Robert F. Kennedy. Both men threatened to upset the plans of the major candidates. The "Bobby Problem" worried an obsessed LBJ who feared RFK would use his brother's legacy to steal the election. Alabama governor Wallace entered several primaries and exposed the potential of the white backlash in the North. Wallace's success indicated the shift taking place within the Democratic Party as white southerners and northerners rejected the civil rights stance of the president. Ironically, Wallace, a Democrat, actually posed a greater threat to Republican Barry Goldwater. Johnson and many politically savvy Democrats realized that they had traded the votes of white southerners for northern urban blacks by their support of the Civil Rights Act. Goldwater, by contrast, voted against the act and preached a states' rights philoso-

phy, making him very popular with white southerners. If Wallace had remained in the race, he would have kept those votes from Goldwater.

Donaldson's work, based on a wide array of secondary sources with the pertinent primary sources cited, pulls together much of the important information about this significant campaign and election. Although much of what he argues here has been stated before in other works, Donaldson's emphasis on the effect of 1964 on liberalism is important. Most of the studies of the Johnson-Goldwater contest have been written from the perspective of its impact on conservatism or the GOP. Donaldson gives us another view. Considering the significance of this achievement, he should have included more discussion focusing on this thesis throughout the book. In the midst of telling his stories, his argument sometimes gets lost.

There are a few other minor problems with the book. Because he is telling the story from all sides, Donaldson tends to revisit the same events and situations in different chapters. That is understandable. This redundancy becomes irritating and distracting, however, when he repeats the exact information again and again. Sometimes he even repeats the same quotations. Additionally, there is some problem with chronology. At one point, the author has the counter-culture movement making an impact in the early 1960s, much too early for most of the country even to know it existed.

On the whole, however, this is a well-written, interesting, and informative book about a crucial election.

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IAN F. HANEY LÓPEZ. *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 324. \$27.95.

Legal scholar Ian F. Haney López's book is a valuable and provocative work that provides a new understanding of the role of race in the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Focusing on events in Los Angeles, Haney López argues that Chicano militants responded to "common sense racism" by adopting a nonwhite racial identity. He defines common sense racism as part of "a complex set of background ideas that people draw upon but rarely question in their daily affairs" (pp. 6-7). This type of racism is routine behavior that without premeditation or intent reinforces racial inequalities and hierarchies. Haney López uses a broad array of secondary sources to trace the development of common sense racism. He reviews familiar territory, touching on nineteenth-century racial attitudes and stereotypes, Manifest Destiny and the Mexican American War, the white response to early twentieth-century Mexican immigration, the zoot suit hysteria of the 1940s, and the entrenched and subtle forms of anti-Mexican racism that prevailed into the 1950s.

His focus, however, is on events in the 1960s,

specifically court cases involving Chicano militants. He develops his theory by analyzing the efforts of militant Chicano attorney, Oscar "Zeta" Acosta, to overturn the indictments of Chicano activists on the grounds that Mexican Americans, as a minority group, were underrepresented on county grand juries. Haney López demonstrates that superior court judges, who made grand jury nominations, did not consciously exclude Mexican Americans as much as they never considered Mexicans in the first place. He argues persuasively that these exclusions, along with other forms of discrimination in education and law enforcement, were forms of common sense racism because they reinforced, albeit unintentionally, racial hierarchies.

The author goes on to argue that the logic of common sense racism compelled some Mexicans to adopt a nonwhite racial identity. The nexus of race, protest, and official repression that Chicanos saw in militant blacks' struggle with law enforcement led Chicanos to develop a separate racial consciousness. Haney López relies primarily on movement newspapers to trace how Chicanos responded to official repression by asserting their racial otherness. Chicano writers equated their treatment by law enforcement to that of blacks, he argues. They spoke of themselves as *la raza* and as brown people who must unite to fight the common enemy. They developed the concept of *Aztlán*, the mythic Aztec homeland in the Southwest, as a symbol of their separate identity. The very term "Chicano," Haney López argues, asserts a nonwhite racial identity.

On this point, I am unconvinced. The problem seems to be that the author is applying the modern understanding of race as a social construction to historical players who conceived of race quite differently. Scholars, of course, do this all the time, but here I think the author has overreached his evidence. The fact is that 1960s Chicanos still saw race in terms of descent, blood, perhaps even biology, and that they were confused, as Haney López himself acknowledges, about their racial status. How then could they construct a new racial identity if they saw race as immutable and did not conceive of race as being constructed? Chicanos certainly constructed a distinct identity separate from whites, but it is unclear whether they saw themselves as a racial, ethnic, cultural, or national group. Indeed, much of the movement's rhetoric and many of its symbols could just as easily be interpreted as asserting ethnicity as race. Moreover, the author dismisses, without fully engaging, the prevailing interpretation that cultural nationalism was the organizing principle around which Chicanos formed their movement and developed their identity.

Nevertheless, this book is an important and consequential piece of scholarship. First, it is a major contribution to the growing theoretical literature on race construction. Haney López's development of the theory of common sense racism provides a new avenue for understanding the subtle and corrosive ways that

racism has pervaded our culture. In particular, it demonstrates the folly of current case law that requires intent to discriminate based on race before a government action can be declared illegal. In addition, the book illuminates the issue of Chicana/o identity. While the historical actors in the 1960s and 1970s never quite adopted the new racial identity that Haney López claims, the logic of their rhetoric certainly laid the basis for the development of such an identity in later years. On both these points, therefore, this is a work of profound consequence that future scholars in a variety of specialties will need to engage.

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SANDRA K. SCHACKEL, editor. *Western Women's Lives: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century*. (Historians of the Frontier and American West.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2003. Pp. 440. \$22.95.

This collection of sixteen articles is intended to illustrate the diversity and complexity of the lives of twentieth-century western women. Although all of the articles have been previously published, editor Sandra K. Schackel has performed a real service by pulling them together into one volume and by emphasizing the complex interactions of race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, politics, and other variables. The result is a collection that illuminates the lives primarily of racial ethnic women in the West via a range of approaches and methodologies.

The first of the book's five sections is methodological, showcasing articles by Karen Anderson, Antonia I. Castañeda, and Virginia Scharff, and a later section is devoted to examples of oral history, including an insightful consideration of that methodology by Emily Honig. The organizing themes of the other sections are "Women and Mobility," with articles about the work experience of African-American and Chinese-American women in World War II and more recent Latina workers in Los Angeles; "Rural Issues," which includes an article on contemporary ranch and farm women by Schackel; and "Reshaping Cultural Images and Ideas," which ranges all the way from an article about a Navaho weaver at the turn of the twentieth century to a consideration of the meanings of the contemporary Miss Chinatown U.S.A. beauty pageant.

Clearly, this is a diverse collection, as the editor intended it to be, and the articles are all significant in their own right. It was not immediately apparent to this reviewer, however, what the editor meant by the volume's subtitle, "continuity and change." I expected it to mean the identification of a pattern or patterns of historical development in the twentieth-century lives of western women, but it does not. One of the most striking aspects of this collection is that only four essays are about western women before 1940. Whether this is an argument for a "long nineteenth-century" in the West (a very defensible position) or simply a

reflection of the current writing on racial ethnic women is not clear. The other, related fact is how familiar the section on rural women seemed in comparison to the rest of the book, a clear indication that white western women in traditional roles are still encumbered by the nineteenth-century stereotype of the pioneer woman. Nor does the editor supply the reader with a wider sense of the overall development of the twentieth-century West within which general claims of continuity or change (for men or for women) can be assessed. Schackel's purpose is more limited—and more realistic. She provides us with examples of the lives of twentieth-century western women so that we can compare them to our own assumptions about such women. The differences in women's lives, both from each other and from nineteenth-century notions, challenge us to rethink those assumptions and, in the process, to appreciate the conceptual tools we now can use to make western history more inclusive than it has been in the past.

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CLYDE ELLIS. *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. viii, 232. \$29.95.

This important—although sometimes problematic—book fills several gaps in the historiography of the Southern Plains powwow. Those gaps are more related to the wider social, cultural, and political contexts in which the dancing Indians of the Southern Plains found themselves in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries than with the powwow itself; as Clyde Ellis notes, the book is not about "dance styles and clothing" (p. 10). But it must be said that if the reader does not already know what the choreography, attire, and protocol of the Omaha, Straight, and Fancy dances (and their songs and singers) are, or what a crow belt, dragger, or bustle is, all of which are discussed but not described in the text, much of this discussion will go right over one's scalplock.

The powwow "culture" that is addressed here concerns the values expressed through participation in powwows—solidarity with family, community, tribe, and others Indian and non-Indian; pursuit and maintenance of status and prestige (and political power)—and the relationship with the supernatural expressed through song (and dance). Although Ellis calls his approach "chronological" (p. 10), it would perhaps be better called nonlinear, as topical threads often skip across several chapters, sometimes going backwards in time, and sometimes going across geography to invoke Northern Plains examples.

The unnumbered introductory chapter reviews most of the recent literature on the powwow. Some of the older studies are mentioned in passing in the concluding chapter. Chapter one broadly covers the diffusion of the basic powwow format from the prereservation warrior societies (technically known in anthropology as

"sodalities") of the Central Plains Siouan-speaking Osage, Omaha, and Ponca tribes to both the Northern and the Southern Plains, where they underwent different evolutionary paths. Chapter two delves more deeply, and much more nonlinearly, into the relation of those warrior societies to the powwow as "arbiters of order and continuity" (p. 39).

The later chapters are the best parts of the book. Chapter three presents extensive documentation of the efforts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Bureau of Indian Affairs to restrict Indian dancing, and the creative Southern Plains resistance to those efforts. Those restrictive efforts have been briefly noted elsewhere, but the resistance has never been given in the detail Ellis presents here. Chapter four discusses Indian participation in the non-Indian-sponsored Wild West shows of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Those events also provided opportunities to resist the suppression of dancing and to create and diffuse new dance styles. Although Ellis later devotes much emphasis to the conflict between non-Indian-sponsored events and Indian-sponsored events, he makes no mention here of the early twentieth-century Indian-sponsored dance troupes and "powwows" such as those organized by Quanah Parker (Comanche) and Henry Spybuck (Shawnee).

The first half of chapter five extends the discussion from chapter three of governmental efforts to suppress Indian dancing; the second half discusses the growing intertribal and performative dimension of dances (derived from the Wild West shows) through the establishment of annual tribal or community sponsored events to which dancers from all over the Southern Plains travelled (i.e. the beginning of the Powwow Circuit). Chapter six discusses the short-lived, non-Indian-sponsored Craterville Park Indian Fair west of Lawton, 1924–1933, and the more enduring Indian-sponsored American Indian Exposition (1934–present), commonly called the Anadarko Fair. The unnumbered concluding chapter addresses several wider themes in recent powwow studies: the powwow as a "communitas" leveling institution; powwowing as an identity endowing institution; and powwow as tribalism versus powwow as Pan-Indianism.

There is one topic that I wish had been further investigated. While Chapters three and five focus on powwow in the political arena of relations between Indians and the federal government, and the first and last chapters detail quasi-political tensions within the powwow community itself, Ellis does not investigate the intersection of powwow and tribal politics. At best he quotes Eric Lassiter: "every candidate in tribal elections makes the rounds these days to the dances because they recognize that there's a constituency there they need" (p. 163). But Ellis does not investigate the other direction: that sometimes powwow people are also tribal politicians. For instance, for much of the 1950s, the Kiowa chairman of the American Indian Exposition was also chairman of the joint Kiowa-Comanche-Apache (KCA) Business Committee, and,

at least once, he used Exposition stationary for KCA business. At the same time, several of his political opponents were instrumental in the reestablishment of Kiowa warrior society dances in opposition to the Anadarko Fair. This suggests the relation between dance events and tribal politics that needs to be kept in mind in the analysis of both.

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SHERRY L. SMITH, editor. *The Future of the Southern Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, in association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, Dallas. 2003. Pp. xii, 275. \$29.95.

The eight essays that comprise this interdisciplinary collection offer cautious predictions about what residents might expect of the Southern Plains in the twenty-first century. Over the past hundred years, its natural landscape has been altered drastically and its water supply, the famous Ogallala Aquifer, substantially depleted. Small farms and rural communities declined as a matter of course, and at the same time, major oil companies abandoned the Permian Basin, leaving its future indeterminate as independents jockey for position. The Southern Plains represents "the cutting edge of the modernist experiment with the exploitation of North America," Dan Flores observes. "This is the place that is going to show us the outcome first" (p. 9). The contributors seek to define the consequences of human occupation and have written a nuanced account of the region's complex history, culture, and politics that provides the basis for charting a course of action for the remainder of the twenty-first century.

The rubric that the past is the key to the future informs most of the articles in the anthology. Elliott West notes the persistence of two closely related historical patterns: the region has always been a "land of transience and a land of resources sent elsewhere" (p. 20). Indigenous people, Spanish explorers and traders, *comancheros* and *ciboleros*, and American buffalo hunters traversed its ground. It also has been the source of "needful things," from buffalo robes in the nineteenth century to oil in the twentieth—commodities that reveal the region's response to economic and technological changes. West notes that Plains residents have succeeded by adapting to changing circumstances, and he suggests that some combination of old trends and future developments will sustain the region in the future. Similarly, geographer John Morris defines Plains agriculture within a historical context; his lengthy essay at times reads like a paean to the family farmers who maintained their way of life against large-scale agribusiness. "Theory and moral geography," he writes, "suggest one key advantage of the family farms": namely that continuous family ownership promotes long-term subsistence rather than the

exhaustion of land, water, plant, and animal resources (pp. 47–48). He concedes that postindustrial farming will likely displace traditional farms, but policy makers in the twenty-first century will still confront a familiar dilemma: the need to balance regional growth and technological development against challenging environmental constraints.

The Southern Plains is the hottest and driest part of the Great Plains, and its history has developed against the backdrop of drought. The lack of available moisture has been a common feature here for 10,000 years, and droughts in the future may well be more severe than those of the Dust Bowl or the 1950s. The regional landscape has been characterized by sand dunes and sand sheets in the past, paleoclimatologist Connie Woodhouse reminds us, and it may look that way again at some point in the future (p. 108). Despite such historical conditions, Plains farmers often have resisted water management, but today most acknowledge that the golden age of irrigation between 1960 and 1990 ended prematurely because of wasteful practices. Irrigators eventually supported water management districts based on grass-roots democracy, technological alternatives, and new agricultural science. Some programs fostered efficient use of the aquifer, while others promoted zero depletion and water banking. Whatever success has ensued, John Opie warns that continued heavy consumption of irreplaceable Ogallala water will make the future of the Southern Plains different from the past.

If the water supply is problematical, the situation regarding petroleum is even less certain. Diana Olien points out that the major oil companies have retreated from the Southern Plains, “and they are not going to return” (p. 155). The subsequent new opportunities have enticed independent producers; among them are “exploitationists,” who use science and technology to exploit old wells; and “depletionists,” low overhead operators, who are satisfied to wring a few barrels a day from such sites. The result has been job losses and a general out migration. But Olien is optimistic, noting that “a tremendous volume of hydrocarbons does remain underground” (p. 166).

John Roche assesses the origins and growth of regional conservatism, explaining that adherents created a political identity comfortable within the most conservative wing of the Republican Party (p. 169). Panhandle Texans had long been conservatives, he emphasizes; they simply chose the Republican Party as the vehicle to put their philosophy into practice. Despite the seeming conservative Republican dominance, Roche argues that it will be short lived, as ethnic and racial changes will exercise a profound effect on political culture and create an opening for a resurgent, urban, and diverse Democratic Party. That diverse coalition will reflect the prominence of Hispanics. Although recent players on the Southern Plains, Mexican Americans have superimposed a new way of life, Yolanda Romero writes, as they implanted old customs, celebrations, and customs. Few want to live

apart from mainstream society, anticipating instead adjustment and participation in community life.

Perhaps the clearest indication of the state of the Southern Plains today lies in its image among Americans. Earlier writers, artists, and travelers—John James Audubon, Georgia O’Keeffe, Willa Cather, and others—left remarkable descriptions of its scenery, wildlife, and open spaces. Today, though, the region evokes no such admiration. As Deborah Popper observed: “There is nothing here. It is un-country.” Flores explains that modern attitudes reflect the transformation of the Great Plains in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when “we dismantled a ten-thousand-year-old ecology, very likely one of the most exciting natural spectacles in the world” (p. 223). The combination of a “war on Plains wildlife” and the plowing up of the grasslands helped produce the landscape we see today. If there is to be a new Southern Plains, it will come only as we recognize the importance of the region’s grassland ecology—a cause promoted by environmentalists and conservation biologists. Ecological restoration may hold the key to the region’s future.

This thoughtful and challenging collection provides a comprehensive view of the Southern Plains. The writers’ measured predictions about the future rest on their understanding of the complexity of the region’s history and culture, and they effectively bring the past to bear on the twenty-first century. The region can always anticipate droughts; those phenomenon have been a fixture in the region for centuries. But in most other areas, the region’s inhabitants will confront change: in political arrangements, in new economic opportunities, and in cultural make up. Whether people will be moved to restore the damaged ecosystem is perhaps the most problematical aspect of the region’s future.

Sherry L. Smith has assembled and edited an excellent collection of essays on the Southern Plains. These carefully researched and well written pieces will appeal immediately to scholars of the region and to residents and policy makers, too, particularly those who hope that the next century might avoid some of the mistakes of the past.

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JULES LOBEL. *Success Without Victory: Lost Legal Battles and the Long Road to Justice in America*. New York: New York University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 319. \$32.95.

Justice, Drucilla Cornell has argued, “is precisely what eludes our full knowledge.” While always present *to* law, it is never completely realized *in* law. Confronting this tension in law is the distinctive work of “cause lawyers,” wherever they practice, and whatever cause they serve. Cause lawyers use their professional skills to move law away from the daily reality of injustice and toward a particular vision of the good. It is their work to give content to the “impossibility” of justice. Jules

Lobel's book is an interesting, and very readable, exploration of the deferral of justice that cause lawyers confront in their daily struggles in courts throughout the United States, struggles which they often lose. It is an optimistic, almost triumphalist account of the ways today's courtroom defeat may become tomorrow's political or cultural victory.

Combining history and memoir, Lobel focuses chapter by chapter on individual cases and causes in which, in his view, success came in spite of, and often because of, defeats that cause lawyers encountered in court. This book documents what in Lobel's view were heroic struggles carried on by many lawyers. He frames the book as an argument against a narrow utilitarianism that equates success with winning a court case and seeks to convince his readers that good things often come after litigation has been lost. Such litigation mobilizes movements, informs the public about particular injustices, and reframes political struggles. In this way, the defeats of cause lawyers get turned into victory. History is replete with the vindication of lawyers who fought skillfully on behalf of what, at the time, seemed to be the most hopeless of causes. It is also a reminder of the need to resist the temptation to choose strategies that have the highest likelihood of prevailing in court in favor of those that push the envelope of conventional understandings and, in so doing, speak both to a broader political context and to history itself.

Lobel's book is a vivid illustration of the fact that cause lawyers need to remember the future and to fix their gaze temporally, not on the possibilities (or impossibilities) of the present but on a future promise of justice. His analysis of cases as varied as *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *Youngstown Steel*, and suits by former Congressman Ron Dellums against President Ronald Reagan's evasion of Congressional restrictions on aid to Nicaragua, and his own efforts to enforce the provisions of the War Powers Resolution against President Bill Clinton, remind us that there are, in fact, two audiences for every legal act: the audience of the present, and the audience of the future (which stands as a figure of law's redeeming promise of justice). The success of litigation needs to be seen in light of its impact on the values and aspirations of groups on whose behalf litigation is brought as well as in its ability to educate the public about injustices that might otherwise have gone unnoticed, and to inspire political action. "The lasting lesson from these cases," Lobel argues, "may be that the heart of a constitutional democracy lies not in the institutions established by the Constitution but in the determined drive for justice of the people" (p. 45).

Lobel is sometimes too quick to attribute what he labels success to the defeats that lawyers encountered in litigation, and his view of what brings about success is frequently linear, almost simplistic. At times his writing becomes aphoristic. Nonetheless, the book makes a valuable contribution to our evolving understanding of the work of cause lawyering and the

significance of test case litigation. It stands as a beacon of hope in an era dominated by pessimism about the capacity of law and lawyers to contribute to progressive social change.

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JAMES HOOPES. *False Prophets: The Gurus Who Created Modern Management and Why Their Ideas Are Bad for Business Today*. Cambridge, Mass.: Perseus Publishing. 2003. Pp. xxxii, 320. \$27.50.

This book is a critical history of the ideas that shaped modern management. James Hoopes's central proposition is that too many employers today are uncomfortable with exercising authority over their workers. He blames management theorists or "gurus" for this problem, arguing that for much of the twentieth century corporate leaders have been misled by these gurus who created "unrealistic hopes for democracy and moral legitimacy in the workplace" (p. 263). According to Hoopes, in a democratic society, managerial power may be morally illegitimate, but it is a necessary component to corporate success.

Hoopes profiles eight twentieth-century management theorists, exploring their family background, education, and early work experience for the influences that shaped their work. The management consultants are divided into three groups: the promoters of scientific management, the advocates of human relations, and the proponents of a social philosophy emphasizing quality and "management by objectives." Hoopes tells a familiar story about the early twentieth-century struggle to wrest control of the workplace from skilled craftsmen whose customs, traditions, and union rules retarded productivity. Scientific management reorganized work, giving knowledge over the work process and power to managers. Frederick Taylor pioneered this system of work management, which emphasized efficiency, low costs, and pay for performance, while Frank and Lillian Gilbreth and Henry Gantt refined it, inventing motion-saving techniques and bonus pay. Hoopes praises Taylor, whose ideas had a lasting impact on managerial practices, for recognizing the importance of top-down power but at the same time condemns the engineer for lacking human feelings and a conscience. He has, however, more sympathy for the work of the Gilbreths and Gantt, who moderated scientific management, making it more benign and bearable for workers.

Hoopes is most critical of the human relations theory of management which he charges engaged in "therapeutic tyranny." The human relations movement developed from the Hawthorne experiments conducted by Elton Mayo and his Harvard Business School associates, beginning in the mid 1920s. Its advocates emphasized the importance of informal work groups and found a link between productivity and workers' social and psychological satisfaction on the job. Human relations stressed teaching supervisors

therapeutic skills to promote employee satisfaction. Mayo denied that there was any conflict of interest between workers and management that would require exercise of hierarchical power and believed that enhancing the social aspects of the workplace was all that was necessary to motivating employees. Chester Barnard, chief executive officer of New Jersey Bell Telephone, brought human relations to the top managerial level. He believed that senior managers needed to be leaders who used their moral influence to gain employees' cooperation. Hoopes dismisses human relations as manipulative, which it was, and for failing to recognize the key role of money as a motivating force.

This book is more positive about W. Edwards Deming's and Peter Drucker's contributions to management practices. After World War II, Deming introduced Japanese managers to statistical quality control (SQC), which proved a key factor in the restoration of Japanese economic power. Hoopes argues that the Japanese successfully used SQC to involve workers in improving production systems while maintaining a rigid and powerful management hierarchy. In the 1980s, American managers desperate to compete with the Japanese grabbed hold of quality management but failed to understand the importance of exercising top-down power. Drucker wins Hoopes's praise for attacking the human relations movement and for promoting the concept of "management by objectives," which gave employees a degree of autonomy. Still, the author chides both these theorists for their naïve faith in democratizing and legitimizing management.

Most labor historians will reject Hoopes's claim that employers were reluctant to exercise power or that they were attracted to human relations and other managerial innovations as a means of "justifying management in a democratic society" (p. 97). One of the primary goals of the early advocates of human relations was to minimize worker discontent in an effort to keep out unions. More recently, empowerment, quality control, and corporate democracy programs have been adopted by some of the most bitterly anti-union firms. Indeed, the idea that contemporary managers need to be encouraged to use top-down power would probably surprise workers at firms like IBP, the meatpacking giant owned by Tyson's Foods, which drives its low-paid, mostly immigrant employees at breakneck speeds and rules the shop floor with an iron fist. This book will most likely be read by those who believe that workers should have no rights beyond the right to make a profit for their employer.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

SARA CASTRO-KLARÉN and JOHN CHARLES CHASTEEN, editors. *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center and

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xxv, 252. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.95.

Perhaps the most influential book on nationalism to be published in the last twenty years, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983) offered to stunned Latin Americans and Latin Americanists (addicted to thinking of their part of the world as in every way "dependent" upon developments originating in Europe) the leading role in the making of one of the central historical phenomena of the modern age. By the 1990s, Anderson's book had begun to orient new research and writing on the history and meaning of colonial and postcolonial nationalisms in the Americas. Anderson's arguments that "new nations" emerged out of "old empires" and that Creoles were "pioneers" in the "origin and spread of nationalism" (an argument accentuated in the revised edition of 1991) were useful for those Latin Americanists who were moving beyond dependency perspectives, and vexing for those who were not. But the underlying problem was not just that, as Tulio Halperin Donghi claims, Anderson "got almost everything wrong" (in fact, Anderson got lots of things right), but that much of what he got wrong may be traced to the two "authoritative" histories he relied upon and which, at the time, were widely respected by historians of Latin America: John Lynch's *Spanish American Revolutions, 1808–1826* (1973) and, to a lesser extent, Gerhard Masur's *Simón Bolívar* (1948). The much abused catchphrase "imagined communities" served in the 1990s as fashionable cover for any number of readings, some of them incompatible with the "anthropological spirit" of Anderson's reflections—so much so that, as Halperin Donghi observes, Anderson "has become the victim of his own success" (p. 34).

The present volume springs from a small conference held at the Woodrow Wilson Center in April of 2000. In addition to the regionalist critique of Anderson's seminal work, the conference organizers sought to foment dialogue between historians and critics. Although in his introduction coeditor John Charles Chasteen asserts that texts are the "special province of critics" and contexts "the specialty of historians" (p. x), in this volume it is the historians who offer sustained critical engagements with Anderson's text, while the critics depart from some aspect of Anderson's approach to read, perhaps via routes suggested by Homi Bhabha, Walter Benjamin, or Michel Foucault, select nineteenth and twentieth-century texts, practices, or images of the national in one or another Latin American location.

Departing from Doris Sommer's 1991 reading of Latin America's nineteenth-century romances as "foundational fictions," Fernando Unzueta attempts a much-needed analysis of the "scenes of reception" of novels by asking how national fiction might have been read. Although "much more research is needed," Unzueta suggests "patriotic stories actually changed people's lives" (p. 155). Departing from Anderson's

reflections on maps and museums (in the revised edition of *Imagined Communities*), coeditor Sara Castro-Klarén presents a multilayered reading of the imaginary mapping of the Peruvian nation as “archaeospace.” Castro-Klarén does not ground her analysis in the genealogy of the colonial state as Anderson does, but instead reads the “dispersions” of a Foucauldian or Nietzschean genealogy of discourse. Her excursion comes to rest upon a fascinating, mid-nineteenth-century text on Peruvian antiquities. She confesses that she was unable to “secure” the original Spanish-language edition (held in the nearby Library of Congress) and so makes use instead of an abridged, American English translation. She makes virtue of this happenstance by noting that the rapid translation of the work was due in large part to the success of William Prescott’s *History of the Conquest of Peru* (1847), in effect confirming the transnational invention of nation in Peru. Gustavo Verdesio begins with the approach that Anderson bypassed—Hugh Seton-Watson’s claim that the concept of “nation” is a European export—and ends where Anderson (and, before him, Ernest Renan) began, with forgetting. The luminosity of Verdesio’s versatile reading of Uruguay as “an amnesic nation” notwithstanding, it is altogether unsurprising and, after Anderson’s reflections, rings faintly tautological. Expanding on the same set of reflections (on maps and museums) as Castro-Klarén, Beatrice González-Stephan asserts that “museums, libraries, anthologies, literary histories, and universal expositions” as well as “railroads, bridges, telephones, and telegraphs” are all animated “by a single ordering principle.” They are all “galleries,” that is, “showcases of consumption” for the international market (pp. 226, 238), although González-Stephan offers little (indeed, less than Anderson) in the way of how these “galleries” or “showcases” might have been viewed or consumed.

The critique, then, comes not from “the critics” but from “the historians,” or at least two of the historians. The contributions of the late Francois-Xavier Guerra and of Halperin Donghi not only sustain criticism of Anderson’s specific arguments vis-à-vis Latin America; they offer alternative scenarios. The contributions of Sarah Chambers and Andrew Kirkendall ably explore two of the (thankfully) many lacunae in Anderson’s aerodynamic framework, women writers and student culture, respectively.

Guerra begins by dispensing with Anderson’s Turnerian speculation that it was the “cramped pilgrimages” of colonial Creole functionaries that mapped the future territories of new nations. The evidence does not support this scenario. (Guerra notes, however, that this evidence, still sketchy in character, was not available when Anderson wrote *Imagined Communities*.) Guerra notes, too, that once the new republics were established the careers of Creole functionaries did indeed begin to follow this pattern, but of course this is hardly surprising. Guerra’s point throughout is that many of Anderson’s contentions, if they have any validity at all, apply only for the post-crisis or postco-

lonial periods after 1808, and as such could not have been causal factors in the colonial or pre-independence formation of American nationalities. Second, Anderson’s argument that Latin (as the language of state of the European-centered dynastic regime) gave way to vernacular languages under print capitalism does not work for the Spanish Empire. From the beginning, the Spanish vernacular was the language of empire. Yet print capitalism in the newsprint genre was, with one or two momentary exceptions, also insignificant in Spanish or Portuguese America prior to the Napoleonic crisis of 1808–1813 that produced the revolutions of independence. Instead, Guerra demonstrates that manuscripts, pamphlets, lampoons, and images (religious and secular iconography) were the primary media of social communication in Latin America’s semiliterate societies; the effects of these media were multiplied among the vast illiterate populace through institutionalized means of oral transmission, namely countless town criers and parish pumps, and via the social channels and cultural forms of rumor. Third, Anderson’s argument that the new nations simply inherited colonial boundaries is also wrong, or at least fleeting. Despite the presence of the Roman legal concept of the transmission of territorial integrity by right of conquest, or *uti possidetis*, which Anderson seized from Lynch, borders were shifting and subject to conflict. The “national” affiliations of many “pueblos” or towns and cities were initially unclear as multilayered and concentric spheres of sovereignty (like a set of Russian dolls, as Guerra puts it) rarely yielded to the “homogenizing” forces of national integration projected from an excolonial administrative center. Instead, the territorial history of independence is the history of the break-up of colonial vicerealties into regional fragments, the consequence of endemic patterns of *caudillo*-led civil war. As a result, and with the partial exception of the core “kingdoms” (mainly, a reduced Mexico and a reduced Peru) “the distinctive cultural content” of the new nations had to be invented after independence (p. 32).

Halperin Donghi declares that, in Spanish America, “it is not a matter of debate, but of record” that nationalism and nation “are two discreet phenomena whose starting points in time can be dated with some precision” (p. 35). This would be good news indeed. Since he states that the “existence [of the nation] had never been doubted, even if it had not attracted much attention” (p. 35), we may assume that, for Halperin Donghi, the nation was always taken for granted, an assertion that runs contrary to Anderson’s conceptual apparatus and much recent historical writing on Latin America. But Halperin Donghi is more interested in the republic, that is, “a credible substitute for monarchy as a font of political legitimacy” (p. 35). The credible substitute, he argues convincingly, was not available prior to the Napoleonic crisis of the Spanish Empire and the exit of the Bourbon king. Halperin Donghi thus offers a political rather than an anthropological history of nationalism and nation, where

nationalism emerges, under the repressive regime of the *caudillo* Juan M. de Rosas, in the form of violently exclusive partisan allegiances, and where the nation emerges (or, at any rate, the national space of Argentina) in the form of "a single arena for civil war" (p. 51). Yet the Rosas regime fell precipitously in the 1850s, and all trace of popular support disappeared in the thin air of the pampas; the liberalism of Bartolomé Mitre, Juan B. Alberdi, and Domingo F. Sarmiento assumed direction of the state and the nation only in the 1860s. This would be the "belated birth of the nation-state" (p. 52). But this liberal state of the nation would also succumb, in this case by virtue of the "worldwide breakdown of the liberal capitalist civilization in which Mitre had recognized the highest achievement of humankind" (p. 52), or at any rate by virtue of the military coup of 1930. In short, partisan patria and civil war were the fountainheads of nationalism and nation in the Argentine Republic.

Many readers will likely agree with Chasteen that "anyone formerly tempted to cite *Imagined Communities* for an authoritative description of the origins of Latin American national identities will hopefully now banish the thought" (p. xxiv). In the same critical spirit, anyone tempted to cite this book for an authoritative description of the origins of Latin American national identities will hopefully now banish the thought. Perhaps most of the contributors would shrink from the pompous notion of "authoritative description," and clearly that was never Anderson's intention.

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DIEGO ARMUS, editor. *Disease in the History of Modern Latin America: From Malaria to AIDS*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 326. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$21.95.

Slow to acquire momentum in the 1980s and early 1990s, the historiography of medicine and health care in Latin America is now going from strength to strength. This new collection, edited by Diego Armus, contains essays by members of a new generation of scholars from Latin America and the United States who specialize in the history of disease. Taken in conjunction with Armus's collection *Entre médicos y curanderos: Cultura, historia y enfermedad en América Latina moderna* (2002), with which there is some overlap in approach and content, the book makes a significant contribution to the subject.

Contributors look largely at the twentieth century. Opening with an invaluable essay by the editor that reviews the evolution and current state of the literature, the volume sets out to examine the social and cultural construction of disease in specific countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru. The topics are selected to provide a useful cross-section of major issues for the period. Urban themes are represented in essays on Buenos Aires and

Mexico City; rural issues in inquiries into campaigns against hookworm in Mexico and malaria in the Amazon Basin, questions of gender by discussion of an "epidemic of hysteria" among poor women in Buenos Aires, prostitution in Mexico City, and AIDS in Brazil; external influences by a study of the Rockefeller Foundation. Mental health, a theme that is too easily overlooked, is fruitfully studied from a Bolivian perspective.

The essays underline how strongly contested themes of medical history were. Diana Obregón reminds us that in Colombia, the medical profession trying to "medicalize" leprosy clashed with religious communities intent on preserving their control over lepers and leper colonies. The medical profession itself was divided between those who saw leprosy as a disease of poverty that merited mild isolation of patients and those arguing that it was a contagious disease requiring their stringent segregation. In an equally stimulating essay, Nancy Leys Stepan outlines conflicts in Brazil between medical professionals associated with the Rockefeller Foundation, who argued for mosquito control as the best route to "sanitizing" the Amazon Basin, and Italians and other Europeans, influential in the League of Nations' Malaria Commission, who pressed for "quininisation." Katherine Elaine Bliss reviews the debates conducted in Mexico City over how best to handle prostitution in the 1930s and, in passing, examines the significance and impact of competing versions of motherhood promulgated by the archdiocese and its lay allies, and a secular, revolutionary view evolved by the radical government of President Lázaro Cárdenas and his allies in the labor movement.

Historians who fear the compartmentalization of the discipline into subdisciplines that do not talk with each other will be reassured to learn that this book does not take readers down a subdisciplinary cul-de-sac. Here public policy, sociocultural themes and the influence of medical anthropology are all present. Thus Obregón reflects on the nature of positivist policy making: in particular, the shared propensity of professionals handling crime and disease to gather statistics and to expect public recognition of professional status. Similarly, Marcos Cueto, writing about the Peruvian cholera epidemic of 1991, stresses the connections of policy formation and execution to social stigma. Indeed, one unitary theme of the book that would make a satisfactory focus for a sequel is the problem confronted by authoritarian professionals who often represented even more authoritarian regimes in persuading local populations of the need for changes in hygiene and health practices, while the professionals played down local medical knowledge and neglected the role of state-sponsored projects in shaping disease environments.

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BONHAM C. RICHARDSON. *Igniting the Caribbean's Past: Fire in British West Indian History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 233. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

As a force in Caribbean history, fire might seem a feeble factor relative to the cataclysmic devastation brought by hurricane, earthquake, and volcanic eruption. Great wildfires are rare in the islands. Because the causes of Caribbean fires are more often social than they are natural, however, their study opens up a range of interesting questions. Bonham C. Richardson's book is a pioneer for the region. He tackles a topic that has been explored on a global and continental scale, notably by Stephen J. Pyne, but provides a fresh perspective by putting fire in a smaller and more domesticated setting.

What was unusual about fire as a factor in small island communities, and how did that significance change over time? Richardson addresses these broad questions but does not take a comparative approach. In fact his focus is more narrowed than his title suggests. His period is 1885–1910 and his region the Lesser Antilles, meaning all of the islands in the eastern arc stretching from Trinidad north to the Virgin Islands. These are all small islands, often visible from one to the next. The logic of this focus is simply that it comprehends the places and the period that have long been the center of Richardson's considerable research effort. His previous books have dealt particularly with migration. At the same time, Richardson often casts his net quite wide, taking appropriate examples from other parts of the Caribbean and from other periods, particularly in his second chapter, which takes a comprehensive view of hazards in Caribbean history.

A geographer, Richardson emphasizes themes with an environmental aspect, but his approach is inclusive and often political. Three of the book's chapters are devoted to fires in particular settings: towns and cities, forest and bush, and sugar plantations. Another chapter deals with firefighting, and the book concludes with a discussion of the role of fire in political protest and geopolitical change. Richardson's rich narrative depends heavily on newspaper sources. There is not much technical detail, on fire temperatures for example, and the approach is broadly descriptive. Maps of the towns and islands would have helped his interpretation, but geographers these days seem often to regard cartography as a metaphor rather than a tool.

Richardson's selection of material and topics is generally eclectic. His discussion of firefighting, for example, is linked with the history of water resources, and he describes in generous detail the improvement of supply to towns. One of the most important reasons for these improvements was the fear of fire in close-packed streets of wooden buildings. Among the many ironies of the story, it was the inadequacy of piped water to Port of Spain, the capital of Trinidad and Tobago, that led to the "water riot" of 1903 in which

the key act of protest was the burning of the Red House, the central site of local government.

Richardson's treatment of bush fires enables him to provide an original contribution to the history of the forests of the eastern Caribbean, and he locates that history within the context of British Empire forestry. When he comes to talk about cane fires—the burning of sugar cane fields at crop time—Richardson once again paints a larger picture, taking in the agricultural history of the plantation system in the hard times of the late nineteenth century. In this period, cane fires were seen by planters as damaging, and they believed most were set by workers anxious to get immediate work cutting the canes before they spoiled. In this way, Richardson again neatly links fire and protest. At the other end of the chain, the cane once crushed was dried to produce bagasse for use as fuel in the furnaces of the sugar factory. The stored bagasse provided an ideal tinderbox for incendiarism, striking at the power of the planter class.

Much of Richardson's account presents fire as a hazard and a damaging force. This balance reflects the domesticated sites of most of the island fires, in strong contrast to the country fires regarded in other places as elements of land management and care. Richardson does, however, identify benefits. Cane fires served to control pests and diseases. Peasant farmers lit fires to encourage the growth of grassland pasture. Entrepreneurial West Indians developed the strategy of insure-and-burn in this period, and even government officials might recognize the destruction of a town's warehouses and stores as a windfall for the public revenue that depended on import duties.

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GABINO LA ROSA CORZO. *Runaway Slave Settlements in Cuba: Resistance and Repression*. Translated by MARY TODD. (Envisioning Cuba.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 292. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

All slave societies have produced runaway communities, and Cuba was no exception, as already shown by the studies of Juan Pérez de la Riva and José Luciano Franco. Yet their works contained broad interpretations based on limited archival sources. This study by Gabino La Rosa Corzo, originally published in Cuba under the title *Los palenques del oriente de Cuba: Resistencia y acoso* (1988), focuses on eastern Cuba (Oriente) and principally relies on slavehunters' diaries and on fieldwork in the area. It examines runaway slave settlements and their persecution from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. La Rosa Corzo's framework of analysis distinguishes passive resistance—in which he locates quite forceful acts, such as the destruction of equipment, "a conscious brake on productivity" (p. 6), and suicide—from active resistance. To him, active resistance comprises three stages: runaway vagabondage; runaway slave settlement;

and ultimately slave uprising, "a much higher form of struggle" (p. 230).

The book's introduction critically reviews the Cuban literature on runaway settlements published until 1987, unfortunately without incorporating works on other Caribbean areas that La Rosa Corzo had access to. Chapter one narrates slave resistance in Oriente until the 1780s, when massive slave imports began in Cuba. A fascinating part is the description of the repression of the major *palenque* (runaway settlement) of El Portillo in 1747. It includes detailed declarations by captured maroons regarding their arrival in Cuba, their masters, their reasons for escaping, the length of their stay in El Portillo, and the numbers of runaways with them—a rare glimpse into the minds of these men and women.

In chapter two, on active resistance between 1790 and 1820, La Rosa Corzo challenges accepted views according to which most *palenques* in Oriente comprised slaves escaped from western Cuba. He shows that slavery and slaves' flight increased sharply in Oriente, too, as a joint result of importation from Africa and massive arrivals of masters and slaves fleeing the revolution in neighboring Haiti. The maroons created new temporary and more established *palenques* in Oriente's still unpopulated and inaccessible mountainous areas.

Chapter three examines the increase and consolidation of runaway settlements in the 1820s, despite the formation of slavehunting militias. In 1832, growing sophistication in the *palenques'* housing infrastructure and systems of defense led colonial authorities and planters to fear an uprising and to tighten repression, notably by sending the military to comb the mountains and by executing captured runaways. In the next section, the author shows how *palenques* began to decline in the 1840s concurrently with the decline of slavery, the colonization of areas they dominated, and continuing repression. The last chapter discusses, from an anthropological and archeological standpoint, the patterns of Oriente's *palenques*, their internal relations, and their forms and types of dwellings as well as the structure of the repressive forces sent against them.

In sum, this is a detailed and well-informed study that helpfully contributes to the understanding of slave resistance and marronage. Moreover, such a publication in English of work by a Cuban scholar sheds new light on issues pertaining to the Americas and the Atlantic world and promotes intellectual exchanges. To do justice to such a work, written with limited access to the literature produced abroad and in circumstances inconceivable to most U.S. scholars, three conditions should be met. First, a brief preface by a non-Cuban specialist would help locate the work within the existing historiography. Second, careful editing—sanctioned by the author—would make the text more accessible to an international audience. And third, the editor should ensure that all the steps involved in the production of the book are done

thoroughly, even when the author lives in a country subjected to a U.S. embargo. Unfortunately, not all these conditions have been met here, and it is likely that readers unfamiliar with the realities of intellectual production in Cuba will not fully appreciate the contribution of La Rosa Corzo's study. For example, the text abounds in statements judging whether assessments by other scholars are "correct," a key word specific to Cuba. The English translation is often quite literal, which results in some odd sentences. The text can be repetitive (for example, pp. 7–9); some names of authors are misspelled; and the totals of Table 6 in the appendixes are puzzling. Finally, with the exception of classics, it would be best to publish a translation a few years after its original so that it can remain up to date.

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JORGE DUANY. *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 341. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Recent years have seen numerous inquiries into the making of postcolonial societies. Transnational flows of people, labor, and capital, shifting meanings of race, nation, and citizenship, and the enduring legacies of colonialism: these are subjects of ongoing discussion among scholars interested in diaspora. Jorge Duany enriches the field considerably with this highly textured examination of Puerto Rican identity and culture in the U.S. orbit. Puerto Ricans on the island and on the mainland comprise a "nation on the move," Duany argues, albeit a nation without neat geographic frontiers, political sovereignty, or a unifying ideology. Instead, the Puerto Rican nation is defined by shared cultural symbols, myths, expressions, memories, and values.

Duany's study is framed by two guiding questions: "How can most Puerto Ricans imagine themselves as a nation, even though few of them support the constitution of a separate nation-state?" and "What has been the cultural impact of the massive migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland over the past five decades?" (p. 5). In addressing these questions, the book explores the vast, treacherous terrain of racial perception, cultural (re)presentation, and nationalist discourse, from the U.S. invasion through the 1990s.

Duany begins by surveying ways the Puerto Rican nation has been conceived and recast. Early approximations—epitomized by the writings of Antonio Pedreira, Tomás Blanco and Vicente Géigel Polanco—rested on language, geography, birthplace, history, and folk culture. These criteria tended to diminish internal class and race distinctions and to define Puerto Ricanness (or Hispanic culture, more broadly) in opposition to "U.S. culture." But this binary construct, writes Duany, was complicated following World War II by

transnational movements of people, culture, and commodities to and from the mainland and within the Caribbean.

If during the first four decades of the U.S. regime Puerto Ricans readily defined themselves in contradiction to "Americans," it was in no small measure due to their continued political subjugation, which U.S. officials justified by casting Puerto Ricans as racially inferior and as "unfit" for the responsibilities of self-government. When U.S. photographers, anthropologists, and folklorists invaded the island during this period, they rendered quaint depictions of poverty, racial mixing, and peasant life that only fueled the Americans' sense of racial superiority and benevolent paternalism. Duany adeptly follows the contours of their racializing projects by drawing on a wide range of source materials, including personal correspondence, historical photographs, and postcards.

With the rise of cultural nationalism during the 1950s, Puerto Rican leaders and intellectuals—including the four-term governor Luis Muñoz Marín and educator Eugenio Fernández Méndez—pointed to folk symbols, such as the *jibaro* (mountain peasant) or the Puerto Rican flag, as embodiments of their national culture. These autonomists reasoned that Puerto Ricans could proudly be "culturally Puerto Rican" while remaining "politically American." Many of these symbols made their way to the mainland, where the diasporic communities embraced them as lasting emblems of their Puerto Ricanness. By the 1940s, they had founded forty community organizations and organized festivities (such as the Puerto Rican Day Parade) that reaffirmed their identity.

As the diaspora grew in size and visibility, its conceptions of nation and race gained new meanings, on both the island and the mainland. Policy makers, census officials, and Puerto Ricans at large grappled with conflicting racial codes and racializing practices. "Popular racial categories used by Puerto Ricans on the Island and in the diaspora," Duany points out, "depart from dominant American racial codes" (p. 259). But precisely how remains to be seen. Duany rightly notes that more substantive work is needed on the shifting parameters of race among Puerto Ricans. His overview of whiteness and racialization on the island helps to explain what he calls a "conspiracy of silence" about race. But his discussion of race on the mainland is rather brief and treats the Puerto Rican community in isolation from other Latino groups.

Although nicely contained within *lo puertorriqueño*, this study leaves one yearning to know how and where the Puerto Rican diaspora has intersected with Mexican, Cuban, Dominican, and Central American communities. Did mainland Latino tensions or alliances in such cities as New York, Chicago or Miami—or the fear of losing oneself in the "other Latino" census category or in the media-made "Hispanic" abyss—have a role in the late resurgence of Puerto Rican cultural nationalism (particularly, the Taino revival)? That the book inspires such a question is perhaps a

tribute to its sharp focus. Richly documented and succinctly argued, this study makes a major contribution to Puerto Rican historiography. Its eleven chapters are like facets of prism; each renders a distinctive and crystalline view into the contexts and inner workings of cultural nationalism.

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SUSAN M. DEEDS. *Defiance and Deference in Mexico's Colonial North: Indians under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 300. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

Susan M. Deeds's book is a well-researched monograph that fills geographic, chronological, and thematic gaps in existing historical scholarship. As such, it is a welcome addition to a growing literature on colonial northern Mexico. The study is situated in Nueva Vizcaya, an understudied region that corresponds roughly to contemporary Chihuahua and Durango, with a chronological focus on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this era, Nueva Vizcaya was a northern frontier zone notable for its arid landscape dominated by the Sierra Madre Occidental, diverse semi-sedentary and sedentary indigenous populations, and a network of mines and missions. Deeds analyzes the interconnections and transformations of these factors throughout the colonial centuries, from the sixteenth-century arrival of Spaniards through the eighteenth-century demise of the mission as a social institution.

The work begins with a concise summary of current theoretical debates concerning power, representation, agency, and material constraints on social life and the writing of history. One critical comment in a minor vein is that the theoretical complexity outlined in the introduction is not entirely realized in the body of the text, which tends toward description. Nevertheless, Deeds successfully demonstrates the relevance of two important concepts for understanding the history of Nueva Vizcaya: "ethnogenesis" and "mediated opportunism." These concepts are fully explored throughout the text, with an impressive level of empirical depth drawn from years of archival work.

"Ethnogenesis" refers to the "process through which ethnic cultures recreate themselves over time" (p. 6). Deeds reconstructs varied experiences of ethnogenesis over two centuries for five indigenous groups, the Xiximes, Acaxeos, Conchos, Tarahumaras, and Tepehuanes. Archaeological advances over the last two decades have essentially destroyed the old understandings of relatively undifferentiated "nomadic" northern indigenous groups on the fringes of the "core" sedentary zones of Mesoamerican civilization. Deeds utilizes this relatively new scholarly awareness of the ancient social and cultural complexity of the indigenous north to recreate unique processes of identity formation throughout the colonial centuries. This is a significant

contribution that will make her book important for years to come.

Deeds defines mediated opportunism as “the crossroads between cultural and environmental opportunism on the one hand and moral boundaries and biological barriers on the other” (p. 6). This is a critical concept for Deeds as it links social and cultural history, agency and structure, environment and biology, and the shifting circumstances caused by the passage of time. Her book traces the processes of ethnogenesis and mediated opportunism from the first Spanish incursions, through the transformation of the region with the emergence of the mining economy, to the decline of the frontier mission in the late eighteenth century. This latter institution plays a central role in the consolidation of colonial rule in Nueva Vizcaya. Thus, Deeds also contributes to the “new mission history,” notable for combining the insights of social, demographic, and cultural history into the analysis of missions and missionaries.

Deeds notes that there is a lack of indigenous-language sources for this time and place, resulting in even more distance from indigenous views and perspectives than is the norm in colonial and neocolonial contexts. The book relies heavily on “Jesuit and ecclesiastical reports and correspondence” (p. 9), in addition to judicial records and other forms of colonial documentation. Deeds skillfully reveals the content and limitations of these sources. She reconstructs a world where Jesuit missionaries and Spanish mine owners competed for indigenous labor, indigenous peoples struggled to shape their daily lives according to their own norms and expectations, and an entire social fabric was transformed over two centuries. In all of these ways, the book is a splendid addition to the literature on colonial northern Mexico and will be a standard reference.

The author aims high in her attempt to reconcile social history with the postmodernist perspectives of the “linguistic turn” and after. While the emphasis on the “material or everyday conditions of peoples lives” is welcome, the claim that “postcolonial theories” overemphasize representation, ideology, and power to the exclusion of these factors is debatable (p. 6). Indeed, the contours of the debate often hinge on the works cited, and this aspect of Deeds’s argument could have been elaborated more fully. Nevertheless, this is a minor quibble. In the end, Deeds provides us with a well-researched monograph on a relatively neglected region and era. This is a very useful book that specialists will turn to for years to come.

JAMES KRIPPNER
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MAGALI M. CARRERA. *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings*. (Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 188. \$34.95.

Describing the social organization of eighteenth-century Mexico has long challenged historians. Did New Spain have a caste or a class society? Was the former developing into the latter, as capitalistic forces eroded racial hierarchies? Magali M. Carrera’s monograph adds to a growing literature that seeks to redefine this issue by creating a more complex and nuanced account of difference in colonial society. As she argues in chapter one, post-Enlightenment concepts of race, associated with genetic inheritance, are apt to prove misleading when applied to Bourbon Mexico. For example, witnesses in Inquisition and court cases, when labeling someone a “mestizo,” “mulatto,” or “Spaniard,” did not rely merely on physical traits such as skin color; rather than assigning a racial label, they made a much broader assessment of the “physical, social, and moral qualities” (p. 15) that denoted a person’s *calidad*. However, *calidad* itself “was formulated and contextualized in the trope of the body” (p. 8). Elites believed they could read inner character from external signs. This notion became a weapon against the growing miscegenation and blurring of social boundaries that characterized eighteenth-century Mexico City. *Castas* (people of mixed ancestry) became more adept at mimicking their Hispanic superiors, making both categories harder to define. Ambiguity and hybridity marked identity formation; Spaniards and *castas* constructed themselves and each other in an inherently unstable process. Amidst this social flux, a belief in *calidad* offered some (imagined) certainty: the *castas*’ supposedly inferior traits could be “essentialized and made to seem real in literary and visual practices” (p. 18). The elites’ Foucauldian “gaze,” exemplified in the eighteenth-century genre of *casta* paintings, attempted to fix the *castas* in place, the better to discipline and control them.

The book’s core chapters examine these visual practices in fascinating detail, aided by (mostly black-and-white) reproductions of over forty *casta* paintings. Looking closely at four series of paintings executed from the 1720s to the 1780s, Carrera discerns important changes in style and meaning: the “diagnostic gaze” turns “progressively more intense and comprehensive” (p. 83). Over time the paintings become more detailed, notably in their treatment of *casta* clothing; they also adopt a wider scope, placing subjects in characteristic spaces, often suggestive of their occupation and economic standing. Although ostensibly portraying race mixture (“from an African man and an Indian woman, a china girl”), the paintings are actually shifting toward depictions of (and commentaries on) *calidad*. They show, for example, the folly of mismatched marriages: a black wife grabs her Spanish husband’s hair and prepares to strike him with a handy utensil (the setting is a humble kitchen). Relationships among *castas* result in tattered clothes and poorly paying jobs (shoemaker, vendor) in open workshops and public squares. In short, the viewers’ attention is drawn not to specific groups in isolation, but to the interaction of diverse bodies and urban spaces. The

true objects of these paintings are the multiracial *gente vulgar*, whose suspect moral character is revealed by their physical circumstances. Since they lack privacy, their wretchedness is open to public view. The colonial gaze exposes their debased *calidad*, which in turn justifies ever greater surveillance. Indeed, Carrera presents the *casta* paintings as a visual analogue to Bourbon attempts at reorganizing urban space in the capital. Renovating the cityscape, she astutely points out, was inextricably linked with reforming colonial bodies, making them healthier, more easily monitored, and more thoroughly regulated, thereby (though Carrera does not emphasize this) rendering them more fit for productive labor.

Chapter five addresses an important and seldom asked question: why did the *casta* painting genre fall into disuse by the early nineteenth century? Carrera's discussion is somewhat sketchy, but she makes the noteworthy point that, with the coming of independence, Indian and mestizo bodies were inserted into a new national narrative as symbols of a unique and authentic Mexican identity. *Calidad* was now beside the point.

This book draws skillfully on social history, and then repays the loan with interest, adding a visual dimension that historians too often ignore. Carrera provides by far the most sophisticated analysis of the *casta* paintings yet published, and the first to my knowledge that focuses on their evolution during the eighteenth century. The book's one significant and rather surprising weakness is its inattention to gender. Carrera ignores Iona Katzew's observation that *casta* paintings—by, for example, virtually always portraying Spaniards as male—created strong images of patriarchal authority. Nor does she investigate whether Bourbon reformers constructed distinctive images of male and female bodies. Surely the authorities' concern over urban disorder reflected specific fears about the improper presence of *casta* women in public spaces. Carrera's monograph is thus not a definitive treatment of colonial identity formation, but it deepens the discussion and opens intriguing paths for future scholars.

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CLAUDIA AGOSTONI. *Monuments of Progress: Modernization and Public Health in Mexico City, 1876–1910*. (Latin American and Caribbean Series.) Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2003. Pp. xvii, 228. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$21.95.

In spite of the stability and economic growth that Mexico experienced during the extended rule of dictator Porfirio Díaz (1876–1910), periodic floods, epidemics, and extraordinarily high mortality rates plagued its capital city. Claudia Agostoni explores how public health officials perceived and tried to transform this unhygienic Mexico City into a “monument of

progress,” first by waging a “war on dirt” that culminated in the construction of a massive drainage project, and second by erecting a privileged corridor of public memorials to Mexico's heroic past and modern present.

Recent scholarship on crime, prostitution, and education has focused on the way officials and professionals perceived and tried to transform Mexico City and its inhabitants in the years before and after the 1910 Revolution, and this well-researched study is a welcome addition. The first three chapters outline the history of urban ideas and projects from the colonial period, introduce Porfirian hygienists, and examine their diagnoses of and solutions for the city's problems. The book also traces the largely unplanned growth that divided the city into two distinct parts: a “modern” city of paved streets, wealthy residences, and foreign businesses to the west, and a crowded, impoverished, “ancient” city to the east. The last two chapters explore the construction and representations of the two sets of monumental projects, the drainage system and public monuments. Sources include contemporary publications, inspection reports, novels, and secondary literature.

Agostoni sees the group of doctors, engineers, and architects who took charge of urban public health issues as emblematic of broader trends of intervention by centralized government in the late nineteenth century. Even so, she carefully traces the roots of public policy over time. From the city's pre-Hispanic founding on a series of lakes, successive rulers and inhabitants struggled with and sought solutions to periodic flooding and devastating epidemics. But Agostoni dates systematic attempts to improve public health from the late colonial period, when Spanish officials turned their newly sensitive gaze on the city, setting the tone and anticipating many of the policies that would finally be carried out a century later.

Newly formed hygienists responded to the realities of Mexico City, but their perceptions and policies were heavily influenced by the theory that disease originated from miasmas, a view they clung to even as they slowly absorbed the germ theory of disease from Europe after 1870. Accordingly, they focused their public health efforts primarily on changing the urban environment. The 1891 Sanitary Code regulated construction and set standards for the isolation and treatment of disease. At the same time, officials used the code to try to inculcate moral and hygienic behavior among the poor, regulating alcohol, requiring shoes and pants for public events, and resorting to forced bathing and haircuts. Even so, as Agostoni notes, the Sanitary Code was “seldom respected or enforced.” Instead, the Porfirian regime's main public health concern, effort, and accomplishment was “the conquest of water” through an ambitious and costly drainage system to empty Lake Texcoco, control periodic flooding, and dispose of the city's sewage. Agostoni argues that the pursuit of environmental solutions reflected in part the reluctance of public health officials to surrender their belief

in miasmas as the source of disease. But she makes clear that policy priorities were not shaped exclusively by scientific understandings. Throughout she challenges public health officials' perceptions of themselves as apolitical and scientific, and in the epilogue she ventures a direct critique of these bright and dedicated men who, by dwelling on the benefits of the drainage system, "avoided confronting the social inequalities that prevailed in Mexico City and greatly contributed to the high incidence of disease and premature death" (p. 155).

Certainly officials' concern with appearances served to legitimize their rule, and by emphasizing this concern, Agostoni successfully combines an analysis of two otherwise distinct aspects of the urban modernization project. She devotes a chapter to the construction of a series of statues and monuments along or near the Paseo de la Reforma, which cut through the modern, sanitized half of the city. The monuments commemorated key heroic figures, from the last Aztec emperor Cuauhtémoc to liberal reformer Benito Juárez, providing an official and linear version of national history. While the link of these monuments to issues of hygiene is not direct, the author presents the drainage project as part of a broader attempt by professionals and officials to construct, for a public of foreigners and nationals alike, an urban environment that "would prove that the narrative of progress had been fulfilled" (p. 156). Indeed, the drainage works became a tourist attraction and shared inaugural honors with new historical monuments at the 1910 centennial celebration.

Agostoni's tentative findings for the post-1910 period fit well within recent postrevisionist studies of the revolution, suggesting both continuities and change. She suggests that, in the wake of a mass social uprising and the eventual acceptance of germ theory, postrevolutionary officials fretted more about the moral failures of the poor than about the cleanliness of the city itself. At the same time, they acknowledged Mexico City's enormous inequalities as a key source of "social diseases." She concludes by proposing a series of issues that historians of public health might explore, primarily for the postrevolutionary period. In sum, this study is an important contribution to our understanding of the Porfirian regime, the development of Mexico City, and the histories of science and medicine in Mexico.

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THOMAS B. F. CUMMINS. *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels*. (History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 377. \$69.50.

This book is a long-awaited revision of Thomas B. F. Cummins's Ph.D. dissertation in art history and is of great scholarly importance, notwithstanding its apparently narrow focus. It is a study of shifts in imagery on Andean *quero* and *aquilla* vessels (ceremonial maize-

beer drinking cups made respectively of wood and precious metals) from pre-Columbian times through the Spanish colonial period. Cummins mobilizes colonial documentary sources to link imagery on these vessels to the effects in social life, for Incas, for colonial *caciques*, and for colonial Spaniards, that ceremonial toasting with them was meant to achieve. He traces such connections in a remarkably readable and cogent argument illustrated with seventy-seven pages of black and white plates. A critical intervention on historical approaches to cultural *mestizaje* or hybridity in the colonial Andes, it joins the recent book by Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (1999), in making attention to art historical matters vital to historians of colonial worlds.

While imagery on beer drinking vessels might seem an arcane or even trivial matter for serious scholarship, Cummins shows how central was ceremonial sharing of maize beer in paired *queros* to Inca diplomacy and statecraft. *Queros* are then key to understanding how critically valued forms of sociality were given expression in the Andes before the Spanish invasion. He begins with a lively reconsideration of the encounter of Francisco Pizarro's men and the Inca Atahualpa in Cajamarca. Textbook accounts of that ill-starred event focus on Atahualpa and "the book," a breviary or Bible handed to him after explaining that it held the "word of God." Holding it to his ear, he heard nothing, and dropped it to the ground, whereupon the signal was given to begin the notorious massacre. An account of the same event by later Inca heir Titu Cusi tells a different story, highlighting the centrality of toasts with *queros* to Inca political practice, in which the Inca's refusal of the book follows the Spaniards' rejection of the Inca's proffer of one of a pair of chicha-filled *queros*.

Cummins's central problem is a signal shift in the kinds of images incised and painted on *queros*, corresponding to the break between pre-Columbian and Spanish colonial contexts. Up to the 1570s, those images take the form of abstract geometric shapes associable with a ritual iconography. But *queros* produced by native artisans under Spanish rule within workshops in Spanish cities, are often covered in a new sort of pictorial representation, one that did not exist before: depictions of persons, mainly Inca nobles, engaged in ritual action. Cummins addresses what is at first sight inexplicable: how could this new pictorialism on *queros*, often referencing the Inca past and specific "idolatrous" rites, persist, and proliferate during precisely the mid-colonial era of idolatry extirpation?

Cummins unravels the mystery by following *queros* and their imagery as they circulated across partially overlapping but distinct fields of desire or regimes of value. In pre-Columbian times they were highly valued gifts granted by sovereigns to the nobles among conquered peoples, conveying in their pairing as well as their imagery the sort of hierarchized complementarity characteristic of Inca rule. After the conquest, they

became commodities available to all. Native lords known as *caciques* were major purchasers, but so, too, were many Spaniards, as the cache of *queros* and *aquillas* discovered in the hold of the shipwrecked *Atocha* shows. For *caciques*, *queros*, now repositories of an indigenous heraldry, marked out social distinction in Spanish terms along with some of native lordship's remaining underpinning in indigenous cosmology. What exempted them from extirpation? Cummins argues that they had entered the realm of aesthetics, as pleasing *objets d'art*, suitable as well as mementos, akin to tourist art, of the exotic ways of Indian subjects.

In spite of the elegance and importance of this work, Cummins misses a few analytic opportunities. *Queros*' persistence must in part be due to their perceived utility as goblet-like things to drink with, capable of marking hospitality, generosity, and hierarchy within the Iberian world, as well as across the Iberian/Andean divide. That combination made them useful, as well, as markers of the colonial relationship itself. *Queros*' "cupness," along with their exotic, pictorially conveyed "Inca-ness," made them into proper sorts of mementos, usable in Iberian commensal contexts to repeatedly toast and recall a returning Spaniard's conquests in the Indies.

Such quibbles aside, Cummins's book gives the colonial historian much to think about and heralds a new era in the interdisciplinary study of the transcultural worlds of colonialism.

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WILLIAM R. SUMMERHILL. *Order Against Progress: Government, Foreign Investment, and Railroads in Brazil, 1854–1913*. (Social Science History.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 297. \$60.00.

The introduction of railroads into nineteenth-century Brazil, as William R. Summerhill shows in this book, produced economic growth and helped to forge a new economic order. Nonetheless, he suggests that government policies to promote the expansion of rail transport may have led to overinvestment in some railroads, investment that he believes might have been more wisely allocated to promote other forms of social capital such as education. These policies produced what he labels "order against progress" (p. 103). In this compact and tightly argued work, Summerhill focuses narrowly on four questions: the direct impact of railroads on the Brazilian economy, the role of government involvement in railroads, foreign investment, and the long-term impact of railroads on Brazil. Summerhill is one of a small but growing group of young historians inspired by the "New Economic History" who have applied increasingly sophisticated quantitative and formal techniques to the study of the economic history of Latin America. As he points out in the introduction, he has consciously chosen to narrow his focus rather than aim for a "broad and impressionistic treatment [that] might prove both wide-ranging and

evocative, but would also lack sufficient analytical depth" (p. 6). Consequently, this is not a full-scale history of railroads in pre-World War I Brazil but rather a careful and focused analysis of the key features of one of the most important sectors of the Brazilian economy.

Although railways were heavily concentrated in the southeastern coffee-growing region (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Minas Gerais), investors also constructed lines in the south, northeast, and even on the northern coast. Summerhill estimates that by 1913 the value of railroad transport services accounted for slightly over four percent of the gross domestic product. The stock of physical capital of a modest railroad in Brazil, Summerhill notes, was larger than that of the entire cotton textile industry. As in much of Latin America, the two main sources of financing were British investors and the Brazilian government (federal and state). Government played a large role in constructing, operating, and financing railways in Brazil. Early on, the government guaranteed dividend levels to make investment attractive for the private sector. By 1914, however, state and federal governments owned nearly two-thirds of all railroad routes in Brazil.

Summerhill argues that railroads improved overall resource allocation in Brazil, and did it "on the cheap" (p. 58). Railroads reduced freight costs and helped integrate product and labor markets. In particular, railroads stimulated the expansion of the coffee economy, easily Brazil's most important economic sector, by increasing land under cultivation, by attracting immigrant labor, and by stimulating investment in land. Although Summerhill argues that railroads did not promote export agriculture, they also did little to promote "structural change in Brazil through industrialization" (p. 154). He sees this shortcoming not as a failure of railroads, but rather as due to the structural limitations of a preindustrial economy.

Some of the most interesting analysis in the book focuses on the role of government. Summerhill effectively shows that without state intervention, "Brazil would have received much less railroad investment than it did" (p. 157). He is persuasive in showing that the most important influences on investment and policies were domestic. Through policies Summerhill calls "brilliantly calculated," the Brazilian government limited the ability of foreigners to generate large profits. The major railroads "generated impressive rent streams" and "the bulk of the rent generated by railroads remained in Brazil" (p. 161). No one, neither not the government nor private investors (domestic or foreign), made large profits.

Summerhill is less persuasive in his conclusions when he departs from his careful, analytically focused arguments. He suggests that railroads helped to concentrate slaveholding in the southeast and strengthened support for slavery there while weakening it elsewhere. He offers no evidence nor even references to the vast bibliography on this central issue. At the close of the book, he once again highlights the positive

impact of government intervention on railroads before 1914, and then suggests that this intervention had long-term negative repercussions for Brazil. Again, this is pure speculation about a long, thorny, and ongoing debate.

Finally, it should be noted that Summerhill's book is framed as an attack on dependency theory, in particular the argument that railroads benefited foreign investors while failing to bring positive consequences for Brazilians. Although Summerhill effectively counters many of the broad generalizations of dependency theory through carefully constructed analysis, the framing seems dated and largely overdone. Dependency theory has been in decline for more than a decade, and Summerhill's strawman, oddly enough, is a sweeping interpretive essay by E. Bradford Burns, hardly a key figure in dependency theory. Much of sparring with Burns and dependency theory seems unnecessary in a book that is otherwise carefully crafted and sharply focused.

MARSHALL C. EAKIN
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SIMON COLLIER. *Chile: The Making of a Republic, 1830–1865; Politics and Ideas*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 89.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xxi, 271. \$65.00.

When Simon Collier became suddenly ill and died last year, it was a shock to historians of Chile. As this book demonstrates, he still had a great deal to add to our understanding of a country he spent his life studying. Collier began his career with the study of Chile at independence, and this work continues the narrative into the 1860s. He was always fascinated with the interaction between the nation's political and intellectual life. His guiding principle here is that "politics is, of all human activities, the most rapidly shifting, and political ideas are often altered by circumstances" (pp. xv-xvi). There is an extensive literature on the period he surveys, often named after the leading figure who organized the new republic in the 1830s, Diego Portales. Portales remains a lightning rod of Chilean historical studies, not least because the Pinochet dictatorship (1973–1989) liked him so much, but the Portalian era deserves to be understood in its own terms and this is what Collier sets out to do.

For Collier, the republic was not, as others have put it, a fight between classes or of a triumphant oligarchy winning over an early bourgeoisie. It was instead a conservative project in cultural as well as political terms. Portales drew together the landed leadership around Santiago, combined them with his own merchant class, and launched a constitution that centralized authority in the presidency while turning Congress into a consulting body. Indeed, Chile went further than any other early American republic in abolishing federalism: provincial intendants were appointed, not elected. Collier notes that the Portalian regime relied on repression but that it represented

those who were capable of governing, exactly as Portales would have wanted. This basic sympathy for the Portalian project leads him to a deep reading of the era's newspapers and how they portrayed their leaders and their society, particularly that part of it gathered in Santiago. It brings him and us along a very different path than one of class conflict and focuses on the twists and turns of politics itself and how these generated factions that created Chile's multiparty system by the early 1860s. The attitude he is combating is that of the liberal historical tradition, which sees the Portalian presidents as retrograde and the regime as an unfortunate aberration between the enlightened leaders of independence and the triumph of liberalism in the 1870s.

Along the way, Collier looks closely at events that are often briefly summarized in other works but here prove central to the narrative: the war with Peru and Bolivia in the late 1830s, the civil wars of 1851 and 1859, and the affair of the sacristan in 1856–1857. The international war united the *pelucones* or "big wigs," as the Portalian elite was called, but the other events divided them. The enormous value of Collier's analysis is to demonstrate that what is true of politics today was true yesterday. The triumphant *pelucones* always had factions within them and eventually their fault lines, which seemed minute in the 1840s, widened dramatically in the late 1850s. Thus, it was the contingencies of political conflict rather than some larger, inexorable process that opened space for a new generation of liberals after 1860. Collier is also careful to demonstrate the divisions among liberals, which as early as 1850 began to split into factions as well.

In all of this, Collier can point to one figure who thought he embodied the conservative tradition and instead pushed it to its limits. Manuel Montt was president from 1851 to 1859. He was the third of the three Portalian chief executives, each of whom served two five-year terms, and he was the last. Collier, who is generally very measured in his descriptions, calls him a "petty tyrant." Montt faced a liberal, provincial uprising early in his first term but suppressed it. He did not have the credentials of wealth or military service but he had impressed the Portalian politicians as a hard-nosed minister of the interior. Unfortunately, his success only reinforced a prickly, rigid personality. In 1856, he endorsed judicial intrusion in church affairs over the firing of a lowly sacristan and over that year turned a church-centered faction of conservatives into his opponents. The split in conservative ranks occurred just before the 1858 congressional elections. "It is hard not to see December 1857 as one of the nodal points of Chilean history, marking the genesis of what would become, in time, the multiparty system that has been a key feature of Chile's politics ever since" (p. 209). Alienated conservatives joined the liberals in an electoral alliance that Montt defeated by the usual high-handed tactics. The *Fusión*, as the opposition called itself, continued its campaign after the election, and this led to the uprising in 1859. Although Montt won,

he had destroyed the political-social alliances that had made up the Portalian state. The next president, a temporizing conservative, José Manuel Pérez, brought liberals into his cabinet and began the era of coalition government.

Even as he relates a blow-by-blow account of political fights and public feelings, Collier looks up from politics per se to tell how the Chileans formed a national identity. His chapters on how Chileans viewed progress, how they began to compare themselves favorably with other South American states, and how they saw Great Britain and the United States are themselves worth the price of the book. All along, as Collier weaves public sentiment and these broader issues together, he argues that we cannot always explain why people change but that we are much likelier to find the explanation in contingent political events and their larger impact on elite sensibilities.

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RICARDO D. SALVATORE. *Wandering Paysanos: State Order and Subaltern Experience in Buenos Aires During the Rosas Era*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 523. \$59.95.

Ricardo D. Salvatore studies the experience of peons and peasants in the province of Buenos Aires during Rosismo (1829–1852), one of the most heavily studied periods in the history of Argentina and one that, in the 1990s, has gone through a very creative and productive renovation. This book examines a variety of aspects, such as the relationship between paysanos and the rule of law, their participation in the market economy and in the military, and the official celebrations of the regime.

Particularly interesting is the section on the migratory patterns of provincial paysanos toward the porteño countryside, motivated by the job market. Salvatore thus provides a broad picture of the mobility of the peons class, about which we have had only partial evidence up until now. Similarly, the author analyzes how certain dress codes and appearances were used by the state to define its relationship with the paysanos at the same time that they could be used to define the social standing of the latter. Salvatore studies this complicated question with the *filiaciones*, a type of document with rich information that had not been tapped before.

Salvatore explores the role of institutions and law in Juan M. de Rosas's regime, a focus of studies of Argentine caudillismo since the 1980s. He sides with those scholars who have underscored the importance of institutions in caudillista regimes and argues that, contrary to the "paradigmatic interpretations" of Rosismo that hold that the regime "lacked any credible system of justice," the rule of law was indeed fundamental in the Rosista period. His own evidence supports only partially this interpretation, however. One

of the common accusations is that the regime was "a case of flagrant nepotism," which mainly referred to the legendary influence that Manuelita (Rosas's daughter) exercised on the regime's political and legal decisions. Salvatore presents evidence that Rosas's nephew was severely punished and jailed for six months for challenging the rule of law. Yet, we also learn that a worker who had deserted from Rosas's army made his boss and the local justice believe that Manuelita had pardoned him (p. 316). No penal code guided Rosas's sentencing, although the author says that the caudillo's behavior made it "predictable." For all his concern to protect private property, moreover, Rosas did not hesitate to confiscate the properties of Unitarians for political reasons. So, Salvatore's own evidence suggests that traditional historians were not so far off the mark and that their explanations should not be so easily dismissed. By doing so, the author has lost the opportunity to revise the revisionist trend of the last two decades.

Salvatore explores the phenomenon of desertion from the Rosista army and convincingly argues that paysanos deserted for fear of punishment, because they missed their families, or because superiors failed to provide them with food or clothing. But he also says that the reasons articulated by the deserters located their "discontent within the discourse of the fatherland and the promises of the republic." Actually, there is no evidence that the soldiers articulated or understood it this way; of the eight examples presented in the section on the fear of punishment, we hear the voice of only one man (certainly a problem for a project so concerned with the experience of the paysanos), who did not say anything about the fatherland or the republic. Two others were a Brazilian and a Chilean; how could they have articulated their experience in the language suggested by the author?

The exploration of paysanos' political memory, a promising subject in itself, exhibits, however, several methodological problems. The author argues that, by the 1830s and 1840s, Rosista propaganda ("the official epic of Federation") had largely succeeded in replacing the war of independence with federal military campaigns in veterans' collective memory. However, the evidence does not support this conclusion: of the seven documents that the author uses to show this "dramatic shift in collective memory," five are from the 1820s, before Rosas took power, and only one is from 1832, during the early Rosista period. The remaining document is not dated (pp. 327–29). So, if independence did fade in collective memory, it must have been for other reasons. Yet, even this assertion is questionable. The documents used (former officers' petitions to the government requesting material compensation for their services during independence) speak more about the financial and political problems of a government's (failed) attempt to demilitarize society than about the fading of independence from collective memory in the 1820s.

To further develop the argument, Salvatore uses the

testimonies of soldiers contained in the *filiaciones*: of 525 *filiaciones* issued in the 1840s, only two mention José de San Martín and one Manuel Belgrano (p. 331). However, on the next page the author reduces this ratio by two thirds and says that only “134 of the 541 respondents were old enough to have known or fought in the wars of independence.” Nothing is said about the cut age of this group, but when it is compared with the cohorts of table 3.1 (p. 103), it seems to include people that during independence were in their childhood, while all the testimonies about the Rosista struggles were provided by people that experienced them as adults, which makes the former group artificially larger and affects their testimonies. Besides, the war for independence and San Martín’s and Belgrano’s roles as military leaders were largely geographically localized phenomena: how many of the respondents in the appropriate age group had lived in the province of Tucumán, Salta, Jujuy, or Mendoza? If region were factored in the age cohort, the result would be different. One wonders if the *filiaciones* from the province of Buenos Aires issued in the 1840s (less than half of the respondents came from the interior provinces) are the best sources for assessing collective memory of the war of independence (in some of those provinces anti-Spanish sentiment ran high well into the 1860s).

Salvatore is aware that the questions posed by the interrogators framed the *paysanos*’ testimonies, but he never discusses this as a methodological problem. Since most respondents were illiterate, to remember and to articulate their testimonies, the author argues, they “followed certain signposts” like the chronology of events provided by the celebration of the official history of the Federation. This explanation of the workings of collective memory is not supported by the evidence. First, although some of the testimonies go back as far as eighteen years, many others deal with a more recent past, from few weeks prior to three, five, or twelve years (p. 346–47). Second, in most cases the informants referred to conflicts in which they participated or, to a lesser extent, that they witnessed: that is, they remembered their personal experiences as adults. Third, although the events cited in their testimonies coincided with the events celebrated by the official propaganda (after all they were part of the same historical process), they did so only partially and, symptomatically, none of the testimonies reproduced the entire chronology of the Federation. Fourth, the respondents also remembered well their struggle against Indians and minor skirmishes against the Unitarios that were not celebrated by the official propaganda of the Federation. Fifth, the author makes clear that war was a very traumatic experience for the soldiers, leaving them scarred and wounded. So, although Rosista propaganda might have encouraged them to talk about their experiences, they did not need to rely on such “signposts” and there is no evidence that they did.

Salvatore claims that the Unitarian “interpretation [of Rosista violence] had so profound an effect on

Argentine historiography that it seems almost sacrilegious to suggest an alternative reading”: actually historians have challenged the Unitarian version for decades.

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MARIANO PLOTKIN, editor. *Argentina on the Couch: Psychiatry, State, and Society, 1880 to the Present*. (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 287. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.95.

The psychoanalysis “boom” that began in Argentina in the 1960s continues to this day because the discipline was institutionalized there differently than in other countries: it was concerned with social issues, had a broad approach to mental health, and was more democratized than elsewhere, even though mainly confined to the middle class. This collection of essays is divided into three thematic areas. The first is concerned with the medicalization of social issues in late nineteenth-century Argentina, viewed through the diagnosis of hysteria and of sexual aberration (the latter viewed through the prism of degeneration theory).

The diagnosis of hysteria, according to Julia E. Rodríguez, “was characterized by culturally bound symptoms specific to that moment and to the society’s larger gender assumptions” (p. 27). European authors (Sigmund Freud, Joseph Breuer, Jean-Martin Charcot) were read and assimilated, to be sure, but always in the light of local assumptions regarding sex roles. The treatment of hysteria became the core around which the new discipline of psychiatry emerged and provided positions for its practitioners in public institutions.

The second set of essays concerns the public practice of psychiatry, particularly in hospitals and prisons. Jonathan Ablard argues that psychiatrists were largely unregulated, confining or releasing persons from institutions at will, and that, as a result, involuntary psychiatric hospitalization became a convenient gauge of the capacity of state functionaries to exercise control over citizens. Lila Caimari expands on the same theme in the following essay on the psychiatric classification of criminals. Classifying criminals was not only a way to bring them under “symbolic control,” but the typologies provided prison bureaucrats with a way of measuring their potential for social discipline.

The final section deals with psychoanalysis itself. First, Hugo Vezetti explains the decisive impact that Enrique Pichón Riviére exercised over the discipline. In the 1960s, Pichón Riviére was able to shift the focus of Argentine psychiatry from the insane and the criminal to ordinary people, by creating a psychoanalytically oriented social psychology. The heart of his approach lay in the “operative group,” which was the focus of both his teaching and his therapy. Pichón Riviére’s focus on group dynamics had the unintended consequence of diffusing psychoanalytic concepts very

broadly throughout Argentine society and culture and built support for its practice among non-elite sectors. Vezetti credits Pichón Rivière with a “democratic shift” in Argentine psychoanalysis, oriented less toward the individual psyche and more toward society itself.

In the last essay, editor Mariano Plotkin provides an interpretation of the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina, particularly its institutional features. Freudian psychology was originally accessed through French commentators. In the 1940s, when English replaced French as the second language of Argentine medicine, analysts followed the U.S. lead in deemphasizing sexuality and stressing the role of culture. Freudian doctrine was given both conservative and leftist readings, the former stressing the need to control sexuality, the latter using Freud to attack degeneracy theory.

The great impact of psychoanalysis on medicine was not due to the role of psychiatric hospitals but that of the psychiatric services in general hospitals, which became conduits for the massive impact of Freudian approaches.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

GLORIA FERRARI. *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 352. \$60.00.

Gloria Ferrari's learned book takes as its starting point the decipherment of Athenian vase paintings of ca. 500–400 B.C. that represent a female wool worker. Recruiting semiotic theory borrowed from linguistics, the author investigates the representation of gender in such images by examining the cultural constructions of male and female in ancient Greece. Ferrari breaks down the 600 or so vase scenes into a series of twenty-six “meaningful figures” (p. 27) or minimal units of meaning, then investigates the constitutive elements—props, clothing, gestures, setting—together with the associations of weaving as derived from poetry and myth. In contrast to earlier scholars, who usually argue that they represent prostitutes, Ferrari argues that the wool-working scenes are imbued with connotations of eroticism and industry. Far from representing prostitutes, the paintings of a mantled female surrounded by wool-working images (or elements borrowed from such scenes) present images of *aidos* (modesty) and *philergia* (industriousness), which are charged with feminine sexual allure. An introduction that sets forth the state of the study of vase painting over the last half century and articulates the author's methodology precedes this argument, which constitutes roughly the first third of the book. The remaining four chapters explore Greek perceptions and definitions of gender. Some 149 illustrations accompany the text, which concludes with four indexes. Oddly, the pivotal wool worker who instigates the study largely

vanishes from the last half of the book (although one of the appendixes lists the vases on which the image appears), so one is left wondering where that material fits into the greater whole.

In this wide-ranging study that takes in such topics as ideals of beauty, bathing, nudity, and same-sex relations, Ferrari repeatedly challenges conventional views. She vigorously disagrees with the common categorization of sexual partners in ancient Greece as active and passive because it equates young men with women and slaves, when, according to Ferrari, most analogies made between male and female in ancient Greece, including the famous quote by Jean-Pierre Vernant that marriage is to a woman what warfare is to a man, are false. Ferrari points out, quite rightly, that while the male changes as an erotic object and subject with age, the female does not. Age is linked with intelligence and wisdom in the male, while females are omitted from these categories altogether. She further differentiates male and female rites of passage; male are based on age class, female on social condition. She argues that the age of the *eromenos* is not as restricted as others have claimed. *Pederastia*, as Ferrari convincingly demonstrates, serves the state: the tyrannicides were honored by Athens because their deed originated in a love affair, not in spite of it (p. 158). The discussion of marriage as a metaphorical commercial transaction in chapter eight is especially compelling. The author rightly points out that wedding is not an initiation for the bride but a rite of appropriation. Here, Ferrari refines the relationships between veiling and marriage, and marriage and death, and the definition of the *oikos*, which is not created by a union of man and woman but a union of a man and property. Marriage has everything to do with men and the polis and nothing to do with the *oikos*, which often included concubines and their children.

While the argumentation is meticulous, some portions of the book are ponderous, particularly chapter three, which examines the relationship between linguistic and visual images and the meaning and use of metaphor in both genres. One wonders how much of this is really necessary to grasp the point of the argument made here (and the author has addressed some of this material in earlier publications). Ferrari eschews reading many vase paintings as genre images and prefers instead to see them as mythological, as she does with the *krateriskoi* depictions associated with the *Arkteia*, a festival where girls do not shed the saffron robe (*krokotos*), as many others have claimed, but rather don the *krokotos* as a mark of feminine *aidos* (pp. 168–76). This view of vase paintings as images of myths sometimes pushes the evidence beyond credibility (figs. 113–114), but other readings (fig. 137, p. 175) are ingenious. Likewise, while stating that the sculpted *kouros* signifies the ideal citizen and ideal object of desire, well-accepted views, Ferrari goes on to explain some of the painted details on *kouroi*, such as jewelry add “connotations of femininity” (p. 115) and “refer to the feminine skin he has just shed” (p. 125). This view,

however, is hard to square with other evidence, such as the inscription accompanying the Anavysos *kouros*, which celebrates the deceased as a warrior, a category distinctly unrelated to the female sphere. Indeed, inscriptions, epigrams, and graffiti generally are over-looked in favor of “high” literature, particularly the writings of Plato and Aristotle, whose works can be misleading as sources for general cultural attitudes. While the author carefully distinguishes the visual constructs on vase paintings from reality, she often seems to use written sources in exactly this way. Elsewhere, material evidence could reshape the author’s conclusions (e.g. that the invisibility of women was worn as a badge of honor in Athens; p. 209); one thinks of women in Athenian religion, in civic festivals, as dedicants on the Akropolis and elsewhere, whose names (and money) are publicly declared in inscriptions. The actuality defies the evidence of Thucydides (the famous passage from Pericles’s funeral oration is discussed) and others, who give a male perception of female roles but do not reveal the more complex reality reflected in the material record.

Most of the surprisingly frequent typographical errors do not distort meaning, but the translation of *homokapous* as “through-mates” should surely be “trough-mates” (p. 199). Note that the reference to Cairns 1977 cited on p. 310, n. 140 does not appear in the bibliography. In spite of these small flaws, there is much to be gained from this thoughtful, erudite study.

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SARAH B. POMEROY. *Spartan Women*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 198. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

Sarah B. Pomeroy’s new book is a pioneering and important work. The women of Sparta have fascinated ancients and moderns alike, yet this may be the first scholarly monograph devoted to the subject. The result is a thorough and painstaking study by perhaps the leading scholar of ancient Greek women’s history.

Pomeroy’s perspicacity serves the reader well. She had to sift through complicated, refractory, and at times contradictory evidence. But the fundamental quality of the evidence is its paucity: we know little about Sparta and less about Spartan women. Yet much of what we have suggests that Spartan women were unusually beautiful, assertive, and powerful by the standards of ancient Greece. Can the evidence be trusted? Is it fact or myth? Assuming that the data is largely credible (more on this below), Pomeroy does an excellent job of explaining it, for expert and lay reader alike. She does not shy away from asking big and important questions or from attempting to answer them.

The book covers the archaic, classical, and Hellenistic periods, with an emphasis on the first two. The chapters span subjects from education, marriage, and

motherhood, to the respective situations of elite and lower-class women, and to religion. From Helen of Troy (a Spartan queen) on, Spartan women had a reputation for beauty. Pomeroy argues that they deserved it. Good diet, exercise for women, the prohibition of cosmetics (which were potentially toxic), and, more grimly, the use of eugenics, as well as Spartan society’s shallow emphasis on good looks, all tended to produce beautiful females. Spartan women received physical training as well as schooling in music, poetry, and dance: the only public education for women in Greece. They were also famously assertive, and Pomeroy notes that unlike other Greek women—or Spartan men—Spartan women were taught to speak in public.

Spartan women trained nude, which shocked other Greeks. They were free to engage in homosexual relationships. They exercised some control over reproduction by taking “the initiative in husband-doubling arrangements for the sake of producing children who would inherit from more than one father” (p. 136). Moreover, they could inherit real property, unlike Athenian women. Spartan mothers raised fearless warriors and Spartan princesses raced horses (that is, they sponsored teams and drivers) at the Olympic Games.

As wives, mothers, neighbors, priestesses, students, heiresses, and bedmates, Spartan women wielded more influence and authority than their sisters elsewhere in Greece. In short, they had power undreamed of by Antigone or Phaedra or other pallid figures of the Athenian theater and the society it mirrors. Or did they?

Many of Pomeroy’s conclusions depend on her commonsensical interpretation of the ancient evidence. That material is not only tricky and scattered, but it may have been twisted by ancient political and philosophical quarrels. On top of that, the written evidence is the product of a society that used secrecy and disinformation as force multipliers in foreign affairs. The evidence of material culture is less problematic, but it is sparse. And yet the influence of Spartan ideals in Western civilization can hardly be overestimated. No wonder historians of ancient Sparta tend either to be skeptics or believers, and Pomeroy falls squarely in the second group. Faulting “some contemporary hypercritical Spartanologists,” Pomeroy asserts that the primary sources “generally reflect an actual historical situation rather than a utopian fiction” (p. viii). I tend to agree: as I discovered in my own research for a book on the battle of Salamis, Herodotus and Plutarch were better informed and more astute than we usually think.

In a good appendix on sources, Pomeroy offers individual assessments of various ancient authors and of material evidence. She also considers and criticizes—sometimes harshly—recent modern studies. But we will have to wait for the more extended and methodical discussion that the case for veracity deserves. In the meantime, thanks to this groundbreaking

book, historians are now in a much better position than perhaps ever before to treat the daughters of Helen not as exemplars or myths but as real human beings.

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ANTHONY KALDELLIS. *Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 305. \$49.95.

This book offers a confessedly revisionist account of Procopius of Caesarea as a historian of the reign of Justinian. It takes issue (often sharply) with scholarship that has appeared since my own book, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (1985), and claims to present a reading of Procopius that will for the first time do justice to the author's literary qualities. Far from the conventional Christian of most current accounts, Procopius emerges here as a dissident Platonist and as a brave, if shrill, critic of Justinian's regime who ultimately failed to understand it. According to Anthony Kaldellis, Procopius was "the only subject of the Roman empire to write an impartial and even critical history of a reigning emperor" (p. 221), and the concluding sentence of his book, at the end of a chapter devoted to the familiar topic in Procopian scholarship of his presentation of God and Tyche, reads: "If anything testifies to the ability of human beings to maintain honor and dignity in a world ruled by chance and tyranny, it is the humanity and the histories of Procopius of Caesarea."

There are a number of problems with these claims. Unlike many recent scholars (see Geoffrey Greatrex, "Recent Work on Procopius and the Composition of *Wars VIII*," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 27 [2003]: 45–67), Kaldellis does not spend much time on the relative dating of Procopius's three works, the *History of the Wars*, the *Buildings*, and the *Secret History*, accepting 551 for the last and "some time in the 550's" (p. 3) for the *Buildings*. In his main discussion, he omits the *Buildings*, having dismissed it as a work of insincere flattery (e.g. pp. 3, 51–58). Certainly other modern readers as well as Kaldellis have trouble in interpreting panegyric, but to return to the Gibbonian view that Procopius wrote the *Buildings* only for reasons of gain or advantage is not convincing, the more so since Kaldellis does cite some among the useful collection of papers on the *Buildings* published in *Antiquité tardive* 8 (2000). I persist in believing that no overall interpretation of Procopius the writer can be complete if one of his three works is relegated in this way.

Unfortunately Kaldellis also enhances his claim to originality by blackening earlier scholarship and classing together "Byzantinists" from Edward Gibbon to the twentieth century (see especially pp. 38–43), with "British Byzantinists," especially myself, as the main offenders. Nor is his reading of Procopius an adequate

guide to the historical context of the reign; he believes, for example, that the Three Chapters affair of the 540s, which led to the alienation of many North African bishops, and to the disastrous Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553, was only "a very marginal matter" in the context of Justinian's policies (p. 42). The claim that Procopius was influenced by Platonism would link him with other Justinianic writers such as John the Lydian, Agapetus, and the anonymous author of the dialogue "On Political Science." Interestingly, then, Kaldellis's lively discussion (pp. 94–117) is confined to the realm of political theory; it does not convincingly demonstrate that Procopius was a Neoplatonist in any wider sense. Political theory was indeed a major area of debate under Justinian, and like others in his day Procopius was confronted with the need to make sense of current political reality in contrast with ideal theory. Kaldellis shows how he used the figure of the Persian King Chosroes to good effect as a foil to that of Justinian in this regard. It remains striking however, given Kaldellis's argument, that Procopius chose not to mention the Neoplatonists from the Academy at Athens who were "targeted" by Justinian in 529 (Kaldellis's word, p. 103).

There are many good things in this book, including the close readings of Procopius's text, for instance on his use of anecdotes in the *Wars* (chapter two). It is disappointing, then, that the book has no conclusion as such. I would like to have heard more, both about other literary issues and about the parts of Procopius's work that Kaldellis has chosen not to cover. Kaldellis's revisionism represents a swing of the roundabout back to older scholarship: what could be more traditional in Procopian scholarship, after all, than fifty-six pages on God and Tyche in the *Wars*, or the claim to have detected "veiled" pagan or dissident beliefs? Procopius is notoriously elusive, and there is still scope for advances in interpretation. But any new reading must be based on the totality of the evidence.

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CHARLES L. H. COULSON. *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 441.

During the past three decades, Charles L. H. Coulson has published nearly two dozen articles about various topics relating to medieval castles and fortresses. This provocative and densely written book synthesizes the materials and themes covered in those articles. A more accurately descriptive subtitle might be "Fortresses and Noble Residences in the British Isles and France during the Central Middle Ages"; the author decries what has been a narrowly focused examination of the purely military aspects of castles, instead stating that "castles were conspicuous incidentals of the noble way of life" (p. 362). His intention is to correct the narrowly military perspective and to prove his asser-

tion that “fortresses were only occasionally caught up in war, but constantly were central to the ordinary life of all classes” (pp. 1–2). Coulson’s statement that most medieval castles do not have a military history of sieges is probably correct, but his assertion that defense was not a primary reason for the construction of most castles does not necessarily follow. Indeed, one could argue from the same premise that the original builder of a castle could have responded to a legitimate perceived potential military threat and that his castle served so well in deterring this threat that the castle was never attacked. Of course, such a strong and militarily successful castle would also have served as a potent visible social and economic symbol; there certainly need be no dichotomy between the military aspects of a medieval castle and its social and economic ones.

Coulson takes as his ambit England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and France during the central Middle Ages and deploys case studies derived from an array of printed primary sources from this long period for synchronic examination of economic and social institutions associated with castles and fortifications. While this method can produce some paragraphs that incorporate examples from different centuries and countries and is not well suited to examine chronological development and change in these institutions, it does serve well to paint the broad picture the author intends. Interesting topics explored in detail include castle rendability (the custom that a noble castle tenant could be required by his feudal overlord to surrender custody of the castle either as demonstration of the overlord’s property rights or for purposes of effective defense), the perception of castles and fortresses as places of physical refuge for peasants from their threatened hinterlands, the role of fortified places in colonization and settlement, and the role of noble widows as sometime custodians and managers of castles. (Coulson’s vehement rejection of the label “feudal castle” [p. 20] would seem gainsaid by the theory underpinning rendability.)

This intellectually lively book rejects, among other ideas, the notion of royal “castle policy” for the general public good of a kingdom, and “castle-guard” as a regular military institution. Coulson describes castle garrisoning as generally more an occasion rather than an institution, except in special circumstances. He often shows deft use of modern terms and comparisons to illustrate his points—like “granny flat” when discussing the special sections of a castle set aside for the residence of a dead castle holder’s widow. It is a pity that an often convoluted style, which features the passive voice and many choppy asides and qualifications within a sentence, produces some sentences that require repeated rereading before yielding up their meanings. Also, the author’s footnotes often describe his opinions about the historiography of topics so tersely as to be more allusive or even enigmatic than fully clear.

Much of the ground covered in this book has also

been explored in N. J. G. Pounds’s *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: A Social and Political History* (1990) and Matthew Johnson’s recent *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance* (2003). This book will not be Coulson’s final word on the subject, for he is working on a study of castles and crenellating (royal permission to fortify an existing noble house) and another of urban and ecclesiastical fortifications in England and France. The author is correct in observing that more local studies are needed to advance castle studies, for only a good supply of careful chronological case studies of individual castles and the details of their geographic, military, economic, and social contexts will permit more nuanced generalizations. All scholars with an interest in medieval castles and fortresses and the people who lived in and around them will want to consult this book, although perhaps more as a reference work than an easy read.

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HUGH M. THOMAS. *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066-c.1220*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 462.

This is a valuable book, although arguably an over-long one. Its subject is an old one, but its comprehensiveness and its grounding in anthropological and sociological theory make it the basis from which future work will proceed. The book operates at several levels, tackling both the practical process of assimilation and the remarkable result whereby the conquerors assumed the identity of the conquered, and analyzing ethnicity and ethnic relations within a framework that sees the former as having a conscious, changing existence for each individual, as well as a culturally constructed one. Hugh M. Thomas shows both a scrupulous regard for the complexities of the topic and a considerable sensitivity to the inherent uncertainties involved in applying a modern theoretical framework to sources that were not intended to be read in this way. Comparative analysis, involving both modern and medieval examples, is used to considerable effect.

Thomas’s knowledge of primary and secondary sources is formidable. He draws effectively on prosopographical research, some of it his own, and on the work of other scholars. The book therefore contains significant independent assessment of a host of subjects, including the loss of Normandy in 1204, the apparent intensification of English identity from the early thirteenth century, the attitude of the Normans and other French peoples to English saints’ cults, the development of Anglo-Norman, and intermarriage between Norman and French men and English women (which Thomas believes to have been less common in the first generation after 1066 than has previously been thought). The lack of a final summary of conclusions, or at least of an estimate of the interplay of the various factors analyzed, is an undoubted weakness in such a long book. One overall conclusion is that assimilation

was “extremely complex” and “progressed in a lurching and uneven manner” (p. 37). Thomas’s belief, as against most recently John Gillingham, who has argued for significant assimilation by the 1140s, that assimilation was not “complete” until the late twelfth century is more debatable. All depends on how the word “complete” is defined, and indeed on whether completeness is either possible or an appropriate word when ethnicity is arguably so much a subjective perception, and when assimilation can encompass diversity in multifaceted ways. The inclusion of “Ethnic Hostility” in the book’s subtitle is in some respects questionable, most notably because one of Thomas’s most intriguing suggestions is that notions of individual and group ethnicity were much less a cause of conflict in this period than they are now. The politics of William the Conqueror’s reign can indeed be read in a different way from the one he chooses. “Difference” might have been preferable.

As far as the subject as a whole is concerned, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that two features largely determined the eventual outcome, namely that the central sources of political and cultural power were both from the beginning inextricably wedded to maintaining the English identity of the English kingdom. The so-called Norman Conquest of England was at heart a succession dispute conducted within a framework of a search for legitimacy and ritualized conflict resolution. The church in England, whose clergy were ultimately responsible for the production of the vast majority of the sources on which this book relies, was committed from the beginning to retaining its English identity: witness, among many things, Lanfranc as *novus Anglus* and the fact that, for all their laments about English suffering, William of Malmesbury and his colleagues were writing works for royal patrons with titles such as “On the Deeds of the Kings of the English” or some variant thereof. In this context, the *Normanni* and their fellow *Franci*, however much language, culture, and awareness of distinctive origin differentiated them, were to a degree “English” from the aftermath of the Battle of Hastings; any notion of ethnic choice was assuredly circumscribed. The subject needs to be taken forward through a more systematic exploration of the main literary sources than Thomas provides. Literary theory provides scope for a deeper, alternative assessment.

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PETER COSS. *The Origins of the English Gentry*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 329. \$60.00.

British historians of every period have used “gentry” to refer to the group of landowners that occupied the social and political landscape between the nobility and peasantry. The Middle Ages did not have a term to denote this segment of society, leaving medieval his-

torians free to define gentry according to their needs. Decrying the resulting ambiguity and vagueness, Peter Coss seeks to establish precision by constructing a model of gentry and measuring it against what can be discerned in English society from, roughly, 1000 to 1350. He identifies six “defining characteristics of the gentry”: it is a lesser nobility; it derives its wealth largely though not exclusively from land; its power is territorial; it exercises public authority on behalf of the central government; it enforces social control collectively; and it has a collective identity based on the county.

Armed with this yardstick, Coss examines and criticizes claims about the presence of a gentry or historians’ use of the term. Several debates, including the “crisis” of the knightly class in the thirteenth century, the role of knights in the Barons’ Wars, the development of Parliament, and the emergence of the “esquire,” receive extended treatment. Coss concludes that it was only with the development of sustained representation of counties in Parliament, the rapid expansion of governmental business and commissions to local agents, especially as justices of the peace, and the clear demarcation of social grades that a true gentry came into being. Coss’s argument is similar to that advanced by Robert Palmer several years ago, and both of them see as a critical determinant the degree of official power wielded by private landholders in the name of the state but in advancement of their own interests, although Coss places greater importance on social factors such as territorial identity and social gradation.

Understanding the medieval gentry involves several overlapping problems: the distribution of wealth, the nature and terminology of status and stratification, relations among different strata of society, patterns of local office holding and the careers of office holders, and how individuals and families identified themselves. A fundamental problem of analysis is that medieval social terminology does not precisely reflect these realities, so that Coss spends considerable time teasing out the meaning of titles, their use, and their numbers. Many families, for example, held land just below the threshold of nobility and well above the level of a villager and held offices but did not style themselves knights. Indeed, the number of men calling themselves knight declined throughout this period while offices, commissions, and obligations steadily increased. Coss identifies a clear trend beginning around 1300 toward a growing interest in outward displays of rank such as heraldry, seals, tombs and effigies, clothing, and titles, as the number of families adopting the title “knight” shrank and the term “esquire” came into vogue. Even then, however, the gradation of titles did not fully capture the distribution of wealth or the pattern of office holding.

The analysis of social identity is similarly bedeviled by problems of terminology as well as the distortions of evidence. Coss heavily emphasizes the county as the community with which gentry landholders identified.

From the reign of Edward I onward, the county is visible everywhere, because it was the unit through which the crown exercised its authority and sought to secure the compliance of the population. Certainly, as Coss argues, a steady interchange developed between Westminster and the counties, with counties requesting redress or claiming privileges. It can be inferred that a community of like-minded individuals regularly gathered to confer, elect, choose, draft, petition, and control, but there is in fact very little concrete testimony about who was involved and how these documents were created. There is also very little information about the fabric of gentry society outside of its wealthier members: patterns of landholding, marriages, and relations among kin, networks among individuals, and activities outside of official business.

Coss's argument is compelling and he is an excellent social historian with a long career of writing on these topics. Nevertheless, in the end I doubt that he will succeed in banishing the use of "gentry" for the earlier period for two reasons. One is simply that even if his thesis is accepted, what are historians to call collectively those individuals who before 1350 held land in one or a few neighborhoods within counties, exercised lordship over villagers, performed functions on behalf of the crown, served in the retinues and/or administrations of greater landlords, and may have taken up the arms of a knight or man-at-arms at some point in their careers? Landholders at this level most likely had interests distinct from the crown and nobility that, as Coss argues for the fourteenth century, forged a common identity. They demand some kind of identifier. Coss rejects "proto-gentry" but does not offer an alternative. The other reason is that despite his effort at precision, his argument still depends on terms such as "lesser nobility," "small landholders," "minor landowners," "middling men," "sub-knightly," or even "sub-gentry" that also cry out for definition. The mismatch between medieval terminology and modern social analysis means that historians have to invent or import terms to describe social phenomena that contemporaries did not see or did not label. Because of that and because of the opacity of the sources, the medieval gentry is likely to survive a bit longer.

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WILSON McLEOD. *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland c.1200-c.1650*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv. 288.

Scholars who approach the medieval and early modern histories of Ireland and Scotland from a "British Isles" perspective will be grateful to Wilson McLeod for providing this original and provocative account of relations between the Irish and Scottish components of the Gaelic world in the years 1200–1650. The carefully edited and translated bardic poetry published here for the first time would in itself make this volume worth-

while, but it also contains many useful insights into a neglected topic. The subject, even when confined to the period 1200–1650, is a large one, and requires familiarity with a diverse and difficult body of source material.

Gaelic cultural identities are the author's concern, but his focus, he tells us, is on "*attitudes and perceptions* within the Gaelic world—how Scottish and Irish Gaeldom located and understood each other" (p. 7; author's italics). Such attitudes and perceptions are sought almost exclusively in bardic poetry, but historians may legitimately ask whether the "political" aspect of the poetry has been fully elucidated in this study. McLeod is a literary expert, and perhaps the strongest section of the book, the chapter on "Scotland and Ireland: The Vision of Bardic Poetry," is a stimulating analysis of the motifs of Scottish bardic poetry that illustrates how thoroughly uninterested the Scottish bards were in the history, topography, and lore of their own country, and how utterly in thrall they were to Irish motifs and modes of expression. One is tempted to describe such a mindset as "colonial," and it unfortunate that McLeod dismisses the usefulness of such an approach in a single unreferenced paragraph early in the book (p. 3). McLeod uses the poetic evidence to argue against Steven Ellis's claims that Irish Gael and Scottish Gael did not think of themselves primarily in national terms but saw themselves rather as members of a single united Gaelic world straddling the North Channel, threatened by non-Gaels. McLeod may well be right, but again he tends to state his case rather than argue it in detail, and Ellis is unlikely to feel that a comprehensive challenge has been offered to his views. What is missing is a determined engagement with the crucial issue of how to locate and interpret the politics that lay behind the poems: McLeod refers to the debate on this topic in recent years among Irish historians including Brendan Bradshaw, Michelle O'Riordan, Tom Dunne, and Marc Caball, but he refuses to join in on the grounds, it seems, that there was very little comment in the Irish poetry about relations with Scotland and Scottish Gaels.

This, then, is a book rooted in and devoted to the poetic literature of Gaelic Scotland; the understanding of Irish political history, which the author rightly stresses as crucial to his argument, is rather weak. It is quite a shock in the early twenty-first century to see repeated the old line about the descendants of the English (or "Anglo-Normans" as they are called here) becoming "more Irish than the Irish themselves" (p. 38), although the point that Gaelicization was more common in Ireland than in Scotland is well made. On a much smaller scale, the notion that the MacQuillans of Antrim had any family connection with the Mandevilles (p. 42, n. 75) was disproved long ago by Kenneth Nicholls. It is unfortunate that Simon Kingston's *Ulster and the Isles in the Fifteenth Century: The Lordship of the Clann Domhnaill of Antrim* (2004) was published too late for consultation by McLeod, as it might have encouraged him to say more about the Lordship of the

Isles, the most successful political entity of the late medieval Gaelic world. However, as little bardic poetry survives concerning the Lordship, McLeod may have found its conclusions of little interest. A convincing explanation is not offered as to why prose tales, annals, genealogies, and hagiography can be discussed cursorily or not at all in a study of Gaelic cultural identities. The service provided by the book in focusing attention on a neglected and important historical source must be weighed against the rather narrow use made of that source in its pages, and the elision of other material of value.

BRENDAN SMITH
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DAVID MARCOMBE. *Leper Knights: The Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, c. 1150–1544*. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, number 20.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. xx, 320. \$75.00.

Burton Lazars (Leicestershire) may be better known to the public for its late medieval floor tiles (now on display in the British Museum) than for its former role as primary administrative center in England for the international medieval hospitaller/military Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem. In a well-researched book that took nearly twenty years to complete, David Marcombe and others associated with the Centre for Local History at the University of Nottingham have collaborated to elucidate the history of this order, which, because of a paucity of documentation, has long remained a rather inscrutable institution. The book's publication coincides with that of *L'Ordre de Saint Lazare de Jérusalem au Moyen Âge* (2003) by French scholar Rafaël Hyacinthe. The two have exchanged notes on the English estates, although Hyacinthe's study discusses the Order as a whole.

Despite all this recent research, it has not yet been determined which St. Lazarus was their patron, or when the Lazarites first arrived in England in the twelfth century or whether their objective was primarily to care for lepers or to raise funds to support the Order's crusading efforts in the Holy Land. Marcombe opts, undoubtedly correctly but often with some ambivalence, for the latter and points out that after the king divested himself of the leper houses of St. Giles, Holborn, in 1299 and of the Holy Innocents' Hospital, Lincoln, in 1457, the Order did not administer them very well. This was similar to the experience of the Knights Hospitallers, who for an unhappy period in the twelfth century ran St. Cross Hospital, Winchester. The two orders had much in common. Both were founded to care for the sick with important hospitals first in Jerusalem and then in Acre during the period of Frankish occupation, both became militarized during the twelfth century, both supported their activities in the East through the exploitation of agricultural estates in the West and privileges conferred by the pope, and both followed a form of the Augustinian rule. The Templar rule gave leprous knights the option of trans-

ferring to the military branch of the Order of the Hospital of St. Lazarus but, perhaps because of their affliction, "every certain record we have of their activities speaks of military failure" (p. 13). There is no evidence that the Order participated in the crusades after 1291. Nevertheless, it survived, the author argues, by the exploitation of three enduring myths: "the notions that it was knightly, leprous and poor" (p. 248). From the late fourteenth century the English branch became increasingly detached from the international headquarters at Boigny (France), and by the fifteenth it was virtually an independent institution. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, its administration came under the control of the gentry. With leprosy on the wane from the fourteenth century, the Order began to cater to the needs of the wealthy by offering corrodies and indulgences.

The author's sources range from archival records to archaeological finds. Much early evidence for estate development and exploitation comes from the fifteenth-century cartulary for Burton Lazars in the British Library. The charter record is supplemented by manuscript sources in thirty-eight archives in England and abroad, and a rich bibliography of published primary and secondary works. Much of the available material, and as a consequence the book, is devoted to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, leaving many of the important questions concerning the previous 300 years unanswered. Marcombe confirms that "if the documentary history of the order is sketchy, its above-ground archaeological record seems to be equally poor" (p. 25), which is perhaps why the archaeological remains that have been found are sometimes assigned more value than they deserve. In one case, the discovery of a single piece of human jawbone is cited as confirmation of the presence of a thirteenth-century graveyard (p. 148 and n. 67).

The art historian and the paleographer will be disappointed by the interpretation of several seals. The "tubby demi-figure" of plate 21 appears as he does because he is seated, not standing. The inscription, transcribed in one word as "S'COMMUNE," should read "SIGILLUM COMMUNE." "SCANTI LAZARI" is indeed what can be seen on the seal in plate 22, but note 47 on page 114 might have included the correction of "SCANTI" to "SANCTI." The legend "SIGILLU: FRATERNITAS" in plate 33 actually reads "SIGILLUM: FRATERNITATIS." Despite such occasional inaccuracies, the book is a valuable contribution and will serve as a stepping stone to further research.

MICHAEL GERVERS
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DANIEL LORD SMAIL. *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264–1423*. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 277. \$49.95.

Daniel Lord Smail has produced a very valuable and stimulating study of the use of the law courts in thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Marseille. He combines an immensely rich archival basis with a vigorous argument. Above all, he seeks to play down the role of the state, the supplier of justice, in the growth of the use of courts in the later Middle Ages. Instead he emphasizes the demand side, the consumers of justice. Litigants acted not so much as rational assessors of discretely legal situations but rather as consumers intent on display, emotional return, and competitive status.

After an introduction that gives a taste of the archival material and a discussion of the author's theoretical influences, the book is divided into five sections: "Using the Courts," "Structures of Hatred," "The Pursuit of Debt," "Body and *Bona*," and "The Public Archive." While forming a continuous study, the sections are sufficiently rounded to allow them to be read separately, for example by a reader interested in the history of emotions, or another interested in debt relations in late medieval towns. Such a fragmented reading would, however, lose both some of the archival richness and much of the interdisciplinary thrust of the work. Consuming the volume as a whole brings the reader a real feeling for late medieval Marseille. The chapter on "Using the Courts" is the closest to traditional legal history, giving an outline of procedure and practices, particularly in the civil courts. It is a lucid and balanced account, with an awareness of the Romano-canonical roots of procedure but focused on the litigants' activities, not on legal writers' prescriptions. "Structures of Hatred" adds rich evidence to the flourishing field of the study of the emotions in the Middle Ages by writers such as Barbara H. Rosenwein and Paul R. Hyams. It is rather more descriptive than the chapter on procedure, perhaps because one of its findings confirms the impression that the range of emotions expressed in court cases was perhaps—at least to modern eyes—surprisingly narrow. In numerical terms, most civil legal actions in Marseille in the period concerned debt, and the patterns of debt relationship and debt litigation are studied with particular skill in chapter three. Chapter four, "Body and *Bona*" returns to court process and the penalties exacted on the bodies and estate of the defeated litigant. Smail finds that physical punishment was infrequent, in part because many who might have been subjected to it fled before the penalty could be exacted. Finally, "The Public Archive" develops themes examined in the volume of essays edited by Smail and Thelma Fenster, *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (2003). It examines both the significance of reputation within litigation, notably with regard to witnesses, and the impact of litigation on reputation.

Despite the inclusion of the phrase "legal culture" in the title, the work is very consciously not one of narrow legal history. Indeed, "the culture of the law courts" might have been a rather more appropriate phrase.

Smail does not seek to uncover how far the participants in law cases considered law a category discrete from other social norms. Nor does he consider the non-litigatory significance of law, for example in enabling and securing transfer or transmission of property. At the same time, this work is not a general study of disputing in Marseille. The possibility, indeed the significance, of out-of-court disputing is repeatedly mentioned, but the practices of such disputing are not fully integrated in the analysis. The central theme of consumption and consumerism might also inspire stimulating questioning. It is not entirely clear if consumerism is a metaphor (p. 18) or an interpretative model (p. 19). Taking a limited view of the interpretative model, if one of the central points is that legal change was heavily demand led, the interpretation is not radically new, at least to those who study common law systems. If—as it clearly is intended to be—the interpretative model is more wide ranging, it would have been useful to consider the ways in which use of law differed from other forms of consumerism. For example, at least one party in any court case was likely to be a rather unwilling consumer. Yet either to expand the book to include further legal and disputing aspects or to qualify its interpretative thrust might have been to reduce its vitality. That analytic vitality together with the evidential wealth make this a study of considerable significance.

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MARILYNN DESMOND and PAMELA SHEINGORN. *Myth, Montage, and Visuality in Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2003. Pp. vii, 344. \$65.00.

Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* (Letter from Othea), composed in 1400, is one of her most intricate and popular works. Addressed to the classical hero Hector and initially dedicated to Duke Louis of Orléans, King Charles VI's brother (who was not, however, "the heir to the French throne" [p. 3] since the king at that point already had several sons), this missive from Christine's invented goddess of wisdom, Othea, uses ancient myth to teach a young knight moral and spiritual lessons. In the process, Ovidian myths are generally shortened to four verse lines, and, based on these aperçus, Othea provides (in prose) literal or historical explanations and religious teachings. Ten beautifully illuminated manuscripts survive from the fifteenth century, and it is the illuminations that take center stage in the book under review. Art historian Pamela Sheingorn and English medievalist Marilyn Desmond approach Christine's work through the lens of modern cinematic theory with a feminist slant. The results are very suggestive and should interest a wide audience.

The book's 140 beautifully reproduced and well-chosen illustrations form the basis for explorations of

alternative constructions of masculinity; the queering of medieval constructions of sexuality; the representation of violence; and the force of rhetoric as displayed in gestures. Two manuscripts produced under Christine's supervision form the centerpiece of the book: Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 606, made for the duke of Berry, and British Library Harley 4431, dedicated to the French queen Isabeau de Bavière. In meticulous comparisons with other manuscripts depicting mythical stories, such as those of the fourteenth-century *Ovide moralisé* or Boccaccio manuscripts, the authors probe Christine's revisionist project.

The book opens, however, with a chapter critiquing the iconological method of the school of Aby Warburg, Fritz Saxl, and Erwin Panofsky, which first brought the mythographic illustrations of medieval manuscripts to the attention of medievalists. These scholars do not fare very well here, guilty as they are of Eurocentric bias and sitting in darkened rooms looking at "projected images of female bodies in various stages of undress" (p. 33). Desmond and Sheingorn highlight the "voyeuristic potential of iconography" in order to set up their theoretical framework of the "heterosexual cinematic regime" (p. 33). While I am sympathetic to questioning earlier scholarly approaches, this chapter seems somewhat unfair to these early scholars (although it does commend Panofsky for his interest in cinema) and is not absolutely necessary for the intriguing and challenging insights that follow in the next five chapters.

The authors' central claim is that the *Othea's* images create meaning through unexpected juxtapositions. Christine uses "visual bricolage as montage" (p. 6) in order to make the reader/viewer question received notions of masculinity, violence, or misogyny. The authors are at their best when they look closely at images such as that of Pygmalion, who in the *Othea*, unlike in the *Roman de la Rose*, is not a besotted fetishist but a devoted courtly lover. Orpheus, far from being the Ovidian homosexual, embodies a critique of the negative aspects of courtly love. Women's dangerous sexuality is elided here, and the goddess Diana becomes the head of a chaste female reading group. The Hermaphrodite no longer titillates the audience through his/her access to the "secrets of women" but becomes a figure for empathy and the union of souls.

In a chapter on the depiction of violence, Desmond and Sheingorn emphasize how Christine's clever juxtaposition of image, text, and gloss removes the complicity of mythical women (e.g. Procris or Coronis) in their own deaths so prevalent in Ovid.

The chapter on rhetoric makes an excellent case for Christine's repositioning the issue of female anger. Women's anger is shown as justified but not as irrational or destabilizing. Again, the images play the major role here, guiding the viewer's interpretation in ways that not only supplement but often revise the text.

In an afterword, the authors show how Christine's revisionist messages were erased in later reworkings in

a Burgundian milieu. The illuminations of these splendid manuscripts revert to a more stereotypical genderedness as far as warfare and violence, and sexuality and voyeurism are concerned.

Desmond and Sheingorn highlight the crucial role of images for an understanding of the *Othea*. Revisionist in its approach to iconology, this beautifully produced book is a challenge and a pleasure to read.

RENATE BLUMENFELD-KOSINSKI
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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

MARY ANN LYONS. *Franco-Irish Relations, 1500–1610: Politics, Migration and Trade*. (Studies in History New Series.) London: Royal Historical Society and London: Boydell. 2003. Pp. xiii, 242. \$70.00.

This interesting book by Mary Ann Lyons covers relations between France and Ireland during the long sixteenth century. It seeks to fill two lacunae in past studies of Franco-Irish relations: the political intrigues between 1523 and 1584, and the migration of Irish men and women to France in the 1590s and 1600s. The century witnessed a shift from minimal Franco-Irish contact except through trade, to the long series of political liaisons that dwindled in the mid-1580s when the Irish turned to Spain for help instead of France. Chapters one through six offer an account of the political relations between the French court and an assortment of Irish nobles who had fallen out with the Tudor government of Ireland. Chapter seven deals with the arrival after the Nine Years' War of several thousand Irish immigrants of the lower orders who were treated by the French authorities as a threat to public order and health. This demonstrates how little the French stereotype of the "barbaric" Irish had been changed by increased diplomatic contact or by the appeal to Roman Catholic solidarity. Although interesting, the migration chapter is not fully integrated into the central argument and sits rather uneasily at the end of the book.

Political and diplomatic intrigue is not an easy subject about which to write because it frequently comprises a large quantity of talk and minimal action. Sources are also patchy and difficult to assess; in this instance, much evidence has to be drawn from French ambassadors reporting on the Irish situation while resident in England or Scotland and the intelligence gathering of the English. Lyons narrates a series of episodes detailing what might have been: the grandiose proposals and plans for providing French help to Irish dissidents. Hindsight reveals that none of these schemes worked, and most did not even leave the drawing board or the negotiating table.

Of these ambitious plans, the discussions of 1549–1550 covered in chapter four came closest to fruition. Henri II seriously considered mounting a French invasion of Ireland as part of his grand Franco-British strategy. Significantly, the invasion plans were hatched

by the Scottish earl of Argyll (4th not 5th; p. 84) rather than by Irish Gaelic chiefs and formed part of the Anglo-French struggle for the control of the British mainland known as the "Rough Wooing." A French diplomatic mission led by Jean de Monluc, bishop of Valence, and the baron de Fourquevaux left Scotland for Ulster to discuss plans with Con O'Neill of Tyrone and Manus O'Donnell of Tyrconnell, although O'Donnell circumspectly avoided a direct meeting. A formal treaty was never finalized, with negotiations being overtaken by the signing of the Anglo-French treaty of Boulogne that freed Henri II to campaign against Emperor Charles V.

With so little direct diplomatic or military success resulting from the endless round of Franco-Irish political intrigue, it would be easy to discount its importance. However, as Lyons argues, it had two significant consequences. The first concerned the planning of the Tudor regime in Ireland. Lord governors such as the earl of Sussex and Westminster politicians such as William Cecil took the French threat in Ireland very seriously. This perception contributed to the English policy of conquest in Ireland rather than conciliation. A second consequence of the Franco-Irish intrigues was the diplomatic apprenticeship the Irish received before they switched their pleas for aid to the Spanish court.

One of the strengths of this study is the awareness of the European political and military context. In virtually every instance, the rhythms of Franco-Irish negotiations were dictated by the overriding concern of the Valois dynasty to combat the Habsburgs and, to a lesser extent, the Tudors. Greater discussion of the role of the papacy, especially in the second part of the century, would have been helpful. Lyons also recognizes the importance of the British context. It was unfortunate that she was prevented from incorporating recent Scottish studies discussing Franco-British strategy. This is a good book covering a neglected subject, and unlike the sixteenth-century negotiators it is not carried away by grandiose schemes for French help to Ireland, instead narrating them with clarity and judging them with admirable fairness.

JANE E. A. DAWSON
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FRANCIS OAKLEY. *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church 1300–1870*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 298.

Francis Oakley recounts the story of conciliar and constitutionalist thought in the Catholic church from its heyday in the later Middle Ages throughout its long sunset up to the First Vatican Council (1870–1871). A remarkable feature of the Latin/Western, and later Roman Catholic, church was its organization as a public body with roles as clearly defined as a state (in contrast with both Islam and Protestantism, in which authority is more fluid and informal). This feature gave rise to controversy about where exactly the final

"power of jurisdiction"—authority to issue binding decisions about both legal and theological disputes—lay: in the pope or in the council? The conciliar movement climaxed, in practice and theory, with the Councils of Constance and Basle in the early fifteenth century, above all in the decree *Haec Sancta* (1415). This appeared to many to enshrine the jurisdictional superiority of council over pope in the church's official teaching. Oakley pays particular attention to the continuing, but widely ignored, conciliar tendency in the Roman Catholic Church during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and beyond, and to its potential for influence on secular constitutionalism. There is still, he concludes, since Vatican I and despite Vatican II, a high degree of collective amnesia among Roman Catholics on this topic.

Oakley relates how historiography, from the seventeenth century to the twentieth, became embroiled in ongoing debates about pope and council. The paths of historians and theologians crossed as debate raged, up to and slightly beyond Vatican II, about what authority those at the time ascribed to *Haec Sancta*, and what authority it has for Catholics today. Oakley shows how these debates have a continuous genealogy, in which what we know as modern historiography is one episode. This, he tantalizingly suggests, is "unfinished business."

This is a story that in its entirety has not previously been told, at least in English, and perhaps never so comprehensively and accessibly. Oakley summarizes and assesses both the voluminous conciliarist authors themselves, such as Jean Gerson and John of Segovia, and the vast array of modern scholarship, including his own previous research. His treatment of questions of interpretation among historians is on the whole balanced and judicious. He deftly illuminates both continuities and changes in opinion. The doctrinal controversy is recorded with fairness. He writes with all the verve that accuracy permits.

Discussion about how central conciliarism is to Catholic tradition has been bound up with debate about the origins of the medieval conciliar movement. If it originated in secular prototypes, such as the burgeoning parliaments of the period, or again in the writings of such "unorthodox" thinkers as Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham, it could be more easily discredited. Oakley strongly favors the thesis of Brian Tierney (1955) that conciliarist theory and practice owed more to the canon lawyers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whose orthodox credentials were otherwise impeccable. One gap in Oakley's discussion is that these canonists themselves were drawing on the canons (decrees) of much earlier councils and on the early church fathers. This means that in order to explain the origins of conciliarism, and to understand its place in Christian thought, one really has to take the story back further, and consider the extent of conciliar decision-making in the early and patristic churches. (To be sure, this falls outside his prescribed time limits.)

Some parliamentary constitutionalists in England, France, and Scotland used conciliarism as a precedent and source of arguments about how power should be distributed in the state. (Others argued that the church's constitution was unique and could provide no precedent or analogy.) Ideally, one would have liked Oakley to explore just how important for these writers conciliarist arguments were in relation to other arguments. Otherwise it is hard to reach a conclusion about the secular influence of conciliarism.

Oakley's scholarship is meticulous. His overview is not exactly original. He does not analyze much the role of secular states, and sometimes nation-states, in antipapal movements. The Reformation itself is barely mentioned, yet it clearly recast the whole issue, particularly because reform had been uppermost in conciliarist minds. Is one reason why the papacy has been one of the most durable and (within its own terms of reference) successful international institutions the ability of sacred monarchy to transcend national divisions?

ANTONY BLACK
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DEREK BEALES. *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650–1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 395. \$50.00.

This is a beautiful book. With its elegant format, its ten color plates, and its many black-and-white illustrations, it would grace any coffee table. But appearances must not distract from the serious purpose of the work. As Derek Beales explains in his introduction, there is a gap in the historiography of post-Reformation Europe that badly needs to be filled. Monasticism, so well covered in medieval scholarship, more or less disappears from the scene after Martin Luther. It is as though it suddenly became as irrelevant—politically, economically, socially—to the great stretches of the continent that remained Catholic as it did to the parts that became Protestant. In fact, he argues, nothing could be further from the truth. Across Catholic Europe, monasteries great and small, male and female, proliferated in the seventeenth century and remained an important part of society far into the eighteenth. Collectively they owned as much as ten percent of all the land; they housed an influential population; they performed vital roles in education and charitable service; and they wielded considerable political power.

This Catholic Europe, stretching from the Atlantic to the Turkish frontier, was highly diverse. In part one of the book, Beales surveys the different regions and uncovers their particularities. Italy had the highest density of monks and nuns, who were generally rich, socially active, and popular. Much the same can be said for Spain. Hungary, by contrast, had a “relatively meagre crop of regulars” (p. 180), although they performed valuable service in an underserved land. In France and Lombardy, nuns outnumbered monks,

whereas in the Austrian provinces they were in a clear minority. In Catholic Germany, the greater monasteries were political entities, “monastery states” (p. 76) complete with their own courts. In France, the major monasteries, having fallen under the control of the crown, exercised little political clout and were regarded with ambivalence by the public.

What is interesting is that, in spite of the diversity, there was a rough congruence in the way Europe treated its monastics. Beales describes this in part two, “Patterns of Monastic Reform.” After years of growth, eighteenth-century monasticism faced two threats: a climate of skepticism born of the Enlightenment, and a growing determination on the part of secular rulers to reduce what they saw as a competing power within the body politic. The suppression of the Jesuits in one country after another across Europe signaled the opening of a sustained campaign against the religious *ancien régime*. The activity of the *commission des réguliers* in France and the Josephist reforms in the Austrian Empire came next. The French Revolution, described in part three, simply took the policy in a radical and bloodstained direction and, with the triumph of French arms, spread it across Europe.

In general this book will be instructive to all who read it. I do have two comments, however. First, that although in his introduction Beales makes distinctions among different kinds of regular clergy (monks, friars, canons, etc.), he then bundles them together under the title of “monks” throughout the rest of the work. He argues for this by pointing out that they were thus bundled by the Council of Trent in 1563 (p. 17). But the Society of Jesus—still in its formative phase during the years of the Council—became something very different, as did many other bodies of regulars in the succeeding years. They deliberately walked away from traditional monasticism, with its dedication to liturgical prayer, stability, and landholding. If the secular powers had issues with these new groups, they were different issues. I suggest that to treat them as though they were monks is confusing.

Second, though he takes note of the action of the *commission des réguliers* (established in 1766) in reforming the masculine orders of France, he omits mention of the *commission des secours* (established in 1727). This royal commission was given a mandate to reform the country's female religious houses and to reduce the overall number of nuns—which it did, very effectively. Not only did it have a marked effect on feminine religious life in France, but it set a precedent for the state's later action against the regulars. The pioneering work on the *commission des secours* by Arnette Sabbagh, which appeared in 1969, has unfortunately never been published, though several published works have drawn from it.

But this is only one small corner of a vast movement. Beales's book offers a panorama. From one end of the continent to the other, monasteries dotted the landscape, and monasticism pervaded the society of early

modern Europe. However much the fortunes of this institution changed over time, it was never irrelevant.

ELIZABETH RAPLEY
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ANTHONY W. MARX. *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 258.

The story of early modern nationalism in Europe is a troubled one, or it should be. Modern theories of nationalism begin with the late eighteenth century, ineffably linking nationalism to the emancipatory movements of democracy or the social transformations of industrialization, to imagined communities of the printed word or to the functional requirements of capitalism. According to Anthony W. Marx, these accounts remain fundamentally liberal, even whiggish, interpreting nationalism as an inclusive, civic, and democratic form of politics (in contrast, he points out, to the exclusive, "ethnic" nationalism of other places). But this myth is a Renan-like act of forgetting, the effacement of an earlier history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that was darker, more sinister, but in some ways more modern: the state's exclusion, with popular support, of the "internal enemies" of the nation in an often cynical effort to shore up its legitimacy.

Marx defines nationalism as "a collective sentiment or identity, bounding and binding together those individuals who share a sense of large-scale political solidarity aimed at creating, legitimating, or challenging states" (p. 6). He argues that nationalism does not originate as a form of social solidarity but as the product or interaction of "state elites" and the "masses." (Unfortunately, these categories, endlessly repeated, are never elaborated, nor is their interaction much described.) In the early modern period, states sought to legitimate their authority, and the masses sought to contest or collude with states. Nationalism was the "glue" produced by an exclusionary state mechanism in which popular "passions" coincided with political efforts to secure loyalty and legitimacy. The exclusion of internal enemies was a means of achieving this unity: both "states" and "peoples" (but principally the former) seized on religious differences—of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and Muslims—to draw the boundaries of the nation.

Marx, a political scientist, is not an early modern historian of Europe. He has written about American nationalism from a perspective that he now applies to a reading of Europe: how liberal and inclusive claims mask the (earlier) intolerant exclusion of internal enemies. Turning to the core states of Western Europe (England, France, and Spain), Marx intersperses his theoretical arguments with renditions of the political and religious histories of these three countries in successive chapters that move from the Reformation to the eighteenth century. The histories of France, Spain, and England are interspersed but not interwo-

ven: in each chapter, Marx tells the successive stories of Protestant exclusion in France, Catholic exclusion in England, and Jewish and Muslim exclusions in Spain. The histories of these exclusions are not unilinear, for they are marked by "interregnums" of coexistence and toleration.

Leaving aside the problematic equation of early modern and modern religious toleration, the political narratives offer no surprises. Marx's accounts of the successes and failures of state-building are potted, textbook versions of the early modern political histories of England, France, and Spain. Marx claims to include the "role of the masses" and "history from below" in his account of premodern nationalism, but he pays little attention to thirty years of scholarship on the question; he treats "the masses" crudely as an undifferentiated category, and has little insight into the sources and expressions of "popular religious passions." His citations from among the "leading historians" (rarely named in the text) tend toward Lewis Namier ("religion is a sixteenth-century word for nationalism"), the early John H. Elliott, or G. R. Elton (without excluding social scientists such as Hans Kohn or Reinhardt Bendix), and he systematically ignores (even as he occasionally footnotes) more contemporary and theoretically informed work on religion and the origins of nationalism.

Marx thus treats the early modern history of nationalism (the "processes towards nationalism . . . before its full blossoming" [p. 19]) as the history of "nation-building." The thin, neoconservative meaning of the process is defined without reference to the "nation" itself: "At a minimum, the containment or avoidance of civil war and conflict threatening the existence of the state, and beyond that to ensure obedience, tax compliance, or military service necessary for governance" (p. 73). Yet nation-building is also a project of constructing national identities and loyalties that depend on an understanding of the nation as a symbolic structure and set of cultural expressions. In recent years, early modern historians have become attentive to the expressions of national identity, the poetics of Frenchness, Spanishness, and Englishness as these developed in their literary, ritual, and political articulations since the sixteenth century. But none has seriously argued that early modern states undertook, before the eighteenth century, the political and pedagogical project of constructing a national community that included "the masses." Only in the eighteenth century did politicians and publicists seriously seek to complete the nation as a cultural community, as the work of Linda Colley and David Bell admirably demonstrates, a project that involved a complex engagement of politics with religious institutions and practices.

Not that Marx simply equates nationalism and religion, as did an earlier generation of social scientists and historians. Instead, nation-building (in the thin sense) was "piggybacked on religious exclusion," a phrase he uses at least twice to signify the ways in

which “political elites” manipulated confessional divisions (“fanatical religious passion and conflict”), especially between Catholics and Protestants, to build loyalty and identity. The simplicity of the model, which dates back to Niccolò Machiavelli, pales in contrast to the rich and sophisticated thinking about the relation of religion and nation in eighteenth-century Europe, including the work of Dale Van Kley, Marcel Gauchet, and others. These historians do not simply treat religious beliefs or their political manipulations but the changing role of religion itself, especially after the seventeenth century. The appearance of the discursive and political project of nation-building as a pedagogical and political construction of a specific national identity coincided with a fundamental restructuring of religion within the social order. In France, the widening gap between the divine and the human, especially in Jansenist thought, opened up a space that was filled with new discursive forms of social organization—“society” and “nation”—long before the French Revolution. And as Bell has shown, the political project of nationalism came to adopt the pedagogical practices of the Counter Reformation priests.

For Marx, “religion” has a consistent functional value across the centuries: it is the “glue” that binds the “masses” and the “political elites,” assuring political solidarity and state legitimacy. The formulation leads to curious results: he finds himself in later chapters remarking how the French revolutionaries confidently discarded religion as a “crutch” of national unity only to bequeath a legacy of “mass worker unrest” and political instability (whereas England, which preserved religious exclusion in the nineteenth century, failed to experience such instability). Such formulations, however useful in advancing theoretical arguments in the political sciences, fail dramatically to make sense of the empirically demonstrable histories of both early modern and modern societies.

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SYLVIA PALETSCHEK and BIANKA PIETROW-ENNKER, editors. *Women's Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century: A European Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 428. \$60.00.

The study of comparative feminist movements is all the rage these days, particularly in Europe, where institutional transformations in higher education are increasingly encouraging international cooperation and comparative perspectives. This collection of essays on the early years of women's emancipation is a welcome addition to the field, and one that scholars will find particularly useful in their efforts to move their understanding beyond the well-known examples of British, French, or German feminism. In particular, it offers a useful complement to Karen Offen's *European Feminisms (1700–1950): A Political History* (2000) through its focus on the history of individual nation-states. The

collection is the product of an international conference held in Germany in 1995 that brought together specialists from North America and Europe who have written about twelve European countries. Although most essays address the history of one country, the introductory and concluding sections of the book offer methodological, theoretical, and comparative perspectives on the study of European feminisms that illuminate common themes and strategies, as well as the significance of specific historical contexts for writing and understanding women's emancipation movements.

The collection's title reflects an effort to conceptualize the topic under examination more broadly than the feminist movement in order to include pre- or nonfeminist organizations whose activities and strategies paved the way for later feminists, an expression that only came into common usage in the early years of the twentieth century. Individual authors were asked to think specifically about stages in the women's emancipation movement while focusing on the peak phase. This framing implies an understanding of women's emancipation in political, social, and cultural terms and reflects the ways cultural history has begun to influence the writing of what was traditionally conceived as political history. Editors Sylvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker organized the initial encounter around a set of questions about chronology, supporters, demands and strategies, trends during different phases, coalition partners, and the interplay between social change and women's emancipation movements. This thematic grid unquestionably strengthens the coherence of the collection, facilitating the sorts of comparisons the editors address in their concluding chapter. The result is a vision of a women's emancipation movement whose intellectual and philosophical roots reach back to the Enlightenment and whose demands ranged broadly from improvements in women's education and employment, to moral reform, or civil and political rights. Given the diversity of countries under examination—Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Spain, and Greece—suffrage was rarely the crux of this movement, which culminated throughout Europe in the years before World War I.

The most innovative aspect of this collection is the effort to extend our knowledge of these movements to northern, east central, eastern and southern Europe, introducing Anglophone readers to little-known historiographies, unknown women, and unexpected initiatives in countries generally associated with backwardness in gender relations. Eleni Varikas, for example, reveals the fascinating efforts of a first wave of Greek feminists around the *Ladies Newspaper* (1887–1907), which sold 5,000 copies weekly, in their effort to write Greek women back into national history while also promoting equal educational and professional opportunities and civil rights. Individual women are often the subject of the essays addressing the Habsburg Empire: the Czech Eliška Krásnohorská, who wrote

opera librettos and established the first girls' gymnasium in 1890, or Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit, who sought to connect Poles to the international woman's movement and organized a covert branch of the Alliance universelle des femmes under the name Unia in the last decades of the century. While the authors often stress the ways this history is ignored within their national historiography, the essays on Norwegian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, and Greek history all suggest how writing women and gender back into political history might change our understanding of nationalist movements. Varikas's fine essay is the most attentive to the ways gender ideologies structured Greek nationalism allowing a space for women's activities but also imposing limits on their discourse. Mary Nash, by contrast, argues that authoritarian Spanish political culture in the nineteenth century led women to adopt emancipation strategies that were disconnected from political rights. Women such as Concepción Arenal emerged from a gender culture shaped by domesticity and based their claims for women's education on gender difference rather than equality.

Many essays address the rhetoric of women's feminist claims: equality versus difference, individual versus relational, and even ethical versus rational (the terms of the debate in nineteenth-century Netherlands). For some this rhetoric has proved conceptually useful: Ute Gerhard argues that it allowed historians of Germany to discover the significance of social or spiritual motherhood, but she also highlights the class basis of this rhetoric that flourished within a state with strong anti-individualist leanings. The strong concluding essays by Christina Bolt, which compares British and American feminism, and by Paletschek and Pietrow-Ennker suggest, however, that these dichotomies have spent their conceptual force. Like the debates about the public and private sphere, recent studies have shown that the same feminists could speak about women's special duties to defend better education, while also arguing for women's individual rights. The strength of this collection lies in its effort to change our historical understanding of political and national histories, suggesting, as the editors argue, that organized women's movements did indeed play an essential role "in the process of social and cultural modernization" (p. 332).

The juxtaposition of national studies also highlights the usefulness of thinking about women's political cultures (Jane Rendall on Britain) or feminist cultures (Florence Rochefort on France) and on how these cultures contributed to the emergence of a transnational feminist movement, mention of which appears like a tantalizing thread in a number of the essays. As a historian of education, I was struck that efforts to improve women's education constituted the essential first step for most of these women who generally came from the educated urban middle classes. Somewhat surprisingly, religion figures far less prominently in these essays than readers familiar with American or British feminism might expect, although this may in

part be the result of the countries under examination. The story would probably change with the inclusion of Catholic Ireland, Italy, and Austria. Ultimately, however, historians interested in comparative studies would do well to heed Mineke Bosch's epilogue to her study of the Netherlands, where she suggests that rather than looking for universal truths and generalizations, comparisons should be guided by synthetic themes like state and empire building, or constructions of citizenship. Comparison in the end should be about "real international exchange . . . to promote mutual understanding" (p. 76). This collection is an important first step.

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DAVID I. KERTZER and MARZIO BARBAGLI, editors. *Family Life in the Twentieth Century*. (The History of the European Family, volume 3.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xlv, 450. \$40.00.

The first two volumes in this ambitious project on the history of the European family concluded that between 1500 and 1800 there was a tendency toward divergence in most aspects of family life; the second, on the nineteenth century, saw evidence of both divergence and convergence; but in this volume on the twentieth century, editors David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli are of the view that the essays point mainly toward convergence in terms of household composition, reproductive behavior, the domestic division of labor, and the distribution of power within households. Nevertheless, at the end of the century there remained substantial differences in fertility, and convergence in marriage patterns has been both less dramatic and less unilinear.

The book provides a good overview of these central demographic shifts, and is to be praised for the way in which it integrates material from Eastern as well as Northern and Southern Europe. It also covers the politics of the family at key political moments in the twentieth century, changes in family law and policy, and, much more briefly, the history of the family home and some dimensions of family relationships. Most of the chapters have an enormous brief and it is in fact difficult for authors to tease out the complicated nesting of divergent and convergent trends. For example, it is certainly the case that most European countries have experienced changes in female employment, but the aggregate female labor market participation rates presented in this book do not get us very far. It may be that there is some convergence toward a part-time norm, Central and East European countries included, but then again the actual hours worked and the conditions of that part-time employment differ hugely among countries. Sometimes I wished for more concentration on explaining the position of countries where important indicators have been persistently at odds with those of their neighbors. In Portugal, for

example, women have had historically high labor market participation rates and the "illegitimacy rate" has also been high for a southern European country.

The pace of family change has been much greater in the last quarter of the twentieth century than before, but again there is relatively little attention paid to this. However, it is refreshing to have a long historical view of continuity and change, particularly by Theo Engelen in his more detailed exploration of the demographics and his interesting comments on the debate over the existence of a "second demographic transition."

Inevitably in such a volume, authors can often do little more than provide a thick comparative description of their topic, drawing attention to a few crucial themes. Chiara Saraceno rightly highlights the importance of assumptions about the existence and desirability of a male breadwinner model family underpinning much of family policy until the 1970s, followed by increasing family and labor market instability, which, together with the crisis in welfare states during the 1990s, has resulted in a very different approach to social and family policies. But some of the most interesting issues lie at the interstices of the chapters: for example, between family law and policy. Paola Ronfani refers to the complicated trend in family law that appears at first blush to be a form of deregulation, but that in fact amounts to states stepping back and trying to ensure that parents (rather than husbands and wives) take responsibility for their children. Increasing individualization alongside the continuing concern to enforce the traditional responsibilities of families to care for young and old dependants has resulted in the reworking of relationships among the individual, the family, and the state (touched on by Paul Ginsborg in this volume), and among families, labor markets, and states.

Perhaps above all the dramatic nature of family change, particularly in the last quarter of the twentieth century, has raised the issue of what happens to care in families. Martine Segalen has her eye on this important issue when she asks whether family change has resulted in more or fewer effective kinship ties. This is difficult to investigate historically, but given the huge importance of the family in providing nurture and "welfare" in the largest sense, it is worthy of further investigation.

JANE LEWIS

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ATHANASIOS LYKOGIANNIS. *Britain and the Greek Economic Crisis 1944–1947: From Liberation to the Truman Doctrine*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 287. \$39.95.

The German occupation of Greece during World War II cost the Greeks 520,000 lives (over half from food shortages) and approximately three-fourths of their merchant fleet tonnage. Printing drachmae to meet current expenditures, Greek regimes increased the rate of circulation of their currency by a factor of 826

million. In the aftermath of liberation from the devastation of war, the National Unity Government confronted the extraordinarily difficult problem of trying to rein in hyperinflation and effect economic stabilization.

Athanasios Lykogiannis's careful analysis of efforts to address these problems in the period 1944–1947 is based on archival research in Greece, Great Britain, and the United States and goes a long way, in my judgment, toward providing a more balanced view than offered heretofore of the difficulties Greek governments confronted and the reasons why they were unsuccessful. The author argues that the enormity of the task required a break from the past: reform of a tax structure that was incapable of satisfying the needs of a modern state; determination by competing networks of personal allegiances not to indulge in rivalries over political patronage, for which the overblown state payroll was a channel; a decision to use foreign loans to lay the basis for future prosperity, not for covering current deficits; and a willingness on the part of Greek governments to heed what Lykogiannis sees as sound advice, based on Britain's experience at home and abroad during World War II.

With the exception of the "Varvaressos Experiment" in 1945, no Greek government during this period put forward a coherent program. All governments, moreover, were burdened by a political, economic, and social history that made it difficult for them to attract public support and deal with postliberation realities. Lykogiannis makes the case that the Axis occupation may have caused hyperinflation, but that progress in the early postliberation period was limited primarily by the legacy of the past as well as by the ineptness of successive Greek governments that were hostile toward economic management and unreceptive to orthodox economic advice. Contrary to many authors who have written on this question—Lykogiannis conducts a debate with at least ten of them in the course of his thoughtful assessments—he does not blame foreign intervention (the traditional scapegoat) for Greece's plight. Great Britain and the United States (in the period from 1947 on) come in for considerable criticism on a number of fronts (e.g. U.S. policy was overbearingly self-righteous, obsessed with the communist threat, and tacitly tolerant of human rights abuses); but the author, noting that the U.S. is often condemned as being "both too laissez-faire and too interventionist" (p. 248), puts the responsibility for prolonging Greece's difficulties primarily on Greece's history and its own governments.

In Lykogiannis's judgment, it was the Greek governments themselves that avoided what he sees as the only feasible long-term means to fight inflation: sound public finances; suitable taxation; supervision of imports, wages, and prices. Lacking a tradition, a mentality, and a consensus required to accept state economic management as practiced in the West, not to mention the machinery to administer and enforce it, governments pursued alternative solutions such as

gold sales, unrestricted imports, and, especially, the great panacea of foreign assistance. All of these alternatives avoided painful choices that, if pursued, might have succeeded.

The divisive civil war (1946–1950) that followed liberation, unfortunately, compounded the earlier devastation wrought by World War II; the death, imprisonment, and exile of over 220,000 Greeks made the task all the more difficult. Under these circumstances, Greek needs far outstripped British capabilities, while the British lacked any real means of coercing the Greeks into doing what was in their own interests. When the United States reluctantly entered on the scene in 1947, it was initially deterred by a country that seemed to have so little resolve to help itself; spurred on by the emerging Cold War, the U.S. was willing to provide appropriate resources but insisted on powers that would ensure compliance. Its limited successes suggest that, in spite of its commonsensical insistence on attaching conditions to its assistance, many of the factors that constrained the success of British assistance continued to pose problems.

Lykogiannis's clear, well-organized, fair-minded assessment of Greece's problems and its attempt to cope with them during the period 1944–1947 goes against much mainstream scholarship. Contrary to many who have either misunderstood or misrepresented the complexity of the problems Greece confronted, and then judged the difficulties of addressing those problems from ideologically comfortable perspectives, he has eschewed simplistic judgments for nuanced and careful analysis. This important work will not end ongoing arguments, but it breaks new interpretive ground and creates the basis for a more informed and thoughtful historical discussion.

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JUHANA AUNESLUOMA. *Britain, Sweden and the Cold War, 1945–54: Understanding Neutrality*. (St. Antony's Series.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xx, 211. \$68.00.

World War II thoroughly changed the political constellation in Northern Europe. Germany temporarily lost its influence both politically and economically. To a great extent, the vacuum was filled by British influence, but soon also the United States became more and more involved. The Soviet threat loomed large in the eastern part of the region.

During the war, German-held Denmark and Norway had been efficiently used against Britain. Sweden, for its part, had extensively supported the German war effort by selling it high-grade iron ore and ball bearings. The Swedish government had also opposed the planned Allied expeditionary force to help Finland in the spring of 1940. The lessons of the war seemed to be that Great Britain had vital interests in Scandinavia, Sweden included.

When the Cold War brought about new interna-

tional tension and the outbreak of another "hot" war began to seem a serious possibility, the idea of Swedish neutrality was troubling to both the British and the Americans. In this book, Juhana Aunesluoma studies how British policy toward Sweden developed in the changing international climate between 1945 and 1954. The author has used British, Swedish, and American sources, but his main interest is in British policy. The Cold War did not have serious consequences for Scandinavia, as we know, but things could have ended very differently. Both strategically and politically, Scandinavia was a many-faceted region. Sharp political changes in one part could have caused severe repercussions in another. Finland, for example, was able to preserve its independence, but quite possibly it could have lost it if Sweden had joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This prospect concerned the Americans, but left the Britons more or less indifferent.

As regards Swedish aims on the international scene, in the immediate postwar period its foreign policy was not nailed down. The same was true of Denmark and Norway, which at first preferred neutrality. Scandinavian defense cooperation under Swedish leadership seemed a palatable option for the Britons in 1947. After all, Sweden possessed serious military potential, including about a thousand airplanes and a sizable navy. Sweden's official policy of "nonalignment in peace aiming at neutrality in war" was in fact no real guarantee against becoming drawn into a war. This was also understood in Sweden, and the military made preparations for all possible cases. As Aunesluoma remarks, however, Sweden did not become a secret member of NATO. The Americans had great difficulty accepting the merits of Swedish neutrality, and Britain, which was a remarkably independent and influential actor in Scandinavian politics, bolstered Sweden against American efforts to isolate the country. Despite its neutrality, Sweden was eventually integrated into the Western group of nations, that formed during the Cold War. Here again the help of Britain was also useful. Ultimately neutrality became a legitimate position for a country like Sweden, as the author shows, although this was not so during the first years of international tension.

The history of the Scandinavian states in the Cold War is a success story and, accordingly, in hindsight it seems not very exciting. However, no true historian will assume that the happy ending was preordained. Aunesluoma sheds light on many concerns, now forgotten that once were serious factors in policy making. Among them were questions about the feasibility of arms deliveries from Britain to Sweden, calculations about Sweden's real chances of remaining neutral in the case of war, and assessments of its possible readiness to defend Norway and Denmark, especially Zealand, against a Soviet attack. The author promises to reconstruct the essentials of British policy toward Sweden, and, to my mind, this aim has been well fulfilled. However, one wonders why the Soviet point

of view has been totally omitted. After all, when making political decisions, the Western actors always built their policies on certain ideas about the Soviet intentions. Finding out what they actually were and how the Soviet politicians in turn interpreted the aims of their adversaries would have been most interesting. But this must be left to others. Aunesluoma has done what he promised.

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MICHAEL E. SMITH. *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation*. (Themes in European Governance.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 291. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$29.00.

Foreign ministers have been key players in the process of European integration since the beginning. Indeed, the decision to launch the European Coal and Steel Community in the early 1950s was primarily a foreign policy decision. Foreign ministers not only negotiated the treaties establishing the European communities, but they also formed the General Affairs Council, the most important decision-making body in the European Community (EC), as the new organizations were collectively called. Despite their frequent meetings, however, foreign ministers never discussed national foreign policy (apart from EC policy making), let alone the prospect of a joint EC foreign policy. French President Charles de Gaulle's efforts in the early 1960s to impose foreign policy coordination alarmed the other member states and reinforced the general taboo on discussing foreign policy within the EC.

Yet only a year after de Gaulle's departure, the member states established a procedure for foreign policy cooperation—the innocuous-sounding European Political Cooperation—along intergovernmental lines, but without a permanent secretariat and limited in scale and scope. Michael E. Smith examines the development of European Political Cooperation and its successor, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). His book is not a history of foreign policy cooperation among EC (and later European Union) member states, but a work of political science that explores the relationship between institutional development and foreign policy cooperation in the EC and the European Union (EU). It is appropriately theoretical, focusing on the institutionalization of cooperation through intergovernmentalism; information-sharing and transgovernmental networks; the development of norms, rules, and laws; EC/EU organizational involvement; and, eventually, the emergence of a system of governance in the CFSP, which the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 brought into being.

Nevertheless the book sheds some light on the history of European foreign policy cooperation. Thus, the author emphasizes a number of factors in the late 1960s, such as developments in the Middle East and Germany's *Ostpolitik* (rapprochement with the coun-

tries of Central and Eastern Europe) that prompted member states to include foreign policy cooperation in their attempt to revive European integration in the post-de Gaulle period. Economic and monetary union was another plank of the revival effort, but one that foundered due to French reluctance to share sovereignty and the inhospitable economic climate of the 1970s. European political cooperation survived because it was relatively unassuming: a strictly intergovernmental enterprise involving minimal political or other cost.

As Smith shows, the bureaucratic inertia of European political cooperation helped the process along. The foreign policy priesthoods in the national capitals got to know and trust each other. Exchanging ideas and information on foreign policy issues through a dedicated, secure telex system became second nature to them. A small secretariat eventually came into being and member states agreed in the Single European Act of 1986 to formalize European political cooperation as an intergovernmental undertaking separate from but related to the EC. This prefigured the three-pillar structure of the Maastricht Treaty, in which the CFSP became one of the intergovernmental pillars. Despite its intergovernmental designation, the CFSP acquired supranational trappings, notably through the growing involvement in it of the European Commission.

Internal developments and external pressures in the 1990s convinced the member states to strengthen foreign policy cooperation, both procedurally and substantively. A series of informal changes and formal treaty amendments reshaped the CFSP. Despite disarray in the EU over the war in Iraq (which is too recent to be covered in the book) and the inevitable disruptive impact of enlargement, the CFSP has grown in stature and importance. Though far more advanced than European political cooperation, it nevertheless remains an undertaking among sovereign states rather than an entirely supranational EU activity. As Smith points out, the CFSP involves the institutionalization of cooperation among sovereign states, not a willingness by them to abandon national foreign policies in favor of a truly common EU foreign policy.

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FELICITY HEAL. *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*. (The Oxford History of the Christian Church.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 568. \$125.00.

This weighty and learned work is a magisterial overview of the Protestant Reformation in the British Isles. It incorporates all the newest scholarship produced up until practically the day it went to press, and it attempts to synthesize this scholarship into a coherent vision, if not always a straightforward narrative. Like all such ambitious synthetic projects, the volume sacrifices some finesse in exchange for its breadth, and individual scholars will no doubt find things to argue

with in Felicity Heal's interpretations of their own particular specialties. Yet, like the very best ambitious synthetic projects, the payoffs for its breadth are some genuinely powerful insights.

These insights are to be found throughout the book, but they are most effective when they are most comparative, allowing scholars of English, Scottish, and Irish Reformations to see more clearly the similarities and differences between their subjects. Early on, for instance, we find a fascinating argument that the different pre-Reformation trajectories of the Observant friars in Ireland and England effected the different courses of resistance to the Reformation (pp. 55–56). Later, we find a fascinating discussion of the racism that prevented English, Anglo-Irish, and Scottish Protestant clerics from advancing their own cause by producing Gaelic-language Bibles (pp. 279–83). Still later, Heal uses the comparative context of Scotland to launch a compelling challenge to the textbook commonplace that English Puritans and conformists differed in ecclesiology but not theology (pp. 334–40). These sorts of observations add up to a compelling argument against the idea of English exceptionalism; each national reformation in Europe had its own unique contexts, but each faced the same fundamental challenges and addressed those challenges with the same fundamental theological armory. This argument is made so convincingly, in fact, that one is left wondering why Oxford University Press published a history of the British and Irish reformations separately from its histories of the reformations in Europe.

Heal should also be congratulated for having produced a synthetic history of the Reformation that manages to resist the current scholarly tendency to stress ecumenism and common ground rather than conflict. This is a book in which the Reformation generates a series of conflicts and contradictions that continue to fester throughout the century, so that by the end of Queen Elizabeth I's reign much has been disrupted but little has been solved. Heal retains a healthy skepticism, for instance, that Henry VIII's much vaunted "middle way" in the Reformation was ever more than a deeply divisive rhetorical weapon. In mid-century, her discussion of the "crisis of middle management" that plagued the Church of England (p. 201) shows with devastating clarity the practical difficulties that would have faced any sort of ecclesiastical settlement. Perhaps most importantly, the prominent inclusion of Ireland in the volume makes it impossible to believe that the Reformation in Britain somehow floated above the continental fray: even the most seemingly politicized and untheological challenges to traditional religion could still produce inestimable ideological conflict.

My criticisms of this book, besides some inevitable nitpicking in my own areas of specialty, concern Heal's choices of inclusion and exclusion. This book is, after all, part of the so-called Oxford History of the Christian Church—in many ways an obsolete historiographical category—and it is thus bound to the archaic

project of "Church history." It would have been nice to see more discussion of marginal beliefs and heterodoxy, more fitting to recent methodologies of cultural history, rather than details of church administration and liturgy. More importantly, it would have been nice to see more about English Catholicism, such a crucial area of research in the last twenty years; obviously Heal was limited by space, but sentences like "The network of gentry households that sustained the Catholic mission under Queen Elizabeth is so well known as to need no detailed discussion here" (p. 470) might have been applied to many Protestant topics as well. The notion that Reformation history is somehow Protestant history is now quite antiquated, and it is unfortunate to see such lingering oddities as the fact that when one looks in the index for "Catholicism" one finds instead "Catholic threat."

ETHAN H. SHAGAN
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CHRISTINE PETERS. *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender, and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 389. \$65.00.

Assessing the impact of religious change on women and on conceptions of gender has become an important theme of modern historiographical debate on the Reformation. Christine Peters's contribution is a very significant one. Her approach both to changes and continuities during the Reformation process, and to religious roles offered and adopted by women within the context of the household and parish, is more nuanced than that of any previous study. On the one hand, it undermines the notion that the Reformation witnessed a destructive transformation from a late medieval religious culture of female sociability, in which the roles of women were diverse and potentially sanctified, to one in which women were less likely to find a comfortable home. On the other hand, while emphasizing certain continuities in devotional practices and ideas about gender and women that survived the change to Protestantism, it refuses to simplify their nature.

The central theme of the book is that the increasing Christocentrism of late medieval piety at a parish level made more possible the transition from one faith to the other, for both men and women. Part one (chapters one to five) looks at late medieval religion, on the local level, using an impressive range of sources: prescriptive literature, wills, churchwardens' accounts, and, most significantly, visual material, particularly wall paintings in parish churches. The gendered implications of late medieval religion at the parish level—in contrast perhaps to the more rarefied atmosphere breathed by mystics—turn out to be more muted than at first might appear. Women's roles in the family and parish were clearly expressed, but there was flexibility; the expression of male and female piety overlapped

more than stereotypes would suggest; the association of piety with women was reflected, but in subtle ways, in female priorities in bequests in wills. But the chief reason why male and female religious experiences and preferences were not clearly demarcated was because the increasing focus in late medieval devotion on the adult Christ and his passion—which placed stress on the sinfulness of mankind as a whole—tended to cut across gender boundaries. The importance and gendered significance of the Virgin Mary was diminishing; saints became less important as intercessors; women did not identify more with female saints than they did with male ones; the figure of Eve was not frequently presented to the laity. Thus the stereotype of “pit and pedestal”—the twin polarities of Mary and Eve—was not as dominant in late medieval religious culture as some might assume. Views of women and men presented to the laity were much more complex.

The complexity of late medieval patterns of piety was mirrored in those of the Reformation period. Part two (chapters six to thirteen) examines the changes and continuities in patterns of piety during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The responses of men and women to Protestantism were varied and were certainly not determined by gender roles alone. The extent to which gendered patterns of devotion had already been reduced in the late medieval period meant that women did not experience the Reformation as an alien male environment. Protestant representations of the godly woman or her role in marriage were not stark affirmations of patriarchy; neither were the newly favored Old Testament models of Susanna and Bathsheba, nor the emphasis on Adam’s fall. The figure of the Virgin Mary, albeit in a modified form, was allowed to survive as a model for godly men and women (partly because her role as an intercessor in the late medieval period had already declined). Protestant views on the religious roles of women were just as nuanced as late medieval Catholic ones: the Christocentric piety of the late medieval parish had paved the way.

This is a rich book on a large range of topics. It steers a careful and admirably clear path through an occasionally forbidding number of nuances and paradoxes. The arguments of not a few historians on the subject are subverted, critiqued, or finessed. The book as a whole is excellent: original, thought-provoking, and persuasive in argument, and unusual in its balanced and in-depth treatment of piety and gender roles across the Reformation divide. It will be required reading for anyone with a serious interest in late medieval religion, Protestantism, and the effects of the Reformation on the piety of men and women, and on perceptions of gender.

ANDREW BROWN
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PAMELA ALLEN BROWN. *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama, and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern*

England. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 263. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

There is no better introduction to Pamela Allen Brown’s book than its first sentences: “In early modern parlance a shrew was a garrulous, domineering, and intractable wife. Shrew bad, patient wife, good: everyone knew that. So it is curious to come across a proverb that gives the shrew precedence over the submissive wife: *better a shrew than a sheep* . . . Under what circumstances and for whom, exactly, is a shrew better than a sheep?” (p. 1). The rest of the book answers this question, richly, informatively, and in an appropriately witty style, arguing that early modern popular culture offered a tradition of jest literature that allowed women to ridicule, mock, and criticize men.

In arguing that “women’s jesting constitutes a previously unnoticed vector of critique and social power, that may at times threaten and even disrupt reigning ideologies enforcing female subjection” (pp. 3–4), Brown is aware that she is taking issue with some scholarship on the role of women in early modern England. Building on the work of scholars such as Natalie Zemon Davis, Jean Howard, and Frances Dolan, who have shown how women revised or resisted ideological paradigms, Brown is cautious and thorough in advancing her claims about female jesting. Whereas many scholars have considered jest literature to be entirely misogynist, Brown hypothesizes the perspective of an early modern female readership that would be attuned to signs of sympathy for or solidarity with women. Ballads, jests, plays, or pamphlets that depict women as laugh getters, an internal audience of women who approve a female jester, a man who is the butt of a woman’s joke, or a man who is outsmarted or tricked by a woman are, for Brown, marked as part of the female jesting tradition.

Her first chapter traces the role of female wit in early modern neighborhoods, arguing that women’s gossip was, indeed, a regulatory mechanism (as scholars have argued), but that when combined with mockery and jest, it also offered a means for women to protect their own, and other women’s, reputations. Brown turns to William Shakespeare’s *Merry Wives of Windsor* to trace the utility of women’s witty jests in protecting themselves from would-be seducers. Chapter two turns to the alehouse, arguing that it provided a space for women to exercise their wit. An example of her methodology can be seen when she reads an English satiric print of 1600, *Tittle-Tattle: Or, the several Branches of Gossiping*. Although the print, which depicts women gossiping as they visit the bathhouse, church, market, and alehouse, is accompanied by a stanza that overtly criticizes women’s gossip, Brown argues that the meaning of the print need not be limited by the satiric intent of its caption, especially for a female audience.

A third chapter accounts for the popularity of the cuckold joke, ubiquitous in the early modern period

but bafflingly unfunny to many modern scholars. Brown suggests that such jokes were potentially much funnier to women than to men, especially since many cuckold jests depict women besting men. Chapter four traces the ways in which plays, jest books, and coney-catching pamphlets depict groups of women getting revenge on men for acts of violence and lechery. Recounting some of the ways in which the legal right of men to beat their wives was questioned in the period, she argues that shrews were often shown humorously prevailing over men who beat them.

Chapter five turns to two coney-catching pamphlets which recount the exploits of a female rogue named Dorothy "Dol" Philips. Brown convincingly links Ben Jonson's *Dol Common* of *The Alchemist* with Dol Philips, but makes a less convincing argument that Dol Common also reflects rumors and slanders directed at Queen Elizabeth I. A final chapter considers the traditional story of patient Griselda, a wife who endures and forgives extreme mistreatment by her husband. Although patient Griselda (linked with the "sheep" of the title) was often presented as a model of wifely behavior, Brown argues for the existence of a counter tradition that questioned her patient suffering.

In general, this book provides sufficient evidence that early modern popular culture did afford outlets for disenfranchised women to mock and criticize their oppressors. At times, Brown seems willing to make this claim boldly, and at other times she retreats into cautious disclaimers. The book might seem more consistent if it advanced uniformly careful and qualified claims throughout and eschewed occasional disclaimers that seem defensive. On the whole, though, Brown's book makes an important contribution to our understanding of early modern women's roles and their representation in texts from the period.

MARY THOMAS CRANE
Boston College

GARTHINE WALKER. *Crime, Gender, and Social Order in Early Modern England*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 310. \$60.00.

Garthine Walker has established herself as an original young scholar who has published a number of articles and essays on women and crime and, more generally, gender and crime in early modern England. In this book she makes a major statement on these themes. The book originated in her Ph.D. dissertation and is based heavily on the excellent criminal court records dealing with the county of Cheshire. Walker is, however, offering us much more than simply the book version of her thesis: this work is the result of considerable further reflection upon, and further research into, the issues that the author first researched as a graduate student.

What Walker argues is that the formal court record and the terminology enshrined in it do not take us very far in understanding what was peculiarly masculine or

feminine in early modern English crime. The point is well illustrated when considering crimes of violence. Walker argues that conceptions both of the gravity of acts of violence and of how conceptions of gender might be involved in them were bound to broader concepts of gender and concepts of social hierarchy: in other words, context, as defined both by the immediate circumstances involved in any particular incident and by broader cultural beliefs, was vital. Thus concepts of male honor, of the social hierarchy, and of age hierarchy were all of central importance when contemporaries evaluated acts of male violence. Discourses of female violence, whether constructed by women or by men, had, conversely, to be constructed from a different set of assumptions, drawing on notions of female honor (which, unlike the male, lay elsewhere than in acts of violence) and female disorderliness (which might encompass those forms of verbal disruptiveness categorized as scolding). Walker also subjects property offenses to a detailed gender analysis and develops arguments that she has put forward earlier to negate the commonplace that female thefts characteristically involved women as accomplices to male criminals, or involved the taking of goods of less value than those usually stolen by male thieves. Moreover, with the courts' treatment of property offenders, Walker is able to develop a critique of what she takes to be conventional wisdom on the gendering of sentencing policy during her period, arguing that female property offenders suffered more harshly before the courts than has frequently been supposed.

Walker also adds some distinctive thoughts to what is in many ways a fairly familiar topic: the issues of authority, agency, and law. As others have argued, she observes that although members of the elite used the law to maintain their position, that use was modified by the need to maintain patronage networks, so that tenants, other dependents, and poor neighbors might be protected from the law's full rigor. Moreover, the poor frequently showed a perhaps surprising knowledge of the law and were willing to adapt it to their own purposes. Perhaps the most interesting and original findings Walker presents here derive from her use of petitions to the justices of the peace, a hitherto little-used semi-official source. She focuses primarily on petitions from two clearly disadvantaged groups of people: unmarried mothers in bastardy cases, and poor cottagers anxious to protect themselves from being evicted from hovels they had erected illegally. What Walker notes is that the rhetoric of these petitions was carefully adjusted to suit the circumstances of the occasion. Thus the cottagers attempted to demonstrate that they were deserving of favor from the bench by demonstrating that they had the goodwill of their community, and they also attempted to add authority to their claims by drawing upon the patronage of members of the local elite. As Walker notes, all of this helped bolster a paternalist system, but it also demonstrated that the poor were beginning to conceive of

themselves as having entitlements, perhaps even rights, within that system.

There is, perhaps, much to be disagreed with or argued about in this book, but it is clear that Walker has raised some important issues. Her work displays a profound yet imaginative scholarship that is based on deep and sensitive archival research and the reading of a wide range of early modern printed sources.

JAMES SHARPE
University of York

ALLEN D. BOYER. *Sir Edward Coke and the Elizabethan Age*. (Jurists: Profiles in Legal Theory.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 325. \$60.00.

"What Shakespeare has been to those who write in English, Sir Edward Coke has been to the lawyers of the English speaking world." So begins Allen D. Boyer's engaging study of the Elizabethan life and career of the man known as "the oracle of the law." Consisting of fifteen chapters and an afterword, the work places Coke within the context of late sixteenth-century England and traces his career into the reign of James I and occasionally beyond. Historians will welcome the book for several reasons. In accessible and sometimes vivid language, Boyer constructs a picture of an ambitious, energetic, and accomplished professional whose passion for both the law and his own personal advancement carried him to great heights and got him into serious trouble. He gives us a picture of Coke's family life, his education, his legal and political careers, and his character and personality. In addition, Boyer tackles the complexities of Coke's views on law and history as expressed in his voluminous writings from both the Elizabethan and early Stuart centuries. Most welcome of all, at least to this reviewer, is the masterful discussion of "the great cases": *Shelley's*, *Chudleigh's*, and *Slade's* (chapter eight). However, readers unfamiliar with such legal niceties as the use, contingent remainders, *assumpit*, and *latitat* might find it tough going, since Boyer assumes a basic knowledge of medieval and early modern law.

Still, the book has shortcomings. In particular, Boyer could have improved his study by more fully engaging the research of scholars such as Glenn Burgess, J. G. A. Pocock, and Johann Sommerville, whose work is absolutely essential to understanding Coke's thought. This inattention renders his treatment of Coke's legal and historical ideas somewhat superficial (see especially chapters seven and nine). Admittedly, Boyer quotes Pocock, sometimes at length, but always the 1957 version of *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law*, never the additional chapters of the 1987 reissue, where Pocock expounds on his earlier material in ways that do not always square with Boyer's interpretations. Moreover, while Boyer cites Burgess's *Politics of the Ancient Constitution* (1993) and Sommerville's *Politics and Ideology in England, 1603–1640* (1986), he ignores altogether Burgess's directly relevant *Absolute Monarchy and the Stuart Constitution*

(1996) and Sommerville's *Royalists and Patriots* (1997), a new edition of *Politics and Ideology*.

Boyer might say in his defense that he is, after all, dealing with the Elizabethan Coke, promising on the dust jacket a future work on Coke in the Stuart period. But in the present work he frequently discusses Coke's early seventeenth-century writings and views, only to leave us wondering about key aspects of Coke's thought. For example, with regard to Coke's opinions on the antiquity of the law and the ancient constitution, what, exactly, did he mean when he described them in terms such as "immemorial?" Did he mean that, because they had always existed, they literally had no beginnings? Or was he simply referring to the period before 1189, the date of legal memory? Scholars disagree, and the disagreement matters to our judgment of Coke's thought. Historians also argue about Coke's views on the relative authority of statutes and judicial decisions, as well as about the power of statute to change law. Boyer's treatment of these matters would have benefitted from greater attention to those scholars whose views differ from and modify his own interpretations. Then there is the discussion in chapter nine of what Boyer calls Coke's attempts to find an "honorable pedigree for the common law." This effort, in his view, led Coke to make "wrong" and "reckless" statements about the English past—for example, that parliaments and juries existed before the Conquest—and resulted in the creation of a "propaganda history." But in fact the "honorable pedigree," in the form of the ancient constitution, was already there. It was created, as J. C. Holt and R. W. Southern have shown, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and was passed on to Coke's generation by medieval chroniclers and Tudor historians. Thus, the "wrong" and "reckless" statements were already common coin in Coke's day and, for the most part, enjoyed the imprimatur of the most learned scholars of the period. At times Boyer flirts with this point, but we need to be told unequivocally that Coke worked within a well-established and highly esteemed tradition of medieval origin that had long been deployed in the service of political agendas.

Finally, it needs to be made clear that the foundation of this pedigree consisted not only of the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* and the *Mirror of Justices*, admirably discussed by Boyer, but, most important of all, the so-called laws of St. Edward the Confessor, which he neglects. St. Edward's laws were the only one of these three medieval texts not detected as a forgery by contemporaries, and they formed an absolutely essential strand in Coke's thought. Indeed, Coke associated them with the common law itself and found in them the first Magna Carta.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Boyer has produced a book worth reading. However, Stanford University Press should have done a better job of copyediting. The work contains typos and stylistic inconsistencies in footnotes and omits a large number

of works cited in footnotes from the bibliography. Coke and Boyer deserve better.

JANELLE GREENBERG
University of Pittsburgh

ELIZABETH LANE FURDELL. *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England*. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 282. \$80.00.

Elizabeth Lane Furdell's study of the interrelationships between publishing and medicine in premodern England tells the story of the steady erosion, driven in large part by the publication of vernacular medical texts, of the power and prestige of university-educated physicians and the growth of demotic medical knowledge and practice. "For the medical world, bookshops symbolized the challenge to established authority and health care, stocking . . . the manuals, recipe books, and drugs that made Everyman his own doctor" (p. 134).

The first chapter is an overview of the changing medical marketplace from the early Tudor period through the brief reign of James II (1685–1688). Furdell summarizes the history of the Royal College of Physicians and its struggles with unlicensed empirics, the rise of Paracelsian principles and drug therapy in English medicine, and the evolving status of surgeons and the ever more prominent apothecaries.

Chapter two discusses the development of the printing industry over the same period, with some emphasis on the printing of medical books but more interest in the fluctuating fortunes of printers in relation to the changing regulations and licensing acts of the two centuries. Furdell particularly notes the struggle of the Royal College to prevent the publication of Latin medical treatises translated into English, publication that destroyed the educated physicians' monopoly on certain kinds of medical knowledge.

Chapter three summarizes the anatomical and surgical books published during the period, noting the lessening influence of the Royal College, the rise of informal groups of medical men and scientists who met to share ideas and information, and the effect of politics on the careers of medical practitioners. Despite the heated nature of certain medical debates, Furdell argues, publishers showed themselves more interested in profit than in particular medical ideologies and published texts from both sides of medical controversies.

Chapter four, whose title "Profit or Principle" might have served for the entire study, discusses politics and medicine from the perspective of religion. According to Furdell, Protestant medicine, with its emphasis on Christian charity, further discredited the expensive, learned physicians. She discusses the "royal touch" for scrofula, physicians who switched political/religious allegiance at the Restoration, and the gradual separation of medicine/science from religion.

Chapter five concentrates on women's relationships to print and medicine, arguing "women played a

subversive role in medicine and science, by espousing and encouraging empiricism and experimentation" (p. 93). Largely excluded from formal medical practice, women were nevertheless perceived by publishers as a new market for medical information. They also played a role as patrons to medical writers and practitioners. More important, women in the publishing trade—where widows and daughters were permitted to carry on the work of deceased husbands and fathers—"facilitated the changes occurring in health care by publishing, printing, and selling iatric literature" (p. 103). The moment of female influence in publishing was short lived, however, for by the mid-eighteenth century their numbers and power had decreased.

The final three chapters deal with pragmatic issues relevant to book publishing: the location of bookshops; advertisements for medicine, medical techniques, and medical books; and illustrations in medical texts. Not surprisingly, most of the emphasis is on the Restoration and early eighteenth century, when both booksellers and advertisements proliferated. Furdell traces the migration of the book trade from London Bridge, to St. Paul's courtyard, to its spread, after the great London fire, throughout the city. She looks at where advertisements appeared (handbills, periodical literature) and offers examples of ads for cures and techniques (such as, Spooner's Purging Sugar Plums for Children) along with accounts of individual advertisers and of battles over who had the right to vend a particular nostrum. The chapter on medical illustration discusses instructive illustrations in medical texts, portraits of medical men, and cartoons that satirized them and their profession. In a brief epilogue, Furdell assesses the impact of the *Rose* case (1704) as a watershed judicial decision legitimizing the medical services of practitioners such as apothecaries. The volume contains an excellent bibliography.

When she calls for more analysis of "the visual culture of medicine" (p. 187), Furdell underscores her own prioritization, throughout the study, of information over analysis. Given her book's scope, the choice was perhaps necessary, but the reader sometimes longs for a more nuanced perspective on the materials presented. Despite its impressive list of primary sources, Furdell's study breaks little new ground; it could have been written almost entirely from secondary materials. That said, however, the book cogently lays out a great deal of useful information and provides an excellent overview of the relationship between medicine and publishing over two centuries.

BARBARA HOWARD TRAISTER
Lehigh University

ANDREW LACEY. *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr*. (Studies in Modern British Religious History, number 7.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. viii, 310. \$85.00.

Starting from the premise that Charles I's status as martyr and the associated "cult" are usually "men-

tioned" rather than investigated, Andrew Lacey analyzes the myth of the martyr king from the 1640s onward, tracing the materials of the myth at close quarters. As he points out, this myth is not hermetically sealed; indeed, Lacey's study implies that it is the repeated challenges to the cult of Charles that have led to its continued currency up to (almost) the present.

Even before his death, Charles's powers in touching to heal the "King's Evil" were becoming something close to magical. Objects handled by the king or, after his death, imbued with his blood were, in certain circles, found to effect miracle cures. The figure of Charles raises the larger question of the status of the historian as advocate. While very clear eyed about the distinctions between the mythic Charles and historical problems, Lacey's enthusiasm for the myth he investigates lends his book energy. He writes well about the ways in which remembering Charles became for royalists a kind of freedom, an imaginative space liberated from the bonds of actuality. Literature, too, offered a free space where, even when imprisoned, royalists were able to express the power of their feelings. In the 1650s, Lacey implies, their very deprivation of worldly power fed the mythic dimensions of Charles's reputation. As he notes, such material avoided any sense that Charles's policies might have been flawed; for many, Charles "walked in the footsteps of Christ."

Lacey's discussion of the liturgical office by which Charles was memorialized each January 30 is illuminating. Many royalists, such as Lady Anne Halkett, kept the anniversary of Charles's execution as a day of meditation throughout their wilderness years, but the 1662 Book of Common Prayer changed something unofficial to a state occasion. Lacey notes that just as blood guilt played its part in the conviction of Charles, so it was crucial in his beatification through the corresponding vilification of those who had been his enemies, and he traces the role of the sermons of the new Anglican Church in shaping Charles for the Restoration. He makes a convincing case for the importance of this body of church and other personnel in the initially "smooth" transition of James II to power.

Lacey's expansive chapter on Charles in "the age of party" in effect canvasses the importance of the Civil War in the early years of the eighteenth century. This chapter provides a very valuable link between the late seventeenth century, when the memory of the martyr was relatively fresh, and the patriot history of the second half of the eighteenth century. By 1710, Lacey finds Charles's memory contested: "critics of the cult were not slow in pointing out that the image of the martyr did not correspond with the reality of the man Charles Stuart, nor with the events of the 1640s." The way the fast day was observed and transgressed—as by the Fellow of Merton College, who Lacey discovers ordering a dinner in the college refectory for 30 January 1728—indicates that the "cult" was not the uncontested property of believers. Thus, although Lacey emphasizes that "traditional views" of Charles

survived 1688 and 1714, the material he presents also attests to a lively debate.

The rest of history, to the present, Lacey deals with quickly. Certainly, the nineteenth-century memory of the English Civil War has been interrogated elsewhere in the historiography of the period and in discussions, like Blair Worden's fascinating study, of the Civil War as a political counter in nineteenth and twentieth-century parliamentary politics. I would have liked to hear about the histories of Charles in the later eighteenth century, when Catharine Macaulay and others canvassed the significance of the house of Stuart and, as Lacey notes, the French Revolution brought the issue of the charismatic monarch to the fore again—but it is true that these are the areas best covered elsewhere.

A fascinating aspect of Lacey's final chapter concerns the place of Charles, and saints more generally, in the post-1945 Anglican communion. Remarking that the observation of the fast day is partly associated with the "Traditional Anglican Church," which split with the main body over the ordination of women, he also indicates that evidence suggests a greater diversity in the observance. This sense of Charles as now the exemplary—in being optional—Anglican martyr prompts many questions about the relationship between the "cult" and the historical and historiographic debates that cut across it. Sticking closely to the hagiography, this relationship is not one that Lacey's book can deal with at length. It offers a reconsideration not of "Charles" or of the writing of history but of the making and institutionalizing of the myth, and much space is, inevitably, devoted to following the contours of the story. The materials Lacey assembles indicate that the king's reputation inherited the values of particular genres of literary memory: elegy, narratives of martyrdom, witness memoir. Once the figure of Charles acquired the formulae of martyrdom (constancy, penitence, largeness, Christlike virtue, and pathos), a persona existed to be challenged and developed.

Lacey's study sits at the intersection of thinking on Protestant martyrdom and on the contestation of reputation. While Lacey draws on a range of materials concerning martyrdom and sainthood, he does so more to explain the cult than its opponents or the vexed relationship between cult and claims to historical "truth." This is not a study that is concerned to position itself in terms of the recent work canvassing what Susan Frye has called "the competition for representation" of the early modern monarch. Rather, it takes us closer to the manufacturing of a particular image, offering, too, unusual insight into the institutional process of church and state in making "Charles." Lacey's is a valuable study of the materials of Charles's memorialization and the pressures that made the myth.

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ALLYSON N. MAY. *The Bar and the Old Bailey, 1750–1850*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 361. \$49.95.

It is a convenient and gratifying fiction that in liberal democratic societies, or societies moving toward liberal democracy, abuses are reformed as a result of the efforts of progressive individuals who have highlighted them and who are backed by popular mandate. Historians have the unfortunate habit of exposing such fictions for what they are. This is one reason, perhaps, why so much of the recent, important work on the history of crime and criminal justice in the United Kingdom has had little or no impact on the current, panic-driven debates about law and order in Tony Blair's Britain. Allyson N. May's book on the careers and practices of barristers at the Old Bailey from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries is a well-researched and important addition to our growing understanding of the evolution of the criminal trial in England. Indirectly, it also raises some of the contemporary issues about the role of legal counsel in the criminal trial and the continuing problem of "truth" versus "justice" in the courts.

Drawing on a formidable range of primary sources in the Public Record Office and various London archives, as well as on a host of books and pamphlet literature from the period, May sets out to explain how barristers became central actors in Old Bailey trials. Felony trials had traditionally involved a prosecutor, usually the victim, confronting the accused before a jury with a judge present to ensure fair play and to outline points of law. The growth of commerce during the eighteenth century appears to have encouraged more and more merchants and shopkeepers to come forward as prosecutors and to hire attorneys to present their cases. At the same time, the system of rewards and a series of scandals over prosecutions generated for "blood money" encouraged the judiciary to permit counsel to raise points of law on behalf of the accused. Such counsel could not, however, discuss the facts of the case or address the jury on the defendant's account. The barristers who appeared at the Old Bailey during the period of May's study were rarely men who were to make it to the top in the legal profession. They acquired a reputation, not often justified, for an ignorance of the law, for bullying cross-examinations, and for general incivility. But they exposed some vexatious prosecutions and, while they were not committed reformers, their activities brought about significant change. Indeed, May shows that, far from being reformers, some of them had close links with the conservative elements in the City of London, and a few advanced through the purchase of office and patronage to influential legal positions that were in the City's gift.

The Prisoners' Counsel Act of 1836, which finally enabled barristers to address a jury on behalf of the accused, was the work of reforming politicians rather than men of the law. In May's assessment it is best

understood as one more element in the reform program of the Whigs during the 1830s. But while the barristers had not pressed for the reform and, as a body, had never much considered the rights of the accused as a legal or political issue, it was they who had to work with the new legislation. Four years after the act, a controversy arose when, half way through the celebrated trial of François Courvoisier for murder, Charles Phillips, for the defense, heard his client confess to the crime but insist that he still wished to maintain his plea of not guilty. Phillips continued with the case; his contention was that the offense had to be proven in court. There were many who vilified him at the time; nevertheless, the same line is now adopted by virtually all counsel working in the English legal tradition.

This is a solidly researched, well-argued monograph. It fills a gap in knowledge and provides a useful appendix listing brief biographical details of the Old Bailey counsel between 1783 and 1850. It emphasizes, in general, how individuals make their history, although not always as they intend or expect and, in particular, how the implementation of the law and the course of criminal trials depend heavily on the role, discretion, and interaction of a variety of actors.

CLIVE EMSLEY

The Open University

JUDITH S. LEWIS. *Sacred to Female Patriotism: Gender, Class, and Politics in Late Georgian Britain*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. ix, 262.

Judith S. Lewis's book on the political lives of late Georgian elite women is a major contribution to recent work on aristocratic women of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such scholarship has paid increasing attention to the intersections of gender and politics, and Lewis's compact study ranges over a wide variety of topics, reminding us how much cultural, economic, and political history have now become intertwined. It is one of the great strengths of this work that it covers so much territory so well.

Lewis has carefully delimited her source base: the "manuscript collections of families owning at least three thousand acres in at least one of six English counties," as well as similar collections from Scotland and Ireland (p. 4). Lewis's emphasis on property (rather than title or other characteristics) to define the subjects of her study is fundamental to her argument. It was the association between political power and property that, she argues, enabled—indeed, required—elite women to participate in the political process. She sets out the basis for this claim in her first chapter, on Britain's "political agronomy." This chapter proves the most difficult read, since Lewis explains the intricate details of the British electoral systems and their relationship to landed property, but it is essential in laying the groundwork for her argument.

Readers will be well rewarded for their efforts in the rest of the book, which combines a wealth of evidence

and insightful case studies. In chapter two, Lewis explains how upper-class women participated throughout the election process, from the first issuing of writs to "chairing the member." The following two chapters move beyond elections to patronage and the networks of sociability that helped cement political power. Chapter five then uses an extended discussion of the notorious controversy over the Duchess of Devonshire's role in the 1784 Westminster election to elucidate transformations in thinking about gender and politics. Lewis argues that the duchess's canvassing was controversial not because it was unusual for women to canvass but because she seemed to transgress the boundaries of her rank. According to Lewis, this behavior was actually part of a deliberate Foxite strategy to emphasize women's political rights and to call into question the manliness of the famously chaste William Pitt. The strategy worked, but at the cost of opening the way for viciously gendered attacks against the duchess.

For Lewis, then, the election exemplified opportunities as well as pitfalls for politically minded women, thanks to a new discourse that emphasized individual rights, not property, as the basis for political participation. Indeed, she suggests that the 1780s and 1790s offered something like a "Prague Spring" for women, creating an opportunity for them to participate in politics "not only as aristocrats, but as women, as *citoyennes*" (p. 147). Yet this opportunity was short lived. In her final chapter, Lewis traces the development of related themes that effectively excluded women from the political realm: the idea of a specifically masculine reforming political culture, and a national identity that defined itself in opposition to the (corrupt, fashionable, and feminine) French. To be a legitimate political player in this new context was to be manly and independent, and women, by definition, were neither; aristocratic women were especially vulnerable because of their association with Frenchness and artificiality.

Lewis's story is not one of complete decline. She argues that Evangelicalism provided a new way for elite women to participate in public life, through charity, without damaging their reputations. But, she suggests, by the 1830s politics and masculinity were almost mutually defining. Ironically, it was the exclusion of women from their earlier political roles that enabled the rise of the suffrage movement: late Georgian aristocrats, Lewis argues, were uninterested in voting themselves because they could control the votes of others. The last two chapters of this book are thus the ones most concerned with change over time, but throughout Lewis discusses factors that helped change British political culture. Elections grew dramatically more expensive, for instance, thus making involvement in them less appealing for elite men as well as women.

The central argument is strong and sophisticated, and the book includes a variety of smaller but equally apt observations: the way in which changing fashions in dress, for example, meant that elite women were less

physically imposing by 1800 than they had been in previous decades, or the disappearance of "good women" from the images of political prints. Lewis's discussions of these prints are particularly effective, and it is a shame that the book's illustrations include only women's portraits, which lend nothing to the argument. But this is only a minor quibble. One more important question left unanswered is related to the growing body of scholarship mentioned at the start of this review. Lewis argues forcefully for the late Georgian period as a kind of golden age for politically inclined women, followed by a significant decline in their power (although she warns against a simplistic "exclusion narrative:" p. 199). Yet she does not explicitly engage with those scholars who argue for the continued power of aristocratic women in the Victorian period. Nor does she clearly distinguish between her later Georgians and their predecessors. Given the wealth of recent scholarship on elite women and politics, it seems time to start addressing such questions of chronology. This impressive book will be essential in shaping that debate.

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CINDY MCCREERY. *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 281. \$90.00.

The sociopolitical satirical print was a genre peculiar to eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England. Occasional prints, or specific groups of images, were produced elsewhere as well. But it was only in England—and especially in London—that satirical prints, often freestanding, emerged as a ubiquitous, sophisticated, and immediately recognizable vehicle for political and social criticism. No picture of the vigorous public culture of Georgian England can be complete without them.

And yet, in comparison with the rich scholarship on the eighteenth-century press, say, these prints are surprisingly understudied. This omission is even more remarkable given their obvious aesthetic appeal, as well as the relatively easy access to them through the extensive British Museum collection that is available on microfilm together with a superb catalog. Even so, however, as a subject for study in their own right rather than a resource for illustrations, English satirical prints as a cultural form seem to fall between the cracks: with their peculiar mixture of image and text, of representational conventions and immediate context, they are too visual and convention-driven for most historians, too low brow and context-driven for most art historians. Recently this lacuna has begun to be filled, by John Brewer, Diana Donald, and Amelia Rauser, among others. Cindy McCreery's book is a welcome addition to this literature.

The novelty of McCreery's approach is in plowing through many thousands of prints in search of one

particular theme: namely, women. Of the 5,000 prints in the British Museum dating between 1760 and 1800 (the somewhat arbitrary chronological framework of this study), more than 2000 can be identified as satires involving women, a considerable number that provides a sound basis for generalizations about representations of women in this genre. Following an introductory chapter on the production and circulation of these prints, therefore, the bulk of the book is a survey of the main stereotypes associated with women in satirical prints: the prostitute and the courtesan, the actress and the street vendor, the literary lady and the female politician, the adulteress and the good wife, the old maid and the bad mother. Each one is discussed in terms of her main characteristics and illustrated with well-chosen examples (though occasionally reproduced below the quality necessary to discern their details).

In the process of outlining the main trends in the visual representation of these female stereotypes, McCreery's narrative intersects with many important stories that historians tell about the second half of the eighteenth century: the rise of sentimentalism, changes in attitudes to motherhood, new child-centered emphases in the representation of children, the increasing masculinization of politics, the ever more shrill anxieties about upper-class matrimonial morality, the gathering momentum of attacks on aristocratic vice. It is here, indeed, that the book could have benefitted from an occasional broader perspective, raising its eyes from the prints themselves to encompass the wider political and social contexts within which they were situated. Thus, perhaps the most significant development lurking behind the prints analyzed is less a gender-specific than a class-specific one: namely, the increasingly sharp attacks on the aristocracy. It would have been helpful, first, to know whether this was in fact true for aristocratic men as much as it was for women (I suspect it was); and, second, to juxtapose these findings with the arguments made by scholars such as Linda Colley, Paul Langford, and Donna Andrew with regard to the increasing pressures on the British aristocracy to reform their manners and behavior, and the extent to which these pressures were believed by contemporaries to have been successful. Or take the image that serves as the beginning point and endpoint of the book, a sharp caricature of the Duchess of Devonshire exposing her breast to a fox (her political ally Charles James Fox) while ignoring the cries of her own hungry infant. To be sure, this was a biting attack on the female politician as an oversexed, unnatural mother. And yet this antagonism should not be taken for granted: rather, in order to appreciate the significance and meaning of this composition, it would have been helpful to place it against the backdrop of the long-standing eighteenth-century tradition of female electioneering, in which—as the recent scholarship of Hannah Barker, Elaine Chalus, Judith S. Lewis, and Ingrid Tague has suggested—the furore provoked by

the Duchess of Devonshire was unprecedented and indeed surprising.

But then McCreery's expressed goal was not to engage with the numerous scholarly conversations in which late eighteenth-century satires on women might play a role but rather to survey and report on the multiple representations of women in this rich body of images so that other students of this period can incorporate them into their own inquiries. Now that McCreery has laid the groundwork, it is hoped that they will indeed live up to the challenge.

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JOHN COOPER. *Pride Versus Prejudice: Jewish Doctors and Lawyers in England, 1890–1990*. (The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.) Oxford and Portland, Oreg.: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization. 2003. Pp. viii, 451. \$55.00.

John Cooper's book purports to fill a void in the social history of the Jews of modern Britain. Had he asked different questions, had he a more felicitous style, had he not resorted to redundancies and not infrequent contradictions, had he not felt that he must name every Jewish physician and lawyer who came to his attention regardless of significance or impact on his story, this might have been a valuable study. Given its weaknesses, however, it is as well left on the shelf. Perhaps an English audience familiar with some of the hospitals and with the hierarchy of British medical practice will find this book of use. An American reader cannot say the same thing.

During late Victorian and Edwardian times, it was possible for wealthy, mainstream Jews to rise to the top of their professions in medicine and law. Several examples are cited. Nevertheless, until 1914 the total number of Jewish professionals in England was small. Increasing numbers of Jews entered the medical field starting in 1914. Cooper explains this, without substantiating evidence, as the result of more women and Jewish men entering medical school because of places that became available to them during World War I, when so many young men were absent in the armed services (pp. 49, 397). Why Jewish males were not also in service he does not explain.

Cooper seems to have trouble with the argument propounded by Tony Kushner, among others, that the children of immigrants found "formal and informal barriers" imposed on them in the interwar years (pp. 10, 185, 396). Yet when writing of this period, he states that "It remained almost impossible for doctors from east European Jewish families to secure positions as consultant physicians at the chief London hospitals" (p. 79). The reader is left to wonder how, or whether, to reconcile the discrepancy, which is compounded many more times than space allows to exemplify (but see p. 398 for a summary of other examples of prejudicial practices). Perhaps Cooper was referring to

the increase in the number of Jewish physicians in London between the wars, from 100 to 800, but even these were restricted to less prestigious general and panel practices, the higher paying consultancies closed to the vast majority regardless of abilities. "When large numbers of Jews from east European backgrounds applied for positions as consultants in major hospitals, they were regarded as not being quite English . . . and invariably their applications were rejected" (p. 399).

Cooper maintains that there was a vast increase in the number of Jewish students of the law in the 1920s and 1930s but only a moderate increase in the number of practicing solicitors. This latter is explained thus: "there was considerable discrimination practiced against Jews who applied for positions as assistant solicitors; as a consequence the number of Jewish sole practitioners mushroomed during the 1930s" (p. 398).

The British have a two-track legal profession. Solicitors deal with contracts and estates and are the first point of contact for those seeking trial (criminal or civil cases); barristers try cases. Perhaps because of the traditional classical background of the law, barristers, who by definition are orators in the footsteps of Cicero, form the more prestigious branch of the practice of law. Most Jewish barristers in the 1920s and 1930s were of the Anglo-Jewish "cousinhood," the elite community who traced their ancestry back to the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Sephardim and the mid-nineteenth-century Ashkenazim from Germany. As though repetition were proof, Cooper maintains in his conclusion that before 1939, "despite the discrimination in the job market for [Jewish] lawyers," the impediments to Jews in the legal profession were structural "and the restricted degree of legal aid available to potential clients [not] by anti-Semitism, which was only of marginal importance as a direct barrier" (p. 402). He then goes on to ask that the reader compare conditions in Britain and Nazi Germany. This comparison makes little sense and borders on absurdity. No one ever, to my knowledge, has equated the relatively mild limitations placed on Jewish advancement in England with the wholesale disenfranchisement of Jews in prewar Nazi Germany. Equally absurd is the error of comparing British attitudes toward Jews before 1939 to those "prevailing in . . . Vichy France, where Jews were purged from the liberal professions by legislation" (p. 403). That there was no such thing as Vichy France before the war would apparently come as a surprise to Cooper.

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GERARD CHRISTOPHER ORAM. *Military Executions During World War I*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Pp. xi, 228. \$68.00.

The execution of British and Dominion soldiers in World War I still excites fierce passions. In Britain, there is a perception that the executed were all victims of shellshock, and a vociferous campaign lobbies for

posthumous pardons. There have been a number of books on the topic, of varying quality, but Gerard Christopher Oram's scholarly and subtle monograph (which ought to have the word "British" somewhere in the title) is among the best yet.

The purpose of military law was not to achieve justice but rather to maintain discipline in the army. This is not an original argument, but it is well worth reiterating because as Oram correctly asserts, many previous writers on the subject have simply failed to grasp this essential point. Between 1914 and 1918, the British military authorities had to contend with keeping an army in the field larger than any had envisaged before the war, consisting largely of civilian volunteers, and later conscripts, under the dreadful conditions of industrialized total war. By looking at the topic in these terms, rather than at the justice or otherwise meted out to individuals, Oram does the debate a very important service.

He argues that the death penalty formed an important plank of British high command's disciplinary strategy and locates it in prewar British military practice. That roughly ten percent of death sentences passed were confirmed and carried out was, in his view, no accident, but rather a non-Draconian "managed figure" (p. 9) aimed at deterring would be deserters or mutineers. Oram compares the relative moderation of German military justice with its harsher British counterpart. In Germany, the civil authorities moderated the approach of the military, and the disciplinary code became more liberal as the war went on. The same was not true of the British Army. While Oram is correct, this finding should be placed in a wider context. After all, while the German military effectively seized control of the government, British generals like Douglas Haig stayed firmly in the military sphere, recognizing, however reluctantly, civilian supremacy.

Contentiously, Oram says that there is evidence of "many" summary executions (p. 101). I would be more cautious, since the evidence he cites is that of two well-known "fire-eaters" who were not typical of British officers. He is wrong to say that we lack records of summary executions. An officer was awarded the Victoria Cross at Gallipoli for stemming a rout of British troops, in part by shooting several of them. Undoubtedly, other similar incidents occurred in times of supreme crisis. Nevertheless, this is a very different matter from executing men by due process and publicizing death sentences throughout the army in a deliberate strategy of deterrence.

Oram demonstrates that the use of the death penalty varied from divisions to division, with the attitude of the divisional commander being of great importance. He also confirms my own research (to which he makes generous reference) that rather different disciplinary regimes existed in Regular, New Army, and Territorial formations. This is reflected in the frequency of capital courts martial and executions in different types of divisions.

For all undoubted virtues of this book, it has not

persuaded me that Ian Beckett's description of British military executions as a "relatively minor matter" is entirely wrong. We need more research on the attitudes of individual commanders toward executions to see how important they regarded it as a disciplinary tool. Moreover, accepting Oram's argument that the numbers executed were in excess of 400 rather than the figure of 346 that is normally given, this is still a very small proportion of an army of roughly 5.5 million men. The death penalty was certainly resented by British soldiers, and it sent a very powerful message of what the army could do to them. However, there is little evidence that fear of the firing squad was a major factor in maintaining the discipline of the British Army. Oram touches on a host of other factors—officer-man relations, frequency of home leave, and the like—that were also key to maintaining discipline and morale. The findings of this important book need to be integrated into the wider picture of how the British army maintained its cohesion on the battlefields of World War I.

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TAMMY M. PROCTOR. *Female Intelligence: Women and Espionage in the First World War*. New York: New York University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 205. \$26.95.

Tammy M. Proctor has written a useful and engaging history of women in the British intelligence service during World War I. Proctor's book is both a labor history of women in intelligence work and a cultural history of the image of the woman spy. It seeks to rescue female intelligence operatives from "invisibility" while dispelling the myth of female intelligence workers as "Mata Hari" seductresses defined largely by their sexuality. Proctor's work also attempts to show that women played a major role in British intelligence well before the Cold War. In this way, her book acts as a corrective to scholarly accounts that tend to overlook the early history of women in espionage and reconstructs the role of women at the very moment British intelligence services were becoming formalized, professionalized, and bureaucratized.

Proctor's book is beautifully packaged, sporting an elegant cover depicting the scantily clad Mata Hari in an exotic beaded dancing costume. Those who buy the book for its cover, however, will find more about female clerks and operatives (including enthusiastic Girl Guide couriers and aristocratic lady translators) than about the *femmes fatales* of spy fiction, who do not make an appearance until the last chapter. Indeed, one of the virtues of the book is the way it unpacks the popular image of the female spy while giving substance to the far more mundane and significant employment of hundreds of female operatives both at MI5 and in the occupied territories. As Proctor argues, the image of Mata Hari and the sexualized female agent had more to do with anxieties about female power and

male vulnerability than about the reality of the seductress-spy. Mata Hari herself seems to have had little impact as an enemy agent—except in so far as she worked for the French government, which executed her in 1917, largely, it seems, for sleeping with Germans. The theme of sexuality and betrayal, Proctor argues, dominated cultural anxieties about the danger of well-placed women and fueled the stereotypes that swirled around female spies, both imagined and real.

Although it is a book on women in British intelligence, Proctor's most original and interesting chapters are about Belgium. Making use of underutilized Belgian archives, Proctor offers a fascinating account of La Dame Blanche, a Belgian secret society that conducted covert espionage operations for the British government. Not only did La Dame Blanche include a large number of female operatives, who regarded themselves as actual "soldiers" for Belgium, but it included a shadow female leadership, trained to take control of the organization should the male leadership be arrested by the German authorities. An equally interesting section of her final chapter looks deeply at the intimate history of double agency in Belgium, revealing the difficult choices faced by ordinary women living under occupation. Wishing to remain loyal to their country, but living in close—and often cordial—proximity with their German captors, Proctor shows the way the boundaries between rape and consent, resistance and collaboration, and patriotism and personal loyalty (to enemy friends as well as to family and compatriots) complicated the intimate lives of Belgian women. In this way, Proctor begins to uncover the extent of Belgian resistance to German occupation and to move beyond straightforward histories of Belgian victimization to show both ambivalence and active resistance in the face of a national tragedy. Indeed, Proctor might have pressed this point even further, since her conclusions challenge quite directly the oft-repeated thesis that Belgians did not put up any significant resistance to German occupation. This point is a highly contentious and politicized one, since Belgians at the time of World War I denied acts of resistance that the Germans in turn touted as a rationale for massacres and executions. Whether or not Belgians resisted—and whether or not that resistance was legal once they found themselves under formal occupation—was hotly disputed at the time and still figures prominently in scholarly debates over the extent of German misconduct during World War I. Proctor does an admirable job of using new archival evidence to complicate the picture of Belgian occupation and to situate resistance within its domestic context.

Proctor's book also provides a concise and clearly written overview of the history of women in British intelligence, making it useful as a reference work as well as as a scholarly monograph. Her first chapter summarizes the role of women in British intelligence from Elizabethan times to World War I, and subsequent chapters cover such topics as the surveillance of

foreign women in World War I Britain, the class and age diversity of female intelligence staff, and the famous “martyrdom” of nurse Edith Cavell, who smuggled allied prisoners out of occupied Belgium before she was shot by a German firing squad. Proctor does a good job of integrating social historical data with a more culturally informed reading of the representation of women spies, whether they be martyred heroines like Cavell or alluring seductresses like Mata Hari. The book is an important contribution to the history of British intelligence and sheds light on the unglamorous reality of a highly romanticized aspect of women’s work during World War I.

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SONYA O. ROSE. *Which People’s War? National Identity and Citizenship in Britain 1939–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 328.

As the title of Sonya O. Rose’s new book suggests, her work delves into the complex question of what constituted the “people” who waged World War II on behalf of Britain. Rose’s ambitious project explores notions of Britishness and belonging, and her six richly detailed and thematic main chapters investigate how understandings of class, gender, ethnicity, race, geography, and empire contributed to the making of a national identity during wartime. As a result, the book succeeds in its aim of foregrounding “the numerous possibilities for social transformation unleashed by and through the processes of national identity formation and the construction of the meanings of wartime citizenship” (p. 21).

The book’s analysis begins with a focus on “class feeling.” It first examines such issues as the ongoing conflict between workers and manufacturers and varying wartime responses to the Soviet Union, the idealized workers’ state. Rose then explores the social divides revealed by the experience of evacuating mainly poor and urban children into rural areas, and concludes with a discussion of the Beveridge plan and popular investment in the postwar welfare state. Throughout this chapter, Rose sheds light on how a nation in the process of defining itself as “one people” spent enormous energy negotiating intense class loyalty and class barriers. By arguing for an “equality of sacrifice,” those concerned with the amelioration of social inequalities saw new possibilities for future policy that truly concerned itself with the well being of the entire community.

Given their focus on the equality of sacrifice for the national good, those actively constructing a wartime national identity also sought to single out those not contributing to the collective enterprise, and the discussion of such “internal enemies” was rife with assumptions based on gender, class, and ethnicity. In particular, Rose examines the discourse surrounding the “good time girl,” interested in her own pleasure, and Jews, stereotyped as “unBritish” aliens looking for

individual profit above all else. Both groups (“sexually adventurous girls and Jews”) were similarly—Rose describes the similarity in the attacks as “uncanny”—blamed for “engaging in activities that demonstrated that they were selfish” (p. 92). As Rose elaborates, both groups were transformed rhetorically into “anti-citizens in a society of responsible, community-oriented citizens” (p. 106).

Following this discussion, Rose offers two exemplary and thought-provoking chapters on wartime femininity and masculinity. The first delves into the interconnections between how women balanced simultaneous calls for them to support the war effort and the family. A construction of “moral” citizenship demanded that women be feminine, sexually restrained, and committed to motherhood and yet also required them to take up responsibilities that removed them from the domestic sphere. As Rose summarizes, the requirements of such citizenship were “contradictory” (p. 150). Then she demonstrates that they were contradictory for both men and women by investigating the creation of a temperate heroism for men, the building of a male ideal that combined “good humour and kindness with . . . bravery,” especially exhibited through military service (p. 196).

After placing gender at the center of the formation of wartime citizenship and national belonging, Rose focuses on Scotland and Wales and illuminates “a continuing struggle to mark the distinction between these regional nations and England, as well as to determine just what it was that made Britain a national community” (p. 236). She also examines the cultural divides between urban and rural Britons. This chapter demonstrates how rural England became the essence of wartime Britain in a variety of media, and Rose makes particularly interesting use of BBC archives in this chapter to show how this important, unifying voice sought to represent the concerns of rural inhabitants as well as those in Scotland and Wales.

Perhaps most impressively, Rose thoughtfully investigates the significance of racial differences in several chapters. First, she examines this by looking at reactions to the relationships between African-American soldiers and British women in her discussion of the “good time girl.” Official concern with the immoral behavior of young white British women and girls was heightened when it came to interracial sex. However, Rose also reveals concerted efforts to portray Britain as more enlightened on racial questions than America. If being British meant fundamentally preserving whiteness, it also “meant being tolerant, at least more tolerant than white Americans” (p. 262). When exploring British responses to its nonwhite colonial subjects during the war, she uncovers a conscious policy to incorporate such subjects into the “nation” and to give them a positive view of Britain. Such endeavors aimed at increasing these colonial subjects’ sense of belonging to Britain rather than wanting independence from it—efforts that, as Rose demonstrates, contained contradictory messages and had mixed success.

As should be evident from this brief summary of its findings, anyone with an interest in World War II in Britain now has another essential book to read. Rose provides a fascinating and multifaceted discussion of the contested meanings of identity in Britain during World War II that intersects with a number of timely historical discussions about the very categories of "nation" and "citizen." As such, her book will be extremely useful for students of modern Britain. It should certainly engage scholars who wish to understand better the total wars of the twentieth century and the role of such factors as class, gender, race, and nation therein.

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DAVID COLEMAN. *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492–1600*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 252. \$39.95.

David Coleman situates Granada's transformation into a Christian city within the context of sixteenth-century Spain's imperial expansion, its treatment of religious minorities, and the growth of its Counter-Reformation church. This plural perspective allows him to show persuasively how Granada's development was shaped by, yet also intriguingly shaped, these larger movements. Chapters one and two describe the social worlds of the Christian and Muslim (or Mudéjar) communities, the latter becoming nominally Christian (Morisco) after the forced conversions in 1500. Christian immigration to the city was slow, but by mid-century some 30,000 Christians resided there. While this is reminiscent of contemporary Spanish immigration to the New World, Coleman points out important differences. Women and Jewish converts to Christianity were rare in Spain's other colonies, whereas both groups comprised "highly significant elements of Granada's Christian . . . community" (p. 22). Moreover, Christian society and Morisco society shared similarities: both, for example, long remained unusually "open to penetration by newly ascendant families" (p. 35). A significant percentage of the Morisco population eventually embraced Christian beliefs, but the two communities nevertheless remained separate, not least geographically: an agreement of 1498 actually divided the city into zones. Yet the two groups also interacted extensively, as chapter three makes clear. The Christians adopted, for example, the use of henna, while the Moriscos in many ways became Castilianized.

The remaining chapters trace the emergence of the new Christian order in Granada, and here Coleman emphasizes local agency. Despite the presence of a powerful archbishopric and a royal appellate court, the local municipal council "set the tone of local politics" (p. 77). Local actors likewise shaped the Granadan church: "individuals who were most familiar with local conditions nearly always made the key decisions regarding the staffing of local church positions" (p. 85).

This local, often lay, initiative was key in the creation of the Granadan religious traditions that Coleman describes in chapter five. The most striking example is the remarkable success of the confraternity of Nuestra Señora de las Angustias in promoting devotion to their image; she became universally recognized as the patron of the city. Clerics also played important roles, but they tended to be those such as the Franciscans (and, later, Jesuits) who were most responsive to local lay initiative. Like much of the rest of Spain, Granada came under the intensive influence of the Counter Reformation. For Coleman, the key players here were also local actors who created local programs that actually came to shape church-wide reform. The Granadan preacher and converso Juan de Avila, for example, wrote treatises that, through the influence of Pedro Guerrero, the long-time archbishop of Granada, decisively influenced the Council of Trent's decrees.

Soon after Trent, relations between Christians and Moriscos in Granada degenerated to the point that Guerrero and Don Juan de Austria took the radical step of expelling most of the remaining Moriscos from the city. In his final chapter, Coleman describes how local actors continued to shape the religious culture of the now entirely Christian city. Nowhere is this more apparent, he argues, than in the surprising consequences of the discovery of the "relics" of Sacramonte. These fraudulent lead books and charred bones supposedly deriving from an ancient, Arabic-speaking Christian community in Granada were clearly the work of Morisco Christians hoping to foster a syncretistic, Arabized Christianity. Yet the local non-Morisco Christians, while believing that they were entirely authentic, ignored this unorthodox message and reconfigured them rather as miracle-working relics that validated the supposedly ancient roots of their own immigrant Christian culture.

If there is a weakness in this rich and compelling study, it is that so few non-immigrant Christian voices are heard in its pages. This is the result in part of the paucity of relevant sources. Yet more could perhaps have been done with the Sacramonte relics. We do learn about the surprising content of one page of the lead books (p. 194), but the rest of them might have been used to illuminate the vigorous local action of Morisco forgers who attempted—in their case unsuccessfully—to shape the religious culture of their city. But this reservation aside, Coleman's book is otherwise an excellent study of the dynamics of social and religious change in a city that not only rested at the real frontier between Christendom and Islam, but that he rightly locates at the conceptual frontier where the key themes of late medieval and early modern Spain intersect.

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DAVID L. GRAIZBORD. *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1580–1700*.

(Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 261. \$45.00.

Late medieval and early modern Spain was a place of shifting religious affiliation, as Christian authorities persuaded or forced first Jews and then Muslims to become Christians. Prevailing Christian ideology held that religious identity was unambiguous; a person was either a Christian, a Jew, or a Muslim, with no states in between possible. Descendants of Jewish converts to Christianity, however, called conversos or New Christians, seemed to challenge the clarity of religious categories.

This book focuses on conversos in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. David L. Graizbord is concerned particularly with Spanish and Portuguese converso families who emigrated to southern France or other destinations but later returned to Spain. Most of those emigrant families attached themselves to Jewish communities in their host country and began following Jewish practices. Because they retained business connections in Spain, many individuals—usually male—periodically returned there, often remaining for long periods. Some were apprehended by the Inquisition and tried as Judaizers; under pressure from the inquisitors, they often agreed to renounce Jewish practices and return to normative Catholicism. Graizbord's main question is how those conversos experienced their change of identity from Christian to Jewish and back to Christian.

The strength of this very fine book is the balance the author strikes between examining specific and often colorful cases of conversos whom the Inquisition tried and drawing general themes from those cases. One theme is the anxiety-generating inconsistency of early modern religious ideology. The Inquisition was founded on the premise that people had a single religious identity. If a person were Christian, and therefore under the Inquisition's jurisdiction, he or she was either a conforming Christian or a heretic. The inquisitors could tell the difference through careful questioning about the subject's practices and beliefs. In the case of someone found to be a heretic, the Inquisition's job was done when the subject repented of his or her wrong belief and behavior, whether voluntarily or under torture, and agreed to follow normative Christianity. In fact, Graizbord argues, the inquisitors' attitude toward conversos was more complex and conflicted. By the late Middle Ages, many Old Christians (Christians not of Jewish ancestry) in Spain had embraced the ideology of *limpieza de sangre*, or cleanliness of blood, which held that Judaism was an inherited taint that could not be fully eliminated by baptism. In popular opinion, conversos, no matter how long ago their families became Christian, were the same as Jews. While officials of the Inquisition were not so quick to equate New Christians with Jews, they did regard them as having in-bred characteristics making them prone to heresy. The concept of heresy as a heritable trait is clearly not compatible with the Inqui-

sition's alleged belief in people's ability to choose a religious identity.

Graizbord also criticizes modern scholars' assumptions about religious identity in the premodern world, implying that they are not much more sophisticated than those of the Inquisition. We want to know what the inquisitors wanted to know: were their subjects "really" Jewish or "really" Christian? That question, argues Graizbord, assumes that each human being has a single, unalterable self, and shows an insufficient understanding of how premodern religious identity worked. The New Christians Graizbord describes were low-level traders, often poor or even destitute by the time they arrived in southern France or elsewhere in the Sephardic diaspora. Some had lived in Spain as Catholics with little or no awareness that their ancestors were Jews. Others had preserved a few rudimentary Jewish practices. In their new homes, Jewish communities took them in and pressured them to live as Jews. When converso men returned to Spain they lived in Christian communities, to which they adapted in the same way they had adapted to living among Jews. Those who were arrested by the Inquisition and renounced their "Judaizing" tendencies of course did so under extreme pressure; in most cases, however, Graizbord describes the penitents not as people who simply lied to the inquisitors to avoid severe punishment but as individuals who reconstructed the narrative of their lives and their understanding of self under social pressure, just as they had under the influence of Jewish communities elsewhere.

The particular strength of this study is its sophisticated analysis of religious identity. Graizbord makes us reexamine not only early modern assumptions on the subject but our own.

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FRANCISCO FAJARDO SPÍNOLA. *Las víctimas del Santo Oficio: Tres siglos de actividad de la Inquisición de Canarias*. Foreword by JOSEPH PÉREZ. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia. 2003. Pp. 374.

Francisco Fajardo Spínola's work admirably fills a gap in the history of Spain's "peculiar institution" by sketching one of its smallest but most exotic branches. Located just off the coast of subtropical West Africa, the Canary Islands held barely fifty thousand people, but their strategic location ensured that the Spanish Inquisition would arrive here by 1505. Its abundant but disordered records have mostly remained undisturbed; no competent local historian sifted them properly or placed them within the general history of the institution that created them. Through meticulous research, Fajardo Spínola has located 2,319 Canariot inquisitorial investigations between 1506 and 1820; 1,774 of them fall between 1540 and 1700, almost tripling the previous known base of 646 Canariot inquisitorial

trials for the period and placing this tribunal among the most active in the Spanish system on a per capita basis. However, it was not bloodthirsty: the Canaries saw no major *autos de fe* after 1597, and only ten people were ever executed.

Then as now, the Canaries were full of immigrants, who comprised almost half of these victims, including nearly all of the most interesting as well as the most severely punished among them. The seven "Judaizers" burned in 1526 were relatives or friends of Alvar González, a wealthy Portuguese "New Christian" who had resided in the Canaries for over twenty years; the first "Lutheran" was a German planter, Jakob Grüneberg (Jácome de Monteverde), whose arrest in 1527 resembled a Western shootout (pp. 271). Almost a hundred Muslims, primarily Berber slaves who escaped to Africa, were burned in effigy, compared with only nine fugitive foreign Protestants and no Portuguese "New Christians" (p. 118). Between 1587 and 1614, an Englishman and two Dutchmen were burned for "Lutheranism." But the most remarkable Canariot Protestant was undoubtedly Hans Aventroot, a Dutchman who married the widow of Grüneberg's son in 1589 and retired to the Netherlands twenty years later. Aventroot sent his nephew to Spain to convert Philip III to Calvinism in 1615, then tried to inundate Spain with Protestant pamphlets, and finally went to Madrid himself in 1632 to convert Philip IV (pp. 137–38). It seems fitting that the first Freemason ever arrested by the Spanish Inquisition, an Irishman who had joined a lodge in New England, was caught here in 1739 (p. 180).

In 1992, Fajardo Spínola mined local inquisitorial sources to produce a useful book about Canariot magic and superstition (*Hechicería y brujería en Canarias en la Edad Moderna*), and he returns to the topic here in a meaty chapter (pp. 241–68). Only forty of these 368 cases involved witchcraft or *brujería* (pp. 250–59), mostly by blacks or mulattoes accused of vampirism against infants. Only ten percent of these defendants were women, but three of the five who were most heavily punished were men; fewer than five percent of them could read. A distinctive feature of Canariot witchcraft, unknown anywhere else in Europe, is that in two cases from the easternmost island in the 1570s, the devil took the shape of a camel (p. 255); camel dung was occasionally used in witches' salves for flying to their assemblies.

Fajardo Spínola found no Menocchios, no authentic local freethinkers, in the Canaries. The most daring crypto-Protestant was a well-educated *licenciado* who was burned in the 1590s, not by the Holy Office for heresy but by secular justice for homosexuality (p. 159). The outstanding local libertine was a Dominican monk severely punished for "heretical propositions" in 1697 (p. 168). Sometimes the Inquisition's so-called victims appear in a relatively benign light. For example, in the Canaries it converted many more foreign Protestants voluntarily to Catholicism (325) than it punished (192). And its lists of denunciations enable

the author to sketch a remarkable case of sixteenth-century social ascension by a Morisco, born in the Canaries to African parents who ended as ranchers and slaveholders. The son began trading with the Low Countries, but after the Canariot Holy Office indicted him for perjury when he denounced his Flemish partner for Protestantism, he fled to Mexico; their final notice of him came from Peru in 1578, where he was prospering in the silver capital of Potosí (pp. 277–78).

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FRANÇOISE CRÉMOUX. *Pèlerinages et miracles à Guadalupe au XVI^e siècle*. (Bibliothèque de La Casa de Velázquez, number 17.) Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 2001. Pp. 252. €27.00.

Nestled in a mountain valley in western Spain, the Hieronymite monastery of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe was the favorite destination of the peripatetic royal couple, Ferdinand and Isabella. They, like previous monarchs, showered privileges upon the sanctuary, founded only at the beginning of the fourteenth century. How the obscure shrine gained the attention of the monarchy and became a powerful Hieronymite monastery has been treated elsewhere. In this history typical of the older *Annaliste* school, Françoise Crémoux evaluates the popular cult that was associated with the Virgin of Guadalupe. Her source is a series of miracle registers maintained by the friars. These she mines systematically for information that can be gleaned using straightforward statistical analysis and description.

In many shrines across Europe, it was normal to record the miracles that were associated with the local cult. In legal-minded Spain, miracles were logged by a notary with witnesses. Guadalupe preserves a total of nine books that date from 1403 to 1722. Their sole purpose was to record miracles, either ones that took place at the sanctuary or the *ex votos* of grateful pilgrims. The first difficulty we encounter with the source is the "satisfied customer syndrome": the only voices heard belong to those who called on the Virgin, got what they asked for, and then betook themselves to Guadalupe to register their thanks. Sources often have these biases. However, a second limitation was imposed by Crémoux herself. With no explanation for doing so, the author limited her study to miracles that fell between 1510 and 1599, a total of 747 cases. Within this century, a great deal of variety may be observed; one wonders what lay behind the decision to exclude the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, and what was lost by the exclusion.

The study is divided in two parts. The Virgin of Guadalupe was known to protect the faithful against shipwrecks and other maritime perils, help in rescuing captives from the Moors, and cure illness (even reversing death). In part one, after describing the origins of the cult, the various legends and works of literature

surrounding it, and the shrine's privileges, Crémoux introduces the miracle logs. Chapter three presents the sociological data of the pilgrims: ninety percent of them came from the Iberian peninsula, and the remainder came from Europe (forty-one), Africa (eleven), and America (seven). Not only was the cult of Guadalupe overwhelmingly Iberian, it was really only Castilian and, to a lesser extent, Portuguese. This is a huge difference from Santiago de Compostela, whose medieval cult appealed to pilgrims from all over Europe. The popularity of Guadalupe's cult was not by any means unchanging: forty percent of miracles during the sixteenth century were recorded just between 1510–1524; and eighty-five percent of all miracles fell between 1510–1560. Here, however, we run into difficulties, as there are two factors at play: what the people regarded as miracles worthy of thanks, and what the friars and an increasingly skeptical church took to be miracles worthy of the name. Such questions might have been resolved by further analysis, but Crémoux chose not to try to untangle them.

Part two offers more specific information about the pilgrims themselves and their miraculous cures. We learn about their social backgrounds (mostly unknown, otherwise rural), gender (mostly male), how they travelled to Guadalupe (on foot), and whether they came alone or in groups. Half of the *ex votos* were for illnesses cured by the Virgin (including a surprising number of revived dead infants), thirty percent came because supplicants had received protection and assistance after calling upon the Virgin, and eighteen percent were thankful for their deliverance from Moorish captivity. Today, we associate some of the Marian shrines— Lourdes comes to mind—with miraculous cures effected on the spot. If pilgrims came to Guadalupe in the sixteenth century for a cure, few were satisfied, as only seven percent of the 747 recorded miracles took place at the shrine itself.

In this day and age, it is surprising to read a work of history that so uncritically embraces empirical data, simply derived and discussed. That being the case, however, Crémoux fails to work her data completely. Much more could be done to examine the chronological evolution of types of pilgrims and miracles, and even to track the geographic origins of the cases. Nevertheless, those interested in the basic facts of pilgrims and miracles at a Spanish shrine will find much here to satisfy their curiosity.

SARA T. NALLE

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PIETER SPIERENBURG. *Written in Blood: Fatal Attraction in Enlightenment Amsterdam*. (History of Crime and Criminal Justice Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 230. \$39.95.

Pieter Spierenburg's substantial body of work on the social and cultural history of early modern Europe entitles him to this modest excursion into microhistory. While showing signs that this genre is outside his usual

purview, the book offers some intriguing views of how broad cultural changes could be embodied in the experience of individuals who departed dramatically from societal norms.

Focusing on two crimes of passion from eighteenth-century Amsterdam, Spierenburg links them under the rubric of "fatal attraction." This modern reference draws attention to the book's central historical theme: the changing valuation of emotion, particularly romantic love. Spierenburg offers a well-drawn sketch of the cultural milieu in the Amsterdam of the 1760s and 1770s. Considering a wide range of developments from the emergence of Enlightenment ideas to shifting concepts of sex and gender, he focuses especially on the more positive assessment of emotion in general, and the increasing emphasis on expressing emotive intimacy in marriage and family life. Taken together, the changes marked a "revolution in love," demanding of couples not just a simple filling of compatible roles, but a new devotion and togetherness. Spierenburg sees his cases as reflecting "the darker side of the new sensibility" (p. 13).

Of his two cases, the first involves a plot by adulterous lovers to kill an inconvenient wife, the second the apparently unplanned killing of a woman by her obsessed and rejected lover. The crimes generated both extensive archival documentation and intense public attention. Spierenburg reconstructs each case through meticulous research on all the parties involved as well as the legal process. He takes special care to place the players in social context, including the kinds of values and relationships that would have shaped and constrained their actions. Both cases involved people who moved at the margins of respectable society, in a world of prostitution and itinerant pairings. Yet both represented clashes of emotion that crossed the boundary between this milieu and the mainstream of settled households where passions were properly controlled.

Although Spierenburg is tireless in the pursuit of historical detail, his combination of microhistorical narrative with social and cultural analysis is not entirely successful. He is strongest in discussions of social background, drawing on his extensive knowledge of early modern social history. Even here, the book would benefit from greater sensitivity to issues of gender. For example, the low proportion of Jewish women in prostitution should surely be attributed not simply to the "tighter control of Jewish men over their women" but to a stronger system of familial and community control over youth, in which both sexes participated (p. 15). In the storytelling segments, the minutely excavated factual detail tends to clash with attempts at imaginative reconstruction that are not always clearly identified. Speculations about his subjects' inner life (always, of course, a risky business) can leave the reader dissatisfied. One example is the sometimes mechanistic treatment of emotional attachment, seen as a function of the lover's physical description (pp. 28, 49). The reading of literary sources also calls for a more nuanced approach. One work in particular, on

the prostitute-victim in the second murder, is much more satirical than Spierenburg realizes, for instance in its praise of her sobriety: she only drank to excess when offered a lot of liquor by her customers (pp. 143, 173). At times, the ascription of particular behaviors to a "revolution in love" seems incompletely analyzed; after all, men sometimes ran off with unsuitable women in premodern times, too.

Despite these reservations, Spierenburg creates a detailed social portrait and draws some appealing connections between broad changes in sensibility and the eruption of violent conflicts over love relationships. Especially telling is the juxtaposition of the new romantic style expressed by, say, the lover who wrote an impassioned plea to his mistress with his own blood, and the traditional moralistic language of whoredom that warned men against female wiles. Spierenburg shows how the old values coexisted with the new and emerged especially when crime roused a need for condemnation of emotional deviance. This book will be of interest to cultural and social historians concerned with the history of sexuality, emotion, and crime.

JOY WILTENBURG
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MICHEL ANTOINE. *Le coeur de l'État: Surintendance, contrôle général et intendances des finances 1552-1791*. Paris: Fayard. 2003. Pp. 592. €28.00.

Pomponne de Bellièvre, a former superintendent of finances, refused Henry IV's 1594 offer to resume that post. "You esteem me worthy of the most burdensome position in the kingdom, in which I shipwrecked, escaping from the sea with nought but my shirt. . . . I do not know a single man in France who could carry out the task" (p. 131). The next two centuries bore out Bellièvre's assessment of the job's difficulty.

Michel Antoine has taken up the challenge of creating an "organizational chart" (p. 10) of the French central financial administration (CFA): controller general, intendants of finance (IF), the occasional superintendents of finance, other financial officials of the King's Council, and their support personnel. He provides a staggering array of raw data, clearing "the ground to permit others later to carry out deeper plowing and to obtain richer harvests" (p. 10). In most respects, Antoine amply fulfills both tasks; despite two glaring flaws, his book is essential reading on the French state.

The CFA had three fundamental characteristics: its integration into the King's Council; its collective nature; and the usual preference for men holding a "commission" from the king, and thus revocable at will, rather than venal officers. In practice, when it suited the king, he would abolish the venality of the office, so no one was really beyond removal. Moreover, many of those who served by commission also held the venal office of master of requests.

The controller general and IF dated from 1552,

when Henry II continued the financial reforms begun by his father, Francis I, in the 1520s. These officials acted together to set royal budgets, anticipating state expenses and revenues, finding emergency funds (even borrowing them in the r "own names"), and overseeing the creation and sale of new offices. Their third attribute—the distinct on between holders of commissions and owners of offices—alternated over time, especially with respect to the IF, venal from 1690 to 1777. The king experimented with a venal controller general in the 1570s, abolished the office in 1577, and then restored a controller general named by commission in 1596. The controller general combined the attributes of a minister of finance and a minister of the economy, but he held an easily revocable position, whereas, after 1690, his six chief collaborators, the IF, did not. The distinction became important after 1754 because Louis XV changed controllers general eight times in twenty years giving the long-serving IF an enormous institutional advantage. In 1777, Louis XVI abolished these offices, recreating similar positions a few years later, this time by commission.

The size of the group varied sharply over time. The duke of Sully, head of finances from 1597 to 1610, and the only individual to run budget surpluses, had only one controller general and two IFs, a streamlined administration that ensured effective cooperation and focus. The administration grew steadily larger: in the eighteenth century, the six IFs, each of whom took responsibility for a different aspect of finances (tax farms, direct taxes, etc.), probably employed 900 people in the 1720s (p. 472–75). Antoine concludes that, in the eighteenth century, "the supreme administration of finances employed all by itself as many personnel as all of the [four] ministries" (p. 502).

Antoine's evidence clearly demonstrates the close interaction between politics and central finance, above all the relationship between the attributes of a given position and the individual holding it. In order to put a new man in charge of all or part of his finances, the king regularly restructured the CFA, a process that began in the 1550s and continued until the end. When Jacques Necker came to power in the late 1770s, he convinced the king to abolish the six offices of IF and to make their chief clerks the heads of the branches of the administration, reporting to him. Necker never understood the collective nature of the financial administration, a factor that undermined his reform efforts.

Antoine's best illustration of the politics of personality, and its role in undermining reform, comes from the late reign of Louis XV. The king gave (1767) the intendant Lefevre d'Ormesson, already in charge of direct taxes, authority over all preliminary estimates of revenue and expense (*états du roi*). The king and d'Ormesson reduced the number of such estimates from 144 to eight, cleaning up many abuses. D'Ormesson's five colleagues, annoyed at his expanded influence, worked ceaselessly to change the king's mind: Louis went back to the old system in 1771.

Antoine offers two-and-a-half centuries worth of similar examples.

Alas, Antoine's book has two major flaws: he completely ignores Anglophone scholars, from Richard Bonney to James Riley to Robert Harris; and he fails to engage seriously some French scholarship, such as the recent works of Joël Félix (on controller general L'Averdy) and Mireille Touzéry. Ignoring Bonney's splendid book on Jean-Roland Malet, by far the most important scholarly work on any chief financial clerk of the CFA, does a disservice to readers. That said, one can only praise Antoine's willingness to ignore the advice of Jean de Morvilliers, who wrote in 1576 that "no one dares to put his nose into the depth of finances, so greatly do all fear the evil that lies therein" (p. 85).

JAMES B. COLLINS
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NICOLAS SCHAPIRA. *Un professionnel des lettres au XVII^e siècle: Valentin Conrart: Une histoire sociale.* (Epoque.) Seyssel: Editions Champ Vallon. 2003. Pp. 508. €30.00.

Valentin Conrart (1603–1675) was a professional man of letters at a time when neither the term nor the occupation existed. Nicolas Schapira investigates what this meant by looking at Conrart's working life and career, making this a specifically focused biography. Conrart was born into a Protestant family of wholesale textile merchants at Valenciennes. He did not receive a literary education because his father wanted him to enter the family business, but after his father's death in 1624, he bought the office of royal secretary, which he exercised for more than thirty years, and became active in the world of letters. Royal secretaries drafted administrative and legal documents under the chancellor's supervision, and after 1630, Conrart issued the *privileges de librairie*, royal letters patent allowing designated bookshop publishers to have a monopoly on printing and selling books for a specified period of time. A less frequently issued license allowed some writers to publish all their works. Signed by the chancellor, these privileges were drafted by the royal secretaries after obtaining the censors' approval, and allowed the crown to monitor and control what bookshops printed and sold. Conrart, therefore, played an important role in the royal censorship of contemporary book publishing.

During his years in office, Conrart gathered around himself a circle of friends who were writers, including Jean Chapelain, Antoine Godeau, the Abbé Boisrobert, and Jean Gombauld, among others, and through them he met Cardinal Richelieu, whose client he became. In 1635, Conrart drafted the royal letters establishing the Académie française, and Richelieu named him as its first secretary. Conrart was well known in Parisian salons, and he was a prominent member of the Protestant community at Charenton.

He used his position and influence to help numerous writers obtain publication, acting as an intermediary

between authors and publishers. Conrart did what modern literary agents do, that is, he helped authors to find publishers and editors to decide what to publish. In addition, he corrected and revised texts and helped to establish writers' reputations. As a result, a number of works were dedicated to him. He also performed other important services for writers. He introduced them into salon society and Parisian literary circles, found them aristocratic patrons willing to offer financial support, gave them small sums of money and gifts, fed them, lent them books, and encouraged them whenever he could. He was especially helpful to fellow Protestants, who found it difficult to get their work published. He found them Dutch publishers, and was responsible for the publication of the memoirs of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay. Conrart himself did not become a well-known author, and he actually published very little. His main project was assembling numerous collections of documents, although he did publish his memoirs and a history of the Fronde. His reputation as a man of letters rested upon his groundbreaking activities in facilitating writing and publishing, and making these occupations easier to pursue in mid-seventeenth-century Paris.

I found this book fascinating. Schapira makes Conrart and his milieu come alive. The book is well written, original, and stimulating, and it illuminates a neglected corner of the Parisian publishing world. I especially enjoyed the chapters on Conrart as a distributor of privileges and as a royal secretary. The author's analytical argument is lucid, clear, and easy to follow, and is based on thorough, meticulous archival research. This book develops recent work by Christian Jouhaud, Alain Viala, Henri-Jean Martin, and Roger Chartier and is highly recommended to anyone interested in seventeenth-century France.

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RONALD SCHECHTER. *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715–1815.* (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 49.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 331. \$60.00.

In this book, Ronald Schechter examines the image and self-image of Jews in France during the eighteenth century and through the Napoleonic era. He asks why this tiny group, representing a small fraction of one percent of the entire population of France, concentrated in only a few areas, and devoid of all power, commanded as much attention as it received. Schechter's questions have been asked before. His answers, despite his preference for couching them in terminology borrowed from structuralism and new cultural history, do not differ significantly from earlier ones: the Jew is the consummate "other," whose case permits necessary reflection on significant philosophi-

cal questions about the perfectibility of man and his transformation into the new citizen.

What is new in the present research is the more precise quantitative data Schechter has derived from recently available computerized databases. He compares, for example, the incidence of interest in Jews and Basques, both considered foreign national groups on French soil, as measured by references to them in the material digitized by the Project for American and French Research on the Treasure of the French Language (ARTFL). Although far more numerous, Basques were mentioned only once for every seventy references to Jews, who appear 2,352 times in a 474-volume sampling of eighteenth-century books. The *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert contains 2,360 references to Jews, and the number would be even larger if it included the mentions of Hebrews (1,516) and Israelites (224). Looked at another way, variants of the term "Jew" were present in 869 articles, or one out of every seven and a half pages of the 18,000-page publication. In comparison, references to the English appear scarcely more frequently, 2,598 times, and there are only ninety-four mentions of Basques. A similar search of a digitized form of Voltaire's works demonstrated that, despite his known Anglophilia, Voltaire's references to Jews (4,394) were nearly twice as frequent as his mention of the English.

A second important contribution of this volume is its discussion of self-representation by Jews in Hebrew and Judeo-German documents produced for communal use and in French-language material destined for a wider audience. Schechter compares the two types of writings in a search for clues to the internalization of French values by the Jewish community's leadership. He reaches the same conclusion suggested nearly twenty years earlier by Jean-Marc Chouraqui (whose work, curiously, is not cited): that the rabbis began early to assimilate the new French values into Judaism, rather than assimilate Judaism into France (see "Le Corps rabbinique en France et sa prédication: Problèmes et desseins (1808–1905)," in *Histoire, économie, et société*, 3: 2 [1984], and "The Influence of Modernity and the Ideology of Emancipation on the Discourse of the French Rabbis," in *Social Compass* 44: 2 [June 1997]).

Regrettably, Schechter's omission of relevant previous scholarship is not limited to a unique occurrence. Some of the many oversights include Charles C. Lehmann, *The Jewish Element in French Literature* (1961); François Delpêche (two major articles of 1974 and 1979, collected in his posthumous publication, *Sur les Juifs* [1983]); and Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Antisemitism, 1700–1933* (1980).

This book would have us believe that the corpus of historiography on Jews in the modern world suffers overwhelmingly from the use of teleological explanation. Although Schechter specifically criticizes only a few historians by name, he repeatedly blames unspecified Jewish historians as a group for this methodolog-

ical failure. Schechter claims that virtually all other historians have construed modern history by beginning with the Holocaust and reading backward to find its inevitability in the Enlightenment. The list of names he proffers in support of his argument, however, demonstrates that he fails to distinguish historians from literary figures, sociologists, and philosophers.

The author's proposed remedy for the epidemic of teleology that he has diagnosed is that we follow his supposed example and "forget" everything we ever knew about French Jews after 1815. The present reader, at least, finds this conceit irritating if not disingenuous. Few historians will need to be reminded that a search of the past for its ability to shed light on the present or on a more recent past is not tantamount to subscribing to a philosophy of predetermination.

Two named practicing historians labeled by Schechter as indulging in "teleology" are Robert Anchel and Arthur Hertzberg. The criticism of Anchel derives from that historian's negative evaluation of Napoleon Bonaparte's Jewish measures. Schechter reserves the brunt of his attack for Hertzberg, whose views he distorts both by oversimplification and by a suggestion that they derive from the author's Zionist perspective. It is unclear, furthermore, why Hertzberg is singled out at great length for having developed a critique that was not original with him, when there were other potential Zionist targets. Jacob Talmon, for example, is not even mentioned as the historian who earlier laid the groundwork for a critique of modernity in *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (1952).

The uninitiated reader of this book will not learn of the large corpus of historical works that deal responsibly with intelligently formulated questions regarding France, Jews, and antisemitism, and may emerge with the mistaken impression that a generation of historians has asked a single simplistic question about the Enlightenment: was it good for the Jews or bad for the Jews? Even worse, Schechter would have his reader believe that these historians employed a teleological approach in answering the question in the negative. Ultimately, it is the arrogant and sarcastic tone that irks the most in a work of scholarship. Unlike the straw men he has constructed, Schechter claims to treat the topic "in such a way that it is not reduced to an origin of phenomena that would manifest their true meaning later, at some future dusk when the Owl of Minerva would spread her historiographical wings" (p. 4).

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PAUL R. HANSON. *The Jacobin Republic under Fire: The Federalist Revolt in the French Revolution*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 262. \$49.95.

Paul R. Hanson has been working on provincial politics in the French Revolution for the past couple of decades and his earlier book examined the contrasting trajectories of Caen and Limoges between 1789 and

1794. Unlike Limoges, Caen participated in the so-called federalist revolt of 1793 and is now included in a broader study of these abortive urban uprisings against Paris, where the Jacobins (or rather Montagnards) had just seized power by removing their political rivals from the National Convention. Much has been written about the great provincial cities of revolutionary France in recent years, notably by scholars such as Alan Forrest, Bill Edmonds, and William Scott on Bordeaux, Lyon, and Marseille, respectively, which, together with Caen, constitute the focal points of Hanson's analysis. Several articles have been devoted to federalism in general, and a symposium to mark the bicentenary of the revolt was convened in 1993, suitably at Marseille. Yet, not since Henri Wallon's two-volume work was published at the end of the nineteenth century has an extensive overview been attempted.

We should, therefore, be grateful to Hanson for taking up the challenge and producing an accessible and thought-provoking interpretation. As befits a study conducted since political culture took over from class struggle as the historian's preferred engine of upheaval, he highlights the ideological tensions that divided republicans so deeply. As Hanson suggests, after the fall of the monarchy and the extension of the franchise to virtually all adult males in the summer of 1792, the vexed issue of sovereignty became still more bitterly contested. Who were the people, and how was their authority to be represented? The hegemony of Paris over France was already a cause of grave concern, even among provincial Jacobins (although Hanson tends to discount the arguments of Wallon and some contemporary commentators that a "Jacobin" form of federalism existed, both before and after the revolt of 1793), until the expulsion of Girondin deputies from the Convention strained relations beyond breaking point.

Of course, as a seasoned scholar of local politics, Hanson is well aware that the federalist revolt (arguably a misnomer imposed by its adversaries, though he finds alternatives unsatisfactory) was much more than a simple reaction to events in Paris. As he emphasizes, anti-Jacobinism was in the ascendant in his quartet of rebellious cities even before events in the capital rendered conflict likely (but not inevitable, as he rightly insists, for there was widespread confusion in the chaotic circumstances of 1793). Yet variations between his selected sites might have been stressed to a greater degree; the backlash was much more severe at Lyon and Marseille than at Bordeaux and Caen. The difference partly resides in the degree of power exercised by local radicals. At Lyon and Marseille they had made substantial inroads into the administration, even before municipal elections at the turn of 1792–1793 consolidated their authority. In these locations, unlike Caen and Bordeaux, Jacobin clubs effectively mobilized their supporters and intimidated opponents. The use to which their domination was put, however, provoked a reaction from the *honnêtes gens*, who used

the sections, or neighborhood assemblies, as an alternative means of rallying moderate opinion and putting more conservative (and generally more wealthy) elements back into office in the spring of 1793. The anti-Jacobin resurgence in these two cities bore a sharper social character than Hanson allows. The political situation had evolved in a less volatile fashion at Bordeaux and Caen, where developments in national politics made a stronger impact, generating greater unanimity among the populace against Parisian radicalism and the much-detested representatives on mission. In all four cases, however, the federalists' plan to march on the capital was poorly coordinated and the revolts were rapidly isolated. The consequences were nonetheless severe, especially at Lyon, which held out until October. The book ends with the Terror, which claimed a tenth of its victims in the rebel towns.

Hanson's interpretive synthesis, a careful mixture of narrative and thematic chapters, will be appreciated by nonspecialists. He sets the scene in the Convention, before turning to the provinces to examine the federalist program and its local context. Drawing on his own research in municipal and departmental repositories, as well as the Archives Nationales, he deploys contemporary quotation and individual experience rather than impersonal statistics. There are fine maps of the four cities and their sections, although the outline of France displaying departmental alignments following the expulsion of the Girondins omits the Var from the list of resolute opponents of Paris. Indeed, the town of Toulon has been deliberately excluded from this account, although few scholars would leave out Toulon on the grounds that its revolt was "more royalist than federalist." Until the unexpected occupation by the British fleet at the end of August 1793, the Toulonnais rebellion resembled those in other cities. The Marseillais were making similar overtures to the British, while elsewhere more reactionary elements began to influence the revolt when aristocratic officers became involved in military operations. This reluctance to disentangle different aspects of federalism ignores a fruitful distinction between anti- and counterrevolutionary strands of resistance to the Revolution. The example of Toulon would have reinforced rather than detracted from Hanson's analysis; while it would have made his admirably concise survey somewhat longer, it would surely have rendered it richer and still more satisfying.

MALCOLM CROOK
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WOLFGANG KRUSE. *Die Erfindung des modernen Militarismus: Krieg, Militär und bürgerliche Gesellschaft im politischen Diskurs der Französischen Revolution 1789–1799*. (Pariser Historische Studien, number 62.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2003. Pp. 398.

Despite the plethora of military histories of French revolutionary warfare, there have been relatively few

attempts to study what might be called the “political culture of war” in this period. What ideas and languages shaped French attitudes and approaches toward war during the revolutionary decade? How did they evolve as France entered into what Timothy Blanning has called the “total war” of the 1790s and eventually succumbed to something approaching a military dictatorship? Despite many suggestive ideas in works by Blanning, and by the dean of revolutionary military history, Jean-Paul Bertaud, there has been no convincing work of synthesis on this important topic. The French historian Marc Belissa, a student of Bertaud, has come closest in *Fraternité universelle et intérêt national (1713–1795): Les cosmopolitiques du droit des gens* (1998). But Belissa concentrates on the “cosmopolitical” idea of creating a “civil society of nations” that he associates above all with Maximilien Robespierre, and he leaves to the side many other aspects of the story.

Now Wolfgang Kruse attempts to provide a true synthesis in this book, whose title translates as “The Invention of Modern Militarism: War, the Military, and Civil Society in the Political Discourse of the French Revolution 1789–99.” A self-proclaimed work of “discourse analysis,” based primarily on parliamentary debates and newspapers, the book aims to trace, chronologically, the reciprocal influences of war and revolution on one another, and the changing relationship between the military and civil society.

At the heart of the book is an intriguing argument: namely, that in the minds of the radical revolutionaries from 1789 onward, there took place a “dissolution of all boundaries between foreign and domestic politics, and between external war and civil war” (p. 107). As a result, at the start of the revolution, radicals such as Robespierre tended to see the existing, royal army as something akin to an alien occupying force and took every opportunity to weaken it, and to avoid international conflicts that might strengthen it. Still, all groups on the “left” agreed that an armed conflict would arise one day between revolutionary France and the European monarchies; they disagreed principally on the timing, and on each others’ motives (as in the debates of the winter of 1791–1792 between Jacques-Pierre Brissot and Robespierre). When war did come, the identification between it and the revolution quickly became total, with little distinction made between internal and external enemies. It was no coincidence, says Kruse (p. 365) that the declaration of the *levée en masse* came within weeks of the formal beginning of the Terror. And it was logical that when France removed the immediate threat from foreign enemies in the spring of 1794, the pursuit of internal enemies did not slacken but rather accelerated. After Thermidor, Kruse writes (here following Bertaud to a certain extent), the continuing identification of war and revolution prompted a dissolution of the boundaries between the military and civil society, making possible an imposition of the values of the former on the latter,

and ultimately enabling the dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Kruse’s book is well worth reading for these provocative and intelligent analyses. However, his totalizing thesis, which reduces the complexities of French revolutionary discussions on war to a single broad discourse, is hard to accept *in toto*. Kruse’s approach marginalizes the important universalist discourses that were expressed, for instance, in the landmark parliamentary debate on war and peace in May 1790 (notably by Robespierre, Jérôme Pétion, and Constantin-François Volney). It mostly ignores the serious revolutionary attempts to devise a new law of nations (which Belissa has analyzed in detail). The book also has distressingly little to say about the actual conduct of war. For instance, even a brief comparison between the scorched earth policies of the Jacobin government in the Vendée (a subject Kruse barely mentions) and the comportment of its armed forces against Austria and England would show that, in practice, the revolutionaries recognized quite well the difference between internal and external enemies. True, England in particular was repeatedly threatened with extermination, and the Convention even stipulated that no English prisoners should be taken alive. But, unlike in the Vendée, this rhetoric never led to exterminatory action.

The book is also plagued by what strikes me as somewhat incoherent politics. Kruse’s notion that the revolutionaries rigidly divided the entire universe into friends and enemies, making little distinction between French and foreigners as they did so, would seem to reinforce the late François Furet’s ideas about the pathologically ideological nature of revolutionary politics. But, as if to avoid being taken for a Furetian, Kruse keeps insisting that the Revolutionary perceptions were correct: the army was a hotbed of counter-revolution, the foreign powers were conspiring against France, etc. Kruse therefore sometimes leaves the reader uncertain as to whether he is merely describing a revolutionary mentality, or justifying it.

Finally, and unfortunately, the book reads as if it were written in far too much of a hurry. Kruse has apparently not encountered the studies of David Bien, Jay Smith, and Rafe Blaufarb on the prerevolutionary and revolutionary French military. Nor, amazingly, does he seem to have read Belissa’s book, which covers much the same ground as he does. The fact that he refers to Belissa in another context as “Belosso” does not inspire confidence, and indeed large portions of the book appear to have been neither checked nor proofread. The seventeen-page bibliography has at least thirty errors. A report of a speech by Pierre-Victor Malouet manages to get both the page reference and the date wrong, and to misquote “d’en” as “dans” (p. 76). The names of non-German historians are routinely mangled (“Chaunou” for Chaunu, “Gilrist” for Gilchrist, “Wolloch” for Woloch). One hilarious typo, however, is not entirely Kruse’s fault. In 1790, Brissot wrote in his newspaper that the true

purpose of religion is to make men love one another. However, a careless—or mischievously Voltairean—printer substituted the word *armer* (to arm) for *aimer* (to love). Kruse dutifully reproduces the mistaken passage (p. 47).

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JULIAN WRIGHT. *The Regionalist Movement in France 1890–1914: Jean Charles-Brun and French Political Thought*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 286.

The triple legacy of royal absolutism, Jacobinism, and Bonapartism, it has often been noted, combined to make postrevolutionary France the most centralized state in modern Europe, with authority radiating out from Paris to a society divided into homogenous departments, with virtually no “intermediary bodies” between the individual and the state. Such extreme centralization has not always gone unchallenged, and Julian Wright claims that an overly “Jacobin,” Parisian-based historiography has obscured the parallel development of a federalist, “Girondin” tradition from the 1790s to the decentralizing reforms of the Fifth Republic. Rejecting the usual French association of federalism and regionalism with reaction and counter revolution, Wright argues that the regionalists of the Third Republic were neither monarchists nor proto-fascists but rather moderate republicans seeking to bring reconciliation and regeneration to a polarized French nation through the revitalization of local and regional institutions. Wright’s study examines the political thought and action of one such regionalist, the Occitan teacher, poet, and journalist Jean Charles-Brun, in the quarter-century prior to the outbreak of the Great War.

Wright is critical of the tendency of Third Republic historiography—he cites Maurice Agulhon, Herman Lebovics, and Sanford Elwitt in this regard—to present regionalism as inherently antirepublican and backward-looking in nature. While he acknowledges the role that the cult of the *petite patrie* played in the thought of blood and soil nationalists like Charles Maurras and Maurice Barrès, Wright argues that fin-de-siècle regionalism was a “politically eclectic movement” (p. xi), whose roots lay as much with the left (particularly Pierre-Joseph Proudhon) as with the right. The principal regionalist organization of the period, the Fédération Régionaliste Française (FRF), was intended by Charles-Brun, its founder and principal organizer, to be “above party politics” (p. 149), and its membership extended from the integralist right to the socialist left.

Wright is on most solid ground in his presentation of the life and work of the little-known Charles-Brun, a native of Montpellier and onetime member of the Félibrige, who entered political and intellectual life as a collaborator of Maurras, Barrès, and Edouard Drumont in the 1890s, but who would later break away

from these former colleagues to pursue an independent agenda, advancing the cause of regionalism within, rather than in opposition to, the republican tradition. Wright convincingly makes his case that Charles-Brun’s regionalism was of a different nature than that of Maurras or Barrès, as the former defended Captain Alfred Dreyfus in February 1898 and rejected the idea of a coup d’état, and that the FRF cannot be called “reactionary” or “proto-fascist” without considerable distortion.

Wright’s efforts to situate Charles-Brun’s politics are, however, far less convincing. Charles-Brun, who sought to make the FRF a large tent encompassing regionalists of all political tendencies, does appear as something of a political chameleon. Wright notes, at various points in this book, that this “outwardly . . . conservative republican” (p. 26) held a “moderate, center-left position” (p. 55), and even “occupied a certain amount of socialist ‘political space’” (p. 231). Wright refers on several occasions to Charles-Brun’s “feminism,” which, by his own account, appears to have been limited to praising the role of women in moralizing society and promoting reconciliation, and, rather illogically, asserts that Charles-Brun’s unconventional private life—he lived in an adulterous relationship with a married woman for years until she was able to obtain a divorce—was proof that “his views on gender relationships cannot be typecast as typically conservative” (p. 220). Similarly, Wright appears to overstate Charles-Brun’s rather tenuous connections to figures of the left, such as Proudhon and Charles Longuet, while downplaying his far more substantial ties to the integralist right.

The apparent key to Charles-Brun’s thought—his devout Catholicism and his indebtedness to the Ralliement and to the Social Catholics Frédéric Ozanam and Marc Sangnier—is relegated to a single chapter toward the end of the book, and Wright makes little attempt to situate Charles-Brun’s federalism within the ongoing clash between republicanism and Catholicism in the fin de siècle. Without labeling Charles-Brun a reactionary, let alone a “proto-fascist,” it is not difficult to imagine how a Catholic conservative republican might favor a federal system in which the church could maintain its traditional prerogatives within the more devout regions of France.

Wright’s assertion of the existence of a continuous Girondin tradition in French political thought is provocative and deserving of further study. Despite the flaws noted above, this is a well-researched and generally well-written survey of a neglected political and social thinker, and it should be useful to scholars of political theory, regionalism, and political Catholicism in Third Republic France.

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CHRISTOPHER E. FORTH. *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 121st Series,

number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 300. \$46.95.

In this original and exciting new book, Christopher E. Forth uses the Dreyfus Affair as a means to explore not only the contingency of manhood but also the subtle ways in which gender norms are implicated in racist imagery, class boundaries, and the construction of the intellectual in fin-de-siècle France. The book is organized thematically to demonstrate how "Jewishness" signified effeminacy in various forms pervasive in rhetoric after 1880 about the vulnerable body politic. As historians have amply documented, French commentators used the male body's susceptibility to seduction, sexual perversion, physical flabbiness, and intellectualism to symbolize threats to the nation's health and its future. As Forth demonstrates, the Dreyfus Affair mobilized much of this rhetoric both for and against Alfred Dreyfus. He analyzes how critics on both sides used intertwined narratives of gender and ethnicity not only to attack the allegedly treasonous Jewish captain but also to create a viable defense of him. Unlike most historians who have written about the affair, Forth uses this rhetoric to complicate the story that pits brave Dreyfusard defenders of republican values against anti-Dreyfusard forces who used the captain's alleged betrayal to harness popular antisemitism. In so doing, he brings forth a neglected dimension of this central episode in French history.

When analyzed from the perspective of gender, the Dreyfus Affair reveals the extent to which prejudice expressed itself in the language of tolerance and in which the preservation of "manhood" proved to be not only a rallying cry but also a specter of things to come: the redemptive vision of virility that made war appealing, the celebration of a culture of force and its paramilitary enthusiasts, and French antisemitism. Forth argues that assertions of manhood were fundamental to the identity of the new intellectuals who asserted themselves as Dreyfus's defenders. They repudiated the effeminacy they associated with Jews in antisemitic assertions: in other words, they defended Dreyfus in spite of his "Jewishness," casting his opponents in the role of the "real" Jews who embodied those effeminate characteristics that anti-Dreyfusards attributed to the captain himself. The pro-Dreyfus camp thus championed Dreyfus most dramatically in images both of the crucified Jew Dreyfus and the "crucified" gentile Emile Zola. Dreyfus was symbolically redeemed and celebrated for his manly forbearance, while Zola represents the man of action ready to sacrifice himself for his beliefs. Zola thus represents disinterested indignation that combines a manly refusal to succumb to parochial prejudice and the whims of the bloodthirsty crowd with the equally manly willingness to lay oneself on the line. Dreyfusards challenged their opponents' representations of intellectuals as unattractive, overly cerebral, effeminate, and "Jewish" with alternative images of intellectuals as sturdy and steady men who protected Truth from the

enemies of the republic. They embraced the language of physical culture then emerging, and Zola, for example, was celebrated for proving his manhood by losing weight. Needless to say, women's role in this narrative was either purely allegorical or adhered to gender norms: Dreyfus's grieving wife, and the female journalists who first and foremost wept for France.

This book demonstrates in many ways how the contingency of manhood—that is, its constant refashioning—may permit as profound a consolidation of norms as assertions that manhood is grounded in biology and thus nature. Most important, it shows how the secular republican values so celebrated and contrasted with the antisemitism and militarism of Dreyfus's opponents were themselves intertwined with normative ideas of masculinity. This normative manliness facilitated redemptive visions of violence, proto-fascism, antisemitism, and an assault on all those qualities deemed "weak," including their literal manifestation in the weak and corpulent bodies despised equally by Dreyfus's defenders and attackers. My only complaint is that this crucial argument is not really foreshadowed or clarified until the very end of the book. In short, this work demonstrates the centrality of gender to understanding the antisemitism and legacy of the Dreyfus Affair and, more ambitiously and persuasively, seeks to implicate liberal constructions of manliness in the antiliberal political formations that were to emerge most fully after the Great War.

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JEFFREY H. JACKSON. *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 266. \$21.95.

Jeffrey H. Jackson states in his acknowledgments that he was motivated to undertake the research and writing of this book because, at least at the time, so little had been written about jazz in France. This historical neglect is especially ironic in light of Jackson's central argument: that France more than England or Germany or Russia claimed jazz as its own between World Wars I and II. Pioneering accounts by Francophone jazz enthusiasts in the 1920s through 1940s, such as Robert Goffin, Hugues Panassié, Charles Delaunay, and André Hodeir, are central to Jackson's historiography. These books make up for their lack of historical perspective with their wealth of first-hand experience and vehemence of partisan enthusiasm.

The situation has changed with the publication of major scholarly studies devoted entirely or in large part to jazz in France, notably Ludovic Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du jazz en France* (1999). Tournès's book has not yet been translated, and Jackson provides Anglophones with a well-researched account of musicians associated with the Paris jazz scene such as Americans Sidney Bechet and Milton

Mezzrow, and Frenchmen Stéphane Grapelli and Django Reinhardt. Even more important, he presents a highly readable analysis of responses to jazz in France, including debates about symphonic and hot jazz, and swing and bebop, familiar in the United States as well.

Jackson has not simply written a history of jazz, its stylistic evolution, and critical reception in France. This wide-ranging book deserves an audience beyond jazz history circles and will make an impact on cultural, economic, social, and political history. As Jackson correctly states, jazz provided a pretext for discussing a variety of pressing contemporary issues. Not the least of these were the intersection of artistic and racial politics, and the confrontation between traditional and modern values, explored in other studies including Tyler Stovall's *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* (1996) as well as my own *Le Tumulte noir: Modernist Art and Popular Entertainment in Jazz Age Paris, 1900–1930* (1999).

Jackson makes an important contribution to historical studies in complicating understandings of French cultural nationalism between the two world wars. According to Jackson, Parisians and their provincial counterparts responded to African-American music with both cosmopolitan openness and xenophobic distrust. Some embraced jazz, perceived as both American and “*négre*,” in a demonstration of the republican values of “*liberté, égalité, et fraternité*.” Or, believing in “French civilization,” they sought to impose Latin aesthetic sensibilities on jazz music and lyrics. In both cases, the French appropriated the new musical idiom in the construction of their national identity, a process whose legacy continues.

Jackson is most compelling when he grounds his argument in an analysis of specific aspects of the French entertainment industry: for example, its cultural geography or political economy. In chapter three, “Jazz and the City of Paris,” he uses transformations in the nightlife of the old Montmartre and new Montparnasse as an indicator of the effect of jazz and other forms of American commercial culture in the French capital. In chapter seven, “New Bands and New Tensions,” he situates the imperative to make jazz French in context of the musicians’ union’s activist response to the devastating economic impact of American jazz bands, World War I-period entertainment taxes, and Depression-era unemployment.

Amid the growing literature on jazz in France, this book is not as groundbreaking as Jackson anticipated when he undertook his project. He was, however, able to benefit from the research and methodologies of scholars of jazz in France, whose work he acknowledges in an afterword. Jackson has gained access to previously unavailable resources, notably the collection of Hot Club founders Delaunay and Panassié. He demonstrates the value of new methodologies, in particular analysis of the economic and technological factors at work in the French jazz world. In his introduction and coda, Jackson also identifies what may be the emphasis in the next wave of historical

studies by examining the story of jazz in France as part of the globalization of culture.

JODY BLAKE

McNay Art Museum

JENS RYDSTRÖM. *Sinners and Citizens: Bestiality and Homosexuality in Sweden, 1880–1950*. (Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 416. \$20.00.

This book is a contribution to queer theory whose insights, according to Jens Rydström, should “influence the analysis of society also in a historical perspective” (p. 13). His foremost aim is to study “the gradual modernization of male same-sex sexuality” (p. 20). Using a welter of Swedish court cases and other source material from the period 1880–1950, Rydström seeks to pinpoint a change of perspective in Western society and thought “from a penetrative sodomy paradigm to a masturbatory paradigm of homosexuality” (p. 9). He takes as his point of departure the official conflation of bestiality and same-sex intercourse as it appears in Swedish law and legal thinking in the late nineteenth century, exemplified by the Swedish Penal Code of 1864. The connection between bestiality and homosexuality was strong in Sweden, perhaps due to the fact that bestiality had been unusually common in the country for centuries, at least compared to neighboring countries. It led, among other things, to the concept that the passive party in a homosexual relation was exculpated (p. 17).

Acts of “fornication against nature” had earlier been covered by the concept of “sodomy,” and Rydström decides to use the conflation of bestiality and same-sex sexuality implied in that concept as a heuristic device. This is indeed an interesting approach, and it does shed new light on “the peculiarities of modern discourse on homosexuality” (p. 9), but in my opinion the author takes it too far, or rather he gets stuck. The conflation within legal discourse gets in his way, and he understands it at the level of acts and not just at the level of perception or discourse in a particular period. Rydström even wonders why bestiality never came to be considered a sexual orientation (pp. 137, 203, 205, 323, 325), or in other words, why “Bestiality was never incorporated into modernity” (p. 78). In the same vein, Rydström makes an unconvincing attempt to argue for bestiality as some kind of counterculture among young men in the Swedish countryside (pp. 63, 77) and, conversely, has problems with the fact that bestiality was fundamentally a heterosexual activity, as almost exclusively female animals were molested (pp. 18, 60). Here it is quite clear that the author’s theoretical take is a hindrance rather than an aid to understanding.

Another problem is that Rydström does not really pursue the implications of nineteenth-century law and legal discourse. Thus, he has little interest in women who were involved in the legal concept of “fornication against nature,” despite verdicts on men who committed anal penetration against their wives (pp. 16, 29,

38–39, 113, 116, 122–123, 132). A closer study of such behavior could have revealed a few things about male sexual urges just as relevant to homosexuality as bestiality. Equally revealing would be a comparison with “regular” premarital sex, barely mentioned (p. 57), not to speak of adultery, which is never mentioned at all. There is an entire final chapter on “female same-sex sexuality” that does not fit with the rest of the book (pp. 293–315). Rydström claims that it is a “smaller but significant part of my study” (p. 9), but there really is no need for a special chapter and the extremely few court cases could have been discussed in other chapters.

That the book is burdened with conceptual flaws that disturb the reader’s understanding of social and psychological reality does not, however, decrease the value of an incredibly ambitious and demanding study that covers an overwhelming number of court cases, totaling 2,333 from all regions of Sweden, with the addition of 498 forensic psychiatric reports (pp. 19, 23). The archival research and empirical coverage is indeed impressive; Rydström has worked diligently in over twenty archives. He gives an exemplary description of the problems inherent in the use of legal sources (pp. 21–25), and some of his analyses are excellent (for instance on the conflict between doctors and lawyers in the debate on whether to change the laws on homosexuality and bestiality in the 1930s, pp. 162–165). Often he gives a keen interpretation of events, structures, and change: “What can be interpreted as increasing tolerance was rather a redefinition of the boundaries of permissible sex and a more rigid policing of transgressions” (p. 4).

The book is divided into two parts and nine chapters. The first part covers the years 1880–1920 and the second part the years 1920–1950. The first chapter of both parts discusses legislation. The division of the other chapters is governed by a dichotomy between urban and rural areas of Sweden. An example of the wisdom of that decision is the demonstration that only big cities could support a viable homosexual subculture, whereas small towns only managed to sustain what Rydström so nicely calls “a star network affair” (p. 259). This partitioning is not as successful for bestiality, since the only difference seems to be that different animals were available in Stockholm, for instance, than in farming regions. The division of the book into two periods is also a good idea and it shows well the changes in attitudes and behavior that took place, especially after 1930, although there is some repetition. Rydström has an eye for fascinating and revealing details, for instance on the influence of religious belief on men’s ideas about bestiality (pp. 203–07) and on the various techniques used by Swedish homosexuals (pp. 127–28, 133, 222–23, 258, 339). The statistical tables, however, are rather primitive and inconsistent (pp. 95, 112, 116, 121, 123, 132, 135, 201, 212, 222–23), and once in a while the text becomes a little too serious: “There are no cases of fornication with fowl in the countryside” (p. 60).

This book is an original and highly valuable contribution, as it reveals structures of sexual behavior and official thought in a crucial period. The empirical part, though, is far more useful than the theoretical ruminations, and Rydström never really demonstrates what is purported to be his main thesis: “that the sexual discourse developed from a rural penetrative paradigm toward an urban masturbatory paradigm” (p. 316). No, it does not, but fortunately the wrappings do not conceal the more interesting stories and discussions that can be used to further our understanding of human sexuality, past and present.

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ANU KOSKIVIRTA. *The Enemy Within: Homicide and Control in Eastern Finland in the Final Years of Swedish Rule 1748–1808*. (Studia Fennica; Historica, number 5.) Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. 2003. Pp. 217.

There were 198 violent deaths in two eastern provinces of Finland during the late eighteenth century. Anu Koskivirta’s book is a discussion of this violence. The author analyzes the extent and type of violence and the way it changed during the time period. She is particularly interested in the degree to which one can consider this violence as an element of control, either formal control or lack thereof from the state, or informal control from within the local community.

The book is drawn from Koskivirta’s dissertation and thus contains an extensive literature review. She relies heavily on Norbert Elias’s classic work, *The History of Manners: The Civilizing Process* (1939), for her explanations of changes in the nature and control of homicide. She subscribes to the theory that homicide was used as a mechanism for local control in a culture where central or state control was weak. Thus violent deaths continued longer in the peripheral border provinces, farthest from the central authority in Stockholm. In these distant provinces, perpetrators believed they could get away with murder, because they so often did, and so were more willing to take the risk. Although Koskivirta is well aware that murder is not always premeditated and can sometimes be the result of unintended violent passion, she writes as though murderers are usually rational and engage in some level of cost-benefit analysis before they act.

It was apparently relatively easy for murderers to avoid punishment. Strict adherence to Swedish law necessitated either a confession or two witnesses. Since there were rarely two witnesses to a murder, the accused needed only refuse to confess to be acquitted for lack of sufficient evidence. Alternatively, one could stretch out the process by means of various appeals or counter accusations. Transfer to other locales made escape easier. Finally, one could always disappear over the border into Russia. All these stratagems were commonly used. Thus one could conclude that the central state control was relatively weak. However, the

number of times in which accused murderers were sentenced to lesser charges, due to community pressure, would tend to contradict exclusive reliance on state control.

People murder for a variety of reasons, and it is rarely possible to ascribe a single cause to an individual murder. Some of the most interesting parts of Koskivirta's book are when she analyzes individual episodes and tries to understand what happened not only from an external but also an internal perspective. Most murders took place within extended families, and here any number of issues could be involved, ranging from spousal abuse, intense dislike or distrust, to arguments over property. Koskivirta claims that alcohol and easy access to firearms commonly played a role, but she does not discuss these elements further.

Interspersed through Koskivirta's text are the individual stories. These are indented and set in a smaller font as though they are direct quotations, but if they are, it is difficult to tell what the sources are. Additionally, these texts often contain conclusions and comparisons which were unlikely to have been a part of an official eighteenth-century text. For example, "a modern examination of Pellikka's state of mind . . . would lead one to suspect a mental disorder" (p. 171). This was an unfortunate editorial decision, because it leads to questions of what was in the official reports and what are modern conclusions.

Koskivirta assumes a level of general understanding of Finnish history and conditions that the general English-reading public lacks. A map of Sweden, Finland, and Russia would have helped. More explanation of historical events such as the Greater and Lesser Wraths, an explanation of the relationship among Finland, Sweden, and Russia, and a description of the prevalent agricultural technique of burn-beating would assist the reader. Particularly missing was an explanation of the differences between the Lutheran and Russian Orthodox religions and cultures. Since these two groups remained separate and apparently harbored mutual animosity, understanding these differences would have clarified some of Koskivirta's text.

There is much fascinating material here. Unfortunately, Koskivirta did not distance herself enough from her dissertation to allow the story to come through in a consistent fashion.

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DAVID HOTCHKISS PRICE. *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance: Humanism, Reformation, and the Art of Faith*. (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2003. Pp. xxii, 337. \$67.50.

"Why a new book on Albrecht Dürer?" David Hotchkiss Price asks himself in the introduction. Why another book on one of the most studied artists in the history of art? Historiography looms large over this study, particularly the shadow of Erwin Panofsky's

great two-volume work of 1943. Price's table of contents suggests that Panofsky has been his principal guide in choosing which aspects of the artist's life and work to discuss. There are moments, in fact, where the volume appears nothing more than a series of annotated footnotes to his famous predecessor's arguments. Such an impression is both accurate and misleading at the same time. While deeply indebted to what he calls the "gravitational center" (p. vii) of Dürer studies, the author has a distinctive voice and a radically new perspective from which to approach his subject. Price's book dramatically alters received opinion regarding some of Dürer's most important graphic works, and in doing so he decisively recasts our understanding of his humanism.

Price argues that Dürer scholarship suffers from a visual bias that has prevented us from appreciating the profound importance of the texts with which his images are so often associated. Those images, for example, that illustrate the books known as *The Large Passion*, *The Small Passion*, and *The Life of the Virgin* are usually described in terms of their iconography and stylistic development rather than as vehicles for the artist's own interpretation of the texts he illustrated. Price sets out to redress the primacy of the image by concentrating on the texts. Ironically enough, it is by means of texts that he seeks to rectify what he believes is a distortion in our current view of this visual artist's achievement.

By means of a detailed analysis, Price argues that the author of the texts in question, Benedictus Chelidonius, was an ambitious man of letters, and that both their formal structure and their ideological content are pervaded with the humanist values he espoused: "The humanist break with medieval poetry is instantly audible in these books owing to the shift from qualitative to quantitative metrics, abhorrence of rhyme, studied imitation of classical diction and syntax, in short, a complete conformity to classical poetics" (p. 137). In addition to modelling his poetry on classical sources, Chelidonius invested them with references to ancient mythology and history. Christian and mythological deities are, for example, referred to quite interchangeably. Religious figures, such as Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, acquire new significance as they are ascribed the powers and qualities of the gods of antiquity. Price argues that these equations only strike us as shocking and somewhat sacrilegious because we see them filtered through a post-Reformation sensibility. The easy transition from sacred to pagan that Chelidonius's attitude implies instead offers us a key to an aspect of late medieval humanist spirituality.

Price's thesis provides us with new insight into the nature of Dürer's interest in the art of antiquity. In a sensitive reading of Dürer's style, Price points out that when the artist applied the proportions of the Apollo Belvedere to his representation of Christ in, say, the flagellation, or the resurrection, he employed ancient models not merely to call attention to his own learning but as a means of ennobling the Redeemer through an

identification with Apollo. This point takes us considerably beyond Panofsky's account of Dürer's humanism, according to which his interest in the revival of antiquity was of a supremely intellectual nature. Instead of reducing Dürer's fascination with ancient culture to a concern with art theory to the exclusion of all else, his awareness of this lost civilization afforded him a new way of conceiving his own spirituality.

Price discerns a darker dimension of *The Small Passion* in what he calls its antisemitism. He argues that Dürer was especially affected by Chelidonius's text that tended to emphasize Jewish guilt for the death of Christ. In a careful discussion of the iconography, he points out the extent to which Dürer was prepared to identify Christ's tormentors as Jews. Whether Chelidonius and Dürer were particularly antisemitic is hard to determine, since the church had long held Jews responsible for Christ's death. Price's point, however, draws attention to the function of antisemitism in the arousal of penitential feeling—the equation of the behavior of the Jews of Christ's time with that of contemporaries who ignore the teaching of the Gospels—and thus offers us a way of understanding the role played by these books of Christian devotion in shaping public attitudes toward Jews.

The analysis of the texts of *The Large Passion* and *The Small Passion* is followed by a consideration of the text and image relation in *The Life of the Virgin*. As is the case in the other books, Chelidonius undertook to praise Mary in terms borrowed from classical mythology. This endeavor served to enhance the Virgin's status in ways that respond to the late medieval tendency to make her an equal of Christ. Price's claim that this desire to raise her status reflects the growing controversy surrounding the issue of her immaculate conception is possible but difficult to demonstrate. He sees visual parallels to these textual assertions of the Virgin's importance in Dürer's construction of elaborate interior spaces by means of one-point perspective, as well as the inclusion of buildings based on ancient models. In making these suggestions, Price finds imaginative new means of investing Dürer's visual forms with ideological significance.

The treatment of Chelidonius's texts and their relation to Dürer's graphic work is undoubtedly the most original contribution of Price's book. Nevertheless, even in those chapters that are more heavily indebted to Panofsky, he has important contributions to make. Briefly listed, these chapters deal with the iconography of Dürer's Apocalypse imagery, the ancient theory and practice that informs the Adam and Eve engraving of 1504, his own devotional woodcuts and poetry, the iconography of St. Jerome, and his attitude toward the Reformation. If the book demonstrates the lingering effect of Panofsky's great text, the continuing importance of iconography as an interpretative tool, it also demonstrates the consequences of art history's obsession with the image. By fully integrating a consideration of Dürer's familiarity with the texts he illustrated into a consideration of his intellectual formation, Price

offers a novel account of the nature and significance of the artist's humanism.

KEITH MOXEY

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LUTHER. Directed by Eric Till. Produced by Dennis A. Clauss. Written by Caraille Thomasson and Bart Gavigan. Germany. English and Latin. 2003; color; 113 minutes. Distributed by R. S. Entertainment Inc.

Luther is a sympathetic, big-budget portrayal of the famous sixteenth-century religious reformer. Bank-rolled by the American Fraternal Benefit Society for Lutherans, Thrivent Financial, it was filmed in Germany and Europe by Neue Film Produktion. Over two hours long and spanning twenty-three years (1507–1530), the movie follows Martin Luther's career from his conversion on the stormy road to Erfurt to the German princes' successful defense of Lutheran doctrine before Emperor Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg. With Joseph Fiennes in the leading role, Eric Till, who previously gave us the life of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, directs a cast of distinguished actors: Bruno Ganz as Luther's mentor and confidant Johannes von Staupitz, Peter Ustinov as Saxon elector Frederick III (the Wise), Alfred Molina as slick indulgence salesman Johannes Tetzel, and, most beguiling of all, Claire Cox as Katherina von Bora.

Among the Reformation's dramatis personae, one misses most the presence of painter Lucas Cranach the Elder, who pops up only momentarily to tell the Elector of Saxony that Luther can be "a bit of a donkey." His great rival, Albrecht Dürer, also on the Saxon elector's payroll, has a better cameo. It was at Cranach's house that Luther courted von Bora, then Cranach's ward, and he later stood as sole lay witness at their marriage and as godfather of their first son, a role Luther had earlier played at the birth of Cranach's youngest daughter. Over three decades Cranach shaped the popular and official image of the Reformation's message and its major players, contributing more to its success than any other member of Luther's circle.

If there is a people whose character is presumed to have been frozen in time, it is surely the Germans, and among them, only a few are more taken for granted than Martin Luther. For all of its talent and good story telling, *Luther* will not change opinions of the father of Protestantism. But there is scant indication that changing minds is the film's goal. *Luther* is an unapologetic portrayal of the man who, in spite of himself, laid the foundation stone of modern religious freedom and pluralism.

The story is factual enough and complexity is not abandoned, yet at every turn those who know their Reformation history will want to tie loose ends or tell another side of the story. "You are angry with God, not God with you," Staupitz tells a disturbed young Luther. "I [God] am yours, and you [man] are mine" is the message of divine love Luther supposedly extrap-

olated from such counsel. Yet in Luther's own description of the "happy exchange" of faith, the new believer discovers his own ineradicable sinfulness in the same moment divine righteousness is imputed to him. In this more complex message, faith is also acceptance of continuing distance from God in the very moment of oneness, *simul justus et peccator*, which Luther seems later to convey to his congregation in the film with the words: "I may deserve death, but Jesus Christ has saved me and where He is I shall also be."

In an apocryphal episode apparently conjured to show Luther to be on the side of the people, the young pastor personally digs a grave in the church cemetery and interrs a boy who, having died a suicide, had been denied burial in holy ground. Luther actually hated such credulity on the part of laity, leading them to think they might buy or earn salvation by church-sanctioned rituals, works, and associations, forgetting that faith in God's promise of salvation is one's only hope of reaching the promised land.

There are several unfortunate Eriksonian moments in which Luther rants, raves, and appears to be completely out of control. At other times, he endures both excruciating and reconciling experiences in the presence of his father: one when he spills the blood of Christ on his vestments while celebrating his first communion, the other as he wins public acclaim.

Among the old-guard politicians, each of whom becomes an enemy in the end—court secretary Georg Spalatin, papal legates Jerome Aleander and Karl von Miltz, inquisitor Cardinal Cajetan, even Staupitz—the young reformer is both tempted and threatened, as each tries to teach him, in Aleander's words, "how the political world works." Thanks to his loyal associates and a grudgingly admiring Elector of Saxony, Luther, his own best boot-strapper, survives them all, including Emperor Charles V.

Agonized by the "butchery" of the Peasants' Revolt (1525), of which he repents despite his impossible prior attempts at reconciliation, he finds the tonic of his life in his courtship of von Bora, who woos him with singing, eye-balling, and the promise to place her body between him and his enemies. Here, the movie misses an opportunity to address the civic and domestic sides of the Reformation, which are arguably more historically fateful and satisfying than the theological and religious. But true to purpose, the story stays focused on the biography of the religious reformer.

The story ends with the victory of Saxon and Hessian princes at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, where the Lutheran confession of faith survived the emperor's threats to nurture an expanding Protestant world. Ending the movie here will seem to detractors a deliberate effort to suppress the worst years of Luther's life, including those in which he wrote exposés of Judaism and condemnations of German Jews who, refusing to embrace reformed Christianity, suggested that the great reformer join their ranks instead. A more charitable interpretation of this early curtain on the story may be historical fairness and truth. The

years of struggle and success between 1507 and 1530 define the essence of Luther's historical achievement as rebel, genius, and liberator. Thereby present-day Germans and Lutherans, and others who have benefited from it, may both embrace it and decry anti-Judaic and antisemitic pasts that are no longer properly theirs.

STEVEN OZMENT
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WILLIAM W. HAGEN. *Ordinary Prussians: Brandenburg Junkers and Villagers, 1500–1840*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 679. \$100.00.

By exploring the extraordinarily rich records of the noble lordship (*Herrschaft*) of Stavenow, located in Brandenburg's Prignitz region just east of the Elbe, William W. Hagen has breathed new life into a neglected corner of German social history, and in doing so he has challenged many of the reigning generalizations about the historical experience of Brandenburg-Prussia. The result of almost two decades of study, Hagen's book has also benefitted from his association with the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft's distinguished Potsdam working group on East Elbian manorial lordship. In this work, the author carefully combines the synchronic with the diachronic and Geertzian thick description with the analytic rigor of quantitative social history. For all the claims that he advances for this study, Hagen is aware of the limitations of his method and is particularly keen to avoid the pitfalls of generalizing from a narrow source base. Still, he is not reluctant to engage in sweeping generalizations that may seem warranted by the evidence. The result is a staggeringly complex story with some profound, convincing, and even startling conclusions.

Central to that story are the evolution of "commercialized manorialism" in the East Elbian countryside and the effects of that process on the actual residents of the Stavenow lordship, especially those "subject farmers" who possessed certain property rights but were bound by forms of dependency that obliged them to perform uncompensated labor and related services. The ordinary men and women who populate Hagen's landscape are not the passive, brutally exploited subjects that one encounters, however faintly and stereotypically, in most accounts of Brandenburg-Prussian history. They were not easily cowed or manipulated by the local seigneur, by the repressive weight of generalized Junker patrimonialism, or by the representatives of an increasingly bureaucratic and absolutist state. Rather, like so many rural populations in other parts of Europe, the residents of Stavenow's several villages were jealous of their own legal rights and hereditary prerogatives and active in their collective self-defense, whether in the wake of the Thirty Years' War, during the latter years of the eighteenth century, or in the context of the complex post-1807 processes that led to the creation of small-scale agricultural freeholdings

and estate-based, capitalist farms in East Elbia. Indeed, it is the "ordinary Prussians"—the active farmers, the retired widowers and widows, the landless laborers, the domestic servants, the handicraft workers, the hunters and foresters—who appear most vividly in Hagen's pages. Conversely, the Stavenow proprietors, from the Quitzows to the Blumenthals to the Kleists and, after 1803, Otto Carl Friedrich von Voss-Buch, seem almost wraith-like and evanescent, despite their constant legal and institutional presence in the villagers' lives (and despite Hagen's fifth chapter, which is devoted to a lively discussion of the Kleists' "good fortune" in the eighteenth century). Those readers who would like a somewhat more detailed sense of the lives of landholding proprietors might additionally turn to other sources, including the series of pathbreaking volumes currently appearing under the aegis of Heinz Reif. Hagen is more interested in the ordinary Prussians of his book's title.

The book itself is organized into ten chapters, with most attention falling on the eighteenth century. Especially compelling are the author's discussions of village attitudes toward kinship and family and his treatment of villagers' responses to military service and to the presence of soldiers on the countryside. Among other things, Stavenow villagers showed few signs of that "social militarization" that has often been regarded as one of the hallmarks of Brandenburg-Prussian history. The social dynamics of the Brandenburg countryside instead need to be understood in terms of a triangular relationship involving villagers, landlords, and the state, all vying in hard-nosed ways for relative advantage. In that unending process of social bargaining, the Prussian state was not necessarily the reliable ally of Junker interests. Instead, it entered rural society "as a revolutionary force, disciplining and constraining but also enlightening and liberating" (p. 592).

There can be little doubt that the author has written an extremely important book, one that brings the history of Brandenburg-Prussia back into the European mainstream. His highly original conclusions about East Elbian society will stimulate scholarly discussion for years. Although the author writes clearly, his style lacks the evocative grace of an Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie or a Natalie Zemon Davis, and sometimes he overwhelms the reader with details that more careful editing might have excised. Still, one can hope that, despite his book's formidable size and even more formidable price, it will attract a very wide readership.

DAVID E. BARCLAY
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H. GLENN PENNY and MATTI BUNZL, editors. *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2003. Pp. 350. Cloth \$57.50, paper \$24.95.

Some twenty years ago the history of anthropology began to mature into a recognized subfield. While much work focused on Britain, France, and the United States, Germany was largely neglected. However, as the contributors to this volume show in detail, a closer look at the discipline in Germany promises interesting insights, not least because German anthropologists of the nineteenth century contributed significantly to the shaping of international anthropology. Franz Boas, for one, made their liberal tenets cornerstones of anthropology in the United States. Until recently the contributions of scientists like Rudolf Virchow or Adolf Bastian were obscured by a preoccupation with events after World War I, particularly with those of the Nazi period.

Thus, this volume ranges among those that, by expanding its frame of reference, act as a corrective to oversimplistic assessments. It presents a development of German anthropology from the nineteenth into the early twentieth century that does not fit the paradigmatic trajectory of the discipline's history elsewhere. In countries with a long tradition of colonialism, nineteenth-century anthropology tended to validate the idea of European superiority. After the turn into the twentieth century, it gradually took on a more pluralistic stance, making way for a more differentiated view of the non-European other. In contrast, the German practitioners of the science started out with a humanistic agenda, looking for answers to questions concerning all humanity. German anthropology at the time of Virchow and Bastian was a "liberal endeavor." When the discipline became pluralistic in Britain or the United States, in Germany it turned into a forum for nationalistic views, some of which foreshadowed the later complicity of German anthropologists in the crimes of the National Socialist regime. What are the reasons for this shift of German anthropology from liberal to *völkisch*, from culture to biology? Exploring different aspects of German anthropology, the contributors to this volume offer not a single answer to this important question but accounts differing from one another.

With one exception (Matti Bunzl's introspective look into the debate on German Christian and German Jewish *Völkerpsychologie*), the essays demonstrate an interest in non-European cultures that existed long before and after the country acted as a colonial power. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, culture was preeminent in German research into overseas societies. With the changes in national and international contexts, the changes in anthropology itself and the repercussions on a discipline that had begun to cater to an increasing public interest in its work, the transformation of German anthropology was well under way by the early twentieth century. As Sierra Bruckner shows, it was within a framework of bourgeois leisure activity, educational impulse, and curiosity (*Schaulust*) that commercial ethnographic exhibitions exerted an enormous influence on conceptions of the non-European other within the German public at large. Museums

such as Berlin's Museum für Völkerkunde took on a similar role within the popularization of the discipline well beyond the time of Bastian as its director, which is the time H. Glenn Penny takes as his starting point for an analysis of the discipline's transformation in the 1900s. Andrew Evans sees the German studies done in prisoner-of-war camps in World War I as the trigger for the turn of German anthropology toward race and away from culture. In consequence, human faculty became insolubly linked to biology.

Focusing on the turn of the century rather than the Weimar or Nazi period, taking into account the polycentric nature or provincialism of German anthropology, and critically appraising the results put forward by postcolonial studies, the contributors to this volume not only graphically demonstrate the need to differentiate but go a long way to provide this differentiated view themselves. Although they reveal connections between concepts in the first decade and in the third and fourth, they underline the fact that searching for precursors of Nazi ideology in turn-of-the-century anthropology only tells part of the story. Even in Germany, not to mention contemporary Europe or the Western world at large, anthropology was not a monolithic field. There were alternative paths as well, and they deserve to be studied closely.

ANGELA SCHWARZ
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PATRICIA M. MAZÓN. *Gender and the Modern Research University: The Admission of Women to German Higher Education, 1865–1914*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 297. \$65.00.

The history of women in Germany's universities has gained a prominent place in the now voluminous historiography of these influential institutions. From 1900 to 1909, after several decades of debate, women were admitted to German universities on a state-by-state basis. Patricia M. Mazón focuses on the crucial preceding decades and argues that women gained access to the universities by convincing skeptical state officials and hostile professors that admission to study in narrowly proscribed fields would not challenge but support the traditional academic and social orders. By breaching such a formidable male bastion, however, "the admission of women to higher education could not but have profoundly affected what it meant both to belong to the educated middle class as well as female identity within that class" (p. 220).

This is a valuable study, informative and well researched. The author has rescued obscure contemporary published sources that one hopes will receive further analysis. The opening chapter on "academic citizenship and masculinity" is one of the book's most intriguing. Mazón argues that the institutional and popular norms of nineteenth-century German student life were highly gendered. She supports this assertion with reference to three widely disseminated student "guides" written by German professors. The modern

university, as envisioned by neo-humanist reformers, claimed to promote the "disinterested" pursuit of knowledge to form a fully educated and independent adult male citizen. Such principles were meant to be "universal" but were in rhetoric and practice aimed exclusively at men. In every way women stood outside this community of "academic citizens."

The middle-class women's movement, of course, did not accept these premises. Mazón analyzes the ways in which activists made education reform a top priority, highlighting the contributions of Helene Lange and less well-known figures. Focusing on middle-class women, these reformers debated questions of preparation and proper fields of study, wrestling with the tensions among neo-humanist academic ideals, liberal values, and practical considerations. A consensus emerged that advocated women's admission to medicine and teaching, fields that would compromise neither female students' "nature" nor the university's masculine ethos. On a more practical level, female doctors and teachers would serve widely recognized social needs and would not compete with men.

How did state officials and the professoriate respond to these debates? Officials in the various state education ministries relented to women's formal admission by narrowing the scope of who could be admitted and what they could study. Many professors opposed women's admission on a variety of grounds. Women, so one argument went, were by nature simply unsuited for the intellectual rigors of university study. Other "rigors"—drinking, dueling, and "carousing"—were seen as essential to a young man's "education" and were clearly unsuitable for women. Fears of well-educated women competing with men fueled further objections. Mazón shows how these and other concerns were related to the various crises in imperial-era academic culture, but one issue I would have liked the author to explore is the relationship between the *Frauenstudium* debates and the turn-of-the-century *Werturteilstreit*, or debate over whether scholarship could be ever "value-free." Opponents of women's admission did not believe that women could be "true scientists" capable of expanding the boundaries of human knowledge. But Mazón points out that *Frauenstudium* advocates like Lina Morgenstern argued that women could "meet the male standard" (p. 111) and that their alleged female attributes as natural caretakers merited their admission to university study. Reformers like Morgenstern also claimed that educating female doctors would strengthen the traditional family structure by promoting health and morality among girls and women. But the author never places such debates in the broader context of the *Werturteilstreit*, which has an important gendered dimension deserving of closer attention from historians.

Mazón devotes a chapter to literary representations of the female university student. Although most accounts were not written by female students themselves, such depictions nonetheless offer insight into the anxiety-ridden world of late imperial Germany. As

revealing of the contemporary setting as these works are, the author does not prove her assertion that such literary depictions "played a crucial role" (p. 152) in the admissions debate.

Although formal admission was granted with a variety of restrictions designed to maintain the academic, social, and political status quo, the novelty of female university students opened a space for experimenting with different forms of identity and association on the part of students and the universities themselves. Mazón does a particularly good job of describing, based on autobiographical recollections, how a few of the first female graduates negotiated these new intellectual and institutional frontiers.

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THOMAS M. LEKAN. *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885–1945*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 334. \$49.95.

With this book, Thomas M. Lekan simultaneously confronts two extensive and complex questions: the construction of national identity and the history of environmental protection in Germany. While earlier historians such as Raymond H. Dominick, Anna Bramwell, Hermann Bausinger, Rolf-Peter Sieferle, and others have explored the connection between Germanness and German landscape, none has set out to do so with the focus and differentiation to be found in this book. In exploring the development of nature conservation and homeland protection groups from the peak of Wilhelmine imperialism through World War I and the Weimar Republic to the disaster of National Socialism, Lekan steers a delicate course between the dangers of apologism and knee-jerk condemnation. The problem of how to maintain the broad brush of an argument while focusing on the details of evidence in a sustainable and convincing manner is solved by using a particular, circumscribed region of Germany as the main source of the evidence. The choice of the Rhineland may in some ways be arbitrary, but it can be defended. "Father Rhine" is the repository of much of the nationalist mythmaking that characterized efforts to create a sense of belonging to a country that did not exist as a state until 1871.

The assumptions underlying the argument, while not highly theorized, are familiar: nature and landscape are fluid constructs, the understanding of which changes with context and historical circumstance. Moreover, conceptions of nature and ecology are instrumentalized for politically expedient aims; as Lekan puts it: "There is no ahistorical ecological consciousness that transcends human constructions of nature" (p. 263). The uses of nature in German history, Lekan contends, need to be interpreted in ways that go beyond the common dichotomies of urbanism versus agrarian romanticism. In the Wil-

helmine period, nature conservationists enlisted the natural world to explain the origins of Germany using unifying national symbols with an appeal that cut across all classes of society. Lekan argues that, during the Weimar period, *völkisch* nationalism was seized on as a means of driving forward the kind of cultural reform that would allow landscape preservationists to achieve their aims, some of which were surprisingly progressive. Similarly, the eagerness of nature conservationists to rally to the National Socialist banner after 1933 stemmed from political opportunism designed to bring the nature agenda to the forefront, rather than from some inherently racist element in the conservation movement.

The underlying thrust of Lekan's argument is twofold: that the middle-class groups who formed the core of the movement used the changing political climate to push their own agenda of landscape preservation, and that, in so doing, they were not harking back to some imagined golden age of agrarian romanticism but propounding a kind of "third way," an alternative modernity that promised to reconcile the demands of nature conservation with those of economic development. The faith of these nature preservationists in the rightness of their methods extended to notions of therapeutic landscaping: curing the ills of the "cultural landscape" by recreating some supposed natural ideal. Lekan's thesis is intended to supersede Jeffrey Herf's concept of "reactionary modernism," which views Nazi attempts to combine modern technology (the Autobahn) with nature protection (making roads fit the landscape and replanting native trees) as a way of combining regressive agrarian romantic tendencies with technological solutions.

How convincing is his reassessment? Although the broad developments are familiar, there are certainly enough new sources here to support Lekan's more differentiated interpretations, especially in the chapter on the major building projects of National Socialism. Here the ways in which "nature" was redefined to suit the particular agenda of competing factions within the National Socialist polycracy are especially well formulated. At the same time, one wonders whether Lekan ever draws sufficient attention to the fault lines of internal contradiction that bedeviled German conservation movements from their inception, never more clearly than during the Hitler regime. That is a minor drawback, however, easily rectified by the alert reader. This book is an important contribution to a field on the threshold of maturity, and it will be required reading for any scholar interested in the history of environmental movements, the formation of national identity, or the development of ecological ideas, particularly in Germany.

COLIN RIORDAN
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RICHARD A. ETLIN, editor. *Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 384. \$25.00.

Each of the twelve essays in this fascinating and profusely illustrated collection explores an aspect of the complex and fateful relationship between aesthetics and politics in the Nazi era. Their subject matter embraces a wide range of topics, including the "Degenerate Music" exhibition in Düsseldorf in 1938, the Nazi garden and landscape ideal, the use of film as propaganda, the sculptor Arno Breker's engagement with Nazism, the genealogy of Albert Speer's "Cathedral of Light" (*Lichtdom*), the connections between monumental architectural projects and the SS empire of slave labor, the Bauhaus exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1938, the German pavilion at the 1937 Paris Exposition Internationale, and various exile artist organizations in Paris, London, and Prague. Although the essays are rather arbitrarily grouped into four sections entitled, "Weltanschauung," "Propaganda," "Empire Building," and "Appeasement," respectively, certain common themes recur, and to a greater or lesser degree each essay enhances the reader's awareness of the political and ideological implications of even the most innocuous or apparently nonpolitical aesthetic discipline (such as landscaping). No one who reads these essays can fail to appreciate the importance that Adolf Hitler and the Nazis (and the fascists in Italy) attached to the arts, not only instrumentally as fields of manipulation or means to respectability but as repositories of eternal values that needed to be defended against the corruptions of modern life.

The book as a whole lends credibility to Frederic Spotts's paradoxical assertion in *Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics* (2003) that had Hitler not had such a genuine interest in the arts, he would not have been so destructive. These essays attest to the extraordinary readiness of dedicated artists to lend their talents to a brutal, repressive regime, in part no doubt due to the many opportunities created by the Nazi leaders' obsession with art, as documented in Jonathan Petropoulos's masterful *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (1996). The present collection also provides further evidence, if any were needed, that high culture and barbarism can easily exist side by side and can even emanate from a common source. In their different ways, these essays illuminate what the editor of this volume, Richard A. Etlin, calls "the human capacity to engage in moral enormities while wanting to believe that one is still civilized" (p. 22). Culture and the arts played a crucial role in making brutality possible by nourishing the Nazis' messianic civilizing conceit and assuaging their need to see themselves as a cultured people.

An interesting theme that appears in several selections is the continuity and metamorphosis of artistic or cultural movements from imperial Germany through the Weimar era to the Third Reich. While the Nazis almost invariably sided with conservatives against innovators in music, the arts, and architecture, a key to their propagandistic success was their willingness to adapt to their purposes artistic initiatives that originated in movements of the left. Kathleen James-

Chakraborty traces the roots of the "aestheticization of politics" not just to the ideology of the radical right but to the expressionist desire to reach the working man. The Nazi spectacles of light at the Nuremberg party rallies would have been unthinkable without the earlier expressionist experiments and innovations with light "as a potential force for a spiritual awakening intended to promote a more egalitarian society" (p. 193). The tension between aesthetic conservatism and modern technological production is also central to Karen A. Fiss's stimulating analysis of the German Pavilion at the 1937 Paris Exposition Internationale in the framework of Ernst Bloch's theory of the *gute Stube* (parlor). In returning to the portentous style of the empire, Nazism shared the bourgeois ambition to recreate itself in feudal terms, seeking to revive the past for the present and providing an escape from the alienation of capitalism and the harshness of daily life. Workers were portrayed as artisans to create the illusion of organic community and class harmony. While contemporary French critics were impressed by the seeming absence of any overt political propaganda in the German Pavilion, Fiss skillfully shows how the pavilion served the Nazis' propagandistic purposes by "offering its spectators an illusory retreat, not only from the political to the aesthetic, but from the modern to the preindustrial" (p. 335). Mary-Elizabeth O'Brien suggests in her study of wartime films that Nazism "was a vastly popular movement precisely because it promised the masses stability and the guarantee of a private sphere in which one could enjoy popular consumer products such as those offered by the entertainment industry" (p. 160). David Culbert provocatively contrasts two notorious antisemitic films released in 1940, the successful costume drama, *Jew Süss*, and the documentary flop, *The Eternal Jew*, and concludes that a morally abhorrent film could have artistic merit and that this, not ideology, was the crucial factor in determining its popular success.

Another recurring theme in these essays is the frequent (and often unrepentant) reemergence to prominence after the war of leading representatives of the arts under the Third Reich. Breker, the subject of Petropoulos's carefully argued essay, received lucrative corporate commissions despite the fact that he never renounced his ties to Nazism and refused to accept responsibility for his role as one of the main arbiters of Nazi aesthetic policy. Petropoulos excoriates the "Bitburg history" that blurs the distinction between official and oppositional art in the Nazi era, pointing out how closely the postwar defenders of Nazi art parallel Noltean revisionism in pursuing the goal of normalization. "Forced ahistoricity" (p. 302) of a different kind is the theme of Karen Koehler's penetrating critique of the Museum of Modern Art's Bauhaus exhibit at the height of appeasement in 1938. In deference to the Nazis and their sympathizers in this country, the revolutionary social and political history of the Bauhaus was intentionally neutralized in a formalistic approach that presented Bauhaus design

(and modernist art in general) as solely an aesthetic phenomenon. The climate of the times is dramatically evoked in the refusal of Walter Gropius, the founder of the Bauhaus then in American exile, to discuss social or political issues related to the exhibit lest he give offense to American conservatives, the recently activated House Unamerican Activities Committee, or the German government.

The contributors to this volume reject such depoliticization, insisting instead that artistic and cultural developments be seen in their specific historical, political, or ideological contexts. These essays may be read, however obliquely, as commentaries on or illustrations of Walter Benjamin's famous dictum that "The logical outcome of fascism is the aestheticizing of political life." By exploring questions of aesthetic policy from unconventional perspectives, they make a welcome contribution to the history of the Nazi era.

RODERICK STACKELBERG
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PETER C. CALDWELL. *Dictatorship, State Planning, and Social Theory in the German Democratic Republic*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 220. \$60.00.

Peter C. Caldwell's exceptional work on theoretical thinking in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) is concerned with the development of social theory in the East German socialist dictatorship. The book is divided into four chapters, which in turn consider economics, legal theory, and philosophy in the 1950s, and the impact of cybernetics in the 1960s. Caldwell's primary aim is to trace the development of the intellectuals' idea of the plan "from heroic means of bringing about a qualitatively different kind of world to a technical method for organising industrial production" (p. 2). He points out that already in the 1950s, social thinkers were discussing state socialism's major systemic problems, which would eventually lead to the downfall of the regime in 1989.

The first chapter focuses on the relationship between plan and market, both integral parts of the transitional period between capitalism and socialism. The basic problem addressed after the war was how to combine central steering and regulation with local self-control and responsibility as complete central control was both impossible and economically dysfunctional. Critical economists raised the question of where the limits lay to the people's control of local and individual lives. They also asserted the objective status of the law of value and thereby challenged the notion of a higher consciousness underlying the party's concept of the plan and the legitimacy of the Marxist-Leninist model of political organization.

In the next chapter, Caldwell shows how legal theory confronted inherent problems of state socialism by questioning how to reconcile the state's right to violate written law with the need for a set of legal rules. In the 1950s, legal theorists asked how the GDR differed in

this respect from the Nazis' pseudo-legality—a question with far-reaching political implications. In this context, the law of contract serves as an example to emphasize the practical consequences of legal issues for the economy.

The third chapter examines the notion of consciousness within East German political philosophy. Caldwell focuses on Ernst Bloch, who alternated between writing simplistic propaganda for the party and serious discussions of the dialectical relationships among subject, object, and history. In the late 1950s, official party philosophers attacked Bloch and others who raised questions that threatened the party's claim to a higher, conscious knowledge of the world and its self-identification with the higher interests of the people. Consequently, a new catechism of party power replaced serious political philosophy after 1957. Trying to defend the notion of the party's higher consciousness, which Caldwell describes as the "cornerstone of the ideology of planning in state socialism" (p. 13), party conservatives silenced economists, lawyers, and political philosophers in the late 1950s.

The last chapter considers East German social thought after 1961, when the regime sought to ground its legitimacy in technological progress. However, the technical problems of planning the regime remained and discussions proceeded, although in the seemingly neutral language of cybernetics. Social thinkers had learned from the experiences of the 1950s and used the theory of complex systems without emphasizing the challenges it posed to the party's claim to know the laws of society. Cybernetics undermined the utopian content of state socialism as the limits of consciousness and knowledge in the face of complex systems and environmental risks became apparent in the 1960s. According to Caldwell, "ideological bankruptcy" marked the GDR by 1968 (p. 180).

In the 1970s, Erich Honecker liberalized the arts but clamped down on critical thinking about planning. Political concern lay primarily with self-maintenance. A clear conception of socialism disappeared and was replaced by hollow propaganda slogans. Similar stagnation is traced in legal theory and philosophy in the 1970s, but there was a (re-)opening of discussions in the 1980s. The reasons for the collapse of state socialism, according to Caldwell, were the general structural weakness of centrally planned economies, the specific weakness of state socialism in the GDR in the 1970s and 1980s, and, finally, the dismantlement of the socialist ideal from within. However, in conclusion, Caldwell insists that the disintegration of state socialism did not mark the logical victory of capitalism.

Caldwell's achievement lies in the serious assessment of the relevance of Marxism-Leninism to East German economic, legal, and philosophical thinking while considering state socialism's main systemic challenges. He describes the vivacious intellectual discussion on the implications of state socialism that contemplated themes, such as the division between state and society, which had long guided European intellec-

tual debates. Nevertheless, in the final analysis, this book denies the theoretical soundness of state socialism.

JEANNETTE MADARÁSZ
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GABRIELLA SANTONCINI. *Il buon governo: Organizzazione e legittimazione del rapporto fra sovrano e comunità nello stato pontificio (Secc. XVI-XVIII)*. (Università di Macerata; Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, number 12.) Milan: A. Giuffrè. 2002. Pp. xiii, 430. €30.00.

"One body and two souls" is Paolo Prodi's now famous description of the early modern Papal States, a territory headed by a prince who was also pope, lord of both the temporal and spiritual life of his subjects. Gabriella Santoncini's study focuses on the secular "soul," the relationship between the central state apparatus and local communities as viewed through the lens of the apologists for the state. Scholars familiar with debates about the advanced or retrograde nature of early modern state-building in the papacy's Italian kingdom will undoubtedly have encountered the interesting papal bureau known as the Congregation of Buon Governo (good government). This agency, established in the 1590s and headed by a cardinal prefect, had responsibility for the economic life of the towns and villages of the Papal States. "Economy" to the papal bureaucrats meant the communities' regular payment of taxes to the papal treasury, and "good government" signified state supervision of the debts, revenues, and expenditures of the localities. Creating such a department in the 1590s unquestionably indicated that the popes wanted to obtain a larger and more predictable share of their subjects' resources for their own use, and we have known since the pathbreaking work of Jean Delumeau in the late 1950s why this was so. With both Protestant and Catholic princes opting out of their financial commitments to the church, the popes had to fall back on their Italian subjects to keep their operations going. Santoncini asks how such exploitation (my term) was legitimated, and answers, borrowing Luca Mannori's notion of the "guardian sovereign" (*sovrano tutore*), that the state presented itself as the protector of the communities. Just as in a marriage, the prince kept watch over the "dowry" of the towns and villages of his dominions, making use of his wife's properties, as was a husband's right, for the good of the whole family.

This book arises not from a historical milieu but from the scholarly discipline of the study of public administration, which includes the history of systems of administrative control. This helps to explain why the author retells in such detail the well-known story of the growth of the offices of papal temporal government, and why she apologetically renounces archival research on the voluminous papers of the Congregation of Buon Governo. The administrative approach also makes assumptions alien to historians, for example,

that laws can be studied apart from their enforcement, or that the opinions of the "controllers" illuminate relations between "controllers" and "controlled." These assumptions are not wrong, but they do not lead to the kinds of questions that historians normally ask about a topic like the one under consideration in this book. How did papal subjects perceive their sovereign? As a guardian or as something more predatory (or was the notion of guardianship ambiguous)? Did the towns and villages of the Papal States comply with the state's demands for information and taxes? If not, what were the justifications they gave or the obstructions they erected? If so, how much did they provide? Historians' interest in the practice as well as the theory of a given policy and their curiosity about the range of motivations for and responses to the actions of officials are not easily accommodated within the author's discipline.

The strength of Santoncini's research is her abundant use of legal sources, both jurists' writings and papal legislation, and her bibliography in this area will be valuable to historians of early modern papal government. She discusses passages on taxation, in all its rich *ancien régime* complexity, found in the treatises of three seventeenth-century Italian writers: the less well known Marco Antonio Peregrino (1611) and Giacomo Coelli (1656), and the very frequently cited Giovan Battista De Luca (1673). Her lengthy exposition of the details of De Luca's treatment of regalian rights is not more limpid than De Luca's own, but it may well be more accessible to North American scholars than his justly famous manual, *Il Dottor Volgare* (1673). Of the printed legislative sources Santoncini has utilized, the three volumes of documents related to the operations of the Congregation of Buon Governo, published in the 1730s by P. A. De Vecchi, deserve to be known more widely. The first volume is a collection of relevant papal laws, the second a compilation of letters and decisions of the congregation itself, and the third a compendium of pertinent judgments by the kingdom's highest court of appeals, the Sacred Roman Rota. Even without foraging in the vast quantity of archival holdings of the Congregation of Buon Governo, therefore, the author has signaled that a goodly body of evidence on the relations between the popes and their subjects awaits its historian.

LAURIE NUSSDORFER
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GIULIANO PANCALDI. *Volta: Science and Culture in the Age of Enlightenment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 381. \$35.00.

Alessandro Volta (1745–1827) played a critical role in the events that historians of science sometimes call the second scientific revolution. His invention of the electrical battery in 1800 was the single most important contribution to transforming the science of electricity at the beginning of the nineteenth century. By making available for the first time a steady current, the battery

also gave rise to the electrical technologies that have since transformed the world. Yet, Volta and his invention emerged from the scientific world of the European Enlightenment, a world of genteel virtuosi, run by aristocratic patronage, which was to recede as rapidly as the *ancien régime* after the revolutionary turmoil that ushered in the new age. The scale of the transformation has often cast the sciences of the eighteenth century into a shadow, from which historians have only recently begun to rescue them.

Giuliano Pancaldi's engaging book contributes substantially to a reappraisal of the sciences of the Enlightenment, as well as providing a wealth of information about Volta's life and accomplishments. Grounded in exhaustive archival research, the book depicts the emergence of the battery against the background of Volta's career and style of scientific practice. Pancaldi begins in biographical mode, tracing Volta's background among the lesser nobility of Como and his ambition to escape the limitations of provincial life by joining the international republic of letters. Like other Lombard intellectuals, Volta saw opportunities in the patronage of the reformist Austrian administration of the province. In the early 1770s, he secured a position as superintendent of public education in Como, moving within a few years to the chair in physics at the University of Pavia. Readers are given a good sense of Volta's tricky negotiations of the slippery trails down which patronage flowed in enlightened Italy. He encountered some setbacks, as when Giambatista Beccaria, a professor in Turin and the leading Italian scholar on electricity of the previous generation, scorned his speculative theories and suggested he "keep silent forever" on the subject (p. 90). The obstacles Volta faced were fairly typical of an age when established social networks still channeled much of the support for intellectual endeavor provided by governments and universities. Pancaldi draws out the common features of his situation by providing a prosopographical survey of seventy-four Italian scholars of the sciences in the period. Unfortunately, he overlooks the few women who were active in the field, although some recent studies have shown what they were able to achieve despite the restrictions under which they labored.

The key to Volta's success, in Pancaldi's interpretation, was his facility for inventing new electrical machines. The battery was the third such device to gain him international renown, following earlier acclaim for the "electrophorus" (1775) and the "condesatore" (1780). Pancaldi supplies detailed analyses of how these devices worked, both as physical artifacts understood in terms of the theoretical vocabulary of the time, and as tokens used as currency in the scientific community. Volta's first two inventions gained him respectable standing in an international community that prized curiosity and public display. They enabled him to establish connections with natural philosophers in France, Britain, and Germany, as well as elsewhere in Italy. But, neither the conceptualization nor the

social uses of these two devices broke with the prevailing patterns of enlightened science. Volta sought to understand them through the non-mathematical, discursive style of reasoning commonly applied to physical phenomena in the previous decades. The battery, in contrast, marked a breakthrough to a new world of physical power with unforeseen social implications, as Napoleon Bonaparte—whose fascination with the apparatus was nurtured by Volta—seemed to understand.

Pancaldi explains that the battery emerged from Volta's attempt to reproduce with inorganic materials the workings of the electric fish, an object of interest to many experimenters as a source of animal electricity. The new invention was announced in a communication by its discoverer to the Royal Society of London in the spring of 1800, and was rapidly replicated in half a dozen places before the end of the year. In Britain, experimenters used silver half-crown coins as plates, placed between zinc discs and pieces of cardboard soaked in water. Pancaldi uses the incident as a case study of the replication of experimental phenomena, a topic much discussed among sociologists of scientific knowledge in recent years. He reads the evidence as suggesting a conclusion midway between the positions he ascribes to "realists" and "constructivists." On the one hand, the physical form of the battery made rapid replication possible, independent of the local cultures in which this was done—a point to the realists. On the other hand, however, constructivists would be right to point out that interpretations of its mode of action continued to vary markedly among local groups of experimenters. The fact that batteries were easy to make did not mean that it was easy to secure agreement about how they worked.

Pancaldi deserves credit for drawing out the implications of his research for these contested issues; he shows how good historical scholarship can contribute to philosophical debate. His example should inspire further research and reflection on the history of experimental science in this period. The book raises certain questions that it does not answer. One wonders, for example, whether anything interesting happened in Volta's life after 1800. But, overall, it is an impressive accomplishment that significantly advances the historiography of the sciences in enlightened Europe.

JAN GOLINSKI

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SUSAN A. ASHLEY, *Making Liberalism Work: The Italian Experience, 1860–1914*. (Italian and Italian American Studies.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xxii, 200. \$69.95.

The Italian liberal parliamentary system from 1860 to 1922 has not enjoyed a good historiographical press. In the aftermath of fascism, historians of the left in Italy criticized the country's leaders in this period for their narrow class interests, their timidity, their failure to bridge the gulf between people and state through

adequate reforms, and their authoritarian and (from the 1880s) imperialist proclivities. They thus regarded Italian liberalism as deeply flawed from its inception. Catholic historians likewise had little sympathy for a regime that had anticlericalism as one of its central planks. The restricted cohorts of defenders of Italian liberalism—among whom Rosario Romeo, the great biographer of Camillo Cavour, was preeminent—found some allies in Britain and America; but the leading British postwar historian of Italy, Denis Mack Smith, endorsed the idea of an Italian *Sonderweg*, seeing in such practices as *trasformismo* and the parliamentary “dictatorships” of Cavour, Agostino Depretis, Francesco Crispi, and Giovanni Giolitti, peculiarities of the Italian system that paved the way for the fascist regime.

Fueled, in part, by the collapse of communism, the resurgence of the far right, the challenge of the separatist Northern League, and the emergence of the Berlusconi phenomenon, the last two decades have witnessed a growing number of more sympathetic and nuanced readings of the liberal era. These have argued against the distinctiveness of Italian politics after 1860, and have sought to highlight the huge practical difficulties faced by Italy's leaders in making a modern parliamentary system work in a country with almost no prior experience of representative government. Susan A. Ashley's clear, well-researched, and judicious study builds on this approach. Italy's ruling class after 1860, she argues, was largely sincere in its desire to establish an effective liberal regime. However, mass illiteracy, poor internal communications, a weak economy, and powerful anti-institutional forces compelled politicians constantly to temper their principles and be pragmatic. If the drift from the 1890s was toward increased state power, the balance sheet in 1914, she concludes, was overall positive: “[The liberals] kept Italy united; they upheld rights . . . they stretched the state to promote economic growth and to provide a modicum of protection to workers. In the process, they admitted the weight of circumstances, adapted their principles, and adjusted to the difficulties of parliamentary rule. The English and the French, those systems commonly credited with success in this period, did no more” (p. 170).

Ashley's study focuses on three broad areas: public works, social justice, and law and order. She draws heavily on parliamentary debates to examine in detail how politicians approached issues such as railway construction, the regulation of the workplace (child labor and accident insurance in particular), and crime and political dissent—a vexed issue given the virulence of lawlessness after 1860 and opposition to the state (Bourbonists, clericals, and republicans to begin with; anarchists, socialists, and revolutionary syndicalists later on). The liberal regime has often been seen as inherently repressive, turning with undue readiness to such measures as states of siege or special police laws. As Ashley notes, however, such assessments tend to overlook the degree of opposition that these measures

encountered and their often very temporary character. She also notes that while Italy may have been unusually harsh in its control of people regarded as dangerous or suspicious, it was more liberal than many countries when it came to political organizations. There was also the practical problem of very limited state resources: in the early twentieth century, Italy had 8,000 public security officers for the entire country; London alone had 12,000 at the time.

The problem of how to construct a railway network in Italy after 1860 was especially revealing of the limits of Italian laissez-faire liberalism. While most liberals in principle favored entrusting the building and running of railways to private companies, the practical difficulties resulting from this led to decades of acrimonious debates in parliament. Private companies found it hard to run the railways profitably and had to be heavily subsidized by the state; but attempts by the right in 1876 to nationalize the railways—not least on the grounds that they were too crucial to the country's economic integration and defense to be left to private (and largely foreign) capital—foundered in the face of local interests as well as ideological disagreements. A complex hybrid arrangement was introduced in 1884, combining public ownership with private management, but the issue was still not successfully resolved. In 1906, after further protracted discussions, the railways were finally nationalized. Once again, as Ashley shows, Italian liberalism was molded by a variety of shifting empirical considerations that made any simple application of principles highly problematic.

Ashley's study is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the complexities of Italian liberalism after 1860. Although the author accepts that the growing recourse to increased state power from the end of the century helped erode defenses in the face of fascism, she is reluctant to point the finger of blame at liberals themselves: “To assert that what liberals made of liberalism led to Fascism makes too little of the impact of the war, the role of the Socialists and Christian Democrats, and the appeal of Fascism” (pp. 169–70). This is true: Italian liberals and parliamentary government in Italy were not so different in both quality and kind from their counterparts in Britain and France. But the key issue was surely not so much the distinctiveness or otherwise of Italian liberalism, but its standing within the country. The liberal state never succeeded in anchoring itself sufficiently in the affections of intellectuals, the middle classes, or the masses. That may not have been altogether the fault of the ruling elite (as the likes of Benedetto Croce and Gaetano Salvemini belatedly recognized), but it marked Italy out from Britain and, to an extent, France, too.

CHRISTOPHER DUGGAN
University of Reading

ROBERT A. VENTRESCA. *From Fascism to Democracy: Culture and Politics in the Italian Election of 1948.*

(Toronto Italian Studies.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 354.

The only serious defect of this well-researched and fairly well-written book is the extravagant claims made for it by its author. Robert A. Ventresca has drawn together a mass of material about the key election in postwar Italy, which set the Christian Democrats, backed by the Catholic Church, on the road to fifty years of power and the Italian Communist Party to fifty years of opposition. Ventresca, however, claims more originality than he should: for the U.S. role in postwar Italy, he is happy to draw on American historians, especially Jim Miller and John Harper. He cites economists for the destruction that Italy underwent in World War II but he neglects the best of them, Vera Zamagni, who writes that Italy's overall industrial losses were modest and its engineering sector much expanded.

Ventresca praises Italians for devoting much time to politics. Yet this produces little but "cappuccino-politics," small talk about political personalities that gets one through the painful period when the first coffee of the day is being prepared. Italian historians are rebuked for continuing to take sides in the 1948 election and, conversely, for ignoring it. But many Italians think the underlying problems of the period are better analyzed in other contexts. The splits and violence of the partisans have been dealt with by Claudio Pavone, whose methodological insights lead him to distinguish among three kinds of wars, and whose chronological sense makes him concentrate on the years before 1948.

Still, one cannot disagree with Ventresca when he maintains that outside actors, like the Central Intelligence Agency, have been too often praised—or blamed—for the Communist defeat. Not that no votes were swung by all those letters from Italian Americans warning their relatives that, if the Left won, there would be no more American aid. But they could not reach as deeply into Italian popular culture as a weeping statue of the madonna that is lamenting the advance of the Red Army.

After reading this book, it is hard not to see the Catholic Church as the dominant force in the 1948 election. Pope Pius XII was an intellectual as well as a charismatic leader. His goal was to expand the church's power over the Italian state and then to use that power on behalf of the universal church, engaged in the struggle against atheistic communism. A skillful diplomat, Pius had his own diplomats, like the future Pope Paul VI, who were at least the equals of the U.S. State Department's men. Pius disposed of the network of parishes, which provided the organization of the Christian Democrats. In case these failed him, he had a private army in Catholic Action, which mobilized the voters in 1948. Even sport was not overlooked: Pius invoked the cyclist, Gino Bartali, a star of Catholic Action. In this disciplined order, the saints and madonnas stood out: they were more like ordinary hu-

mans and yet they could intervene directly with heaven.

The reader of this book will also not be surprised that the Christian Democrats won the election with 48.5 percent of the vote and 305 out of 574 seats. That many people were tormented by the illusory fear of a Left victory is natural. They were overimpressed by Palmiro Togliatti's devious intelligence and by the partisans' fighting skills. In reality the Christian Democrats, the middle classes, the Catholic Church, the United States, and Britain lined up against a large part of the working class and the peasantry, most of the trade unions, and a weak Socialist Party allied with the Communists. The result was easy to foresee.

The last chapters explain the book's title. Ventresca believes that fascism was the first attempt to create a modern mass society. It failed, but in the attempt to organize and politicize all Italians—Catholic, Marxist or neither—one sees a second, democratic attempt. This is an interesting thesis, but democracy did not fare well after 1948. The Marxists went off to their ghetto and the Catholics could not resist the sin of corruption.

PATRICK MCCARTHY
Johns Hopkins University

ZDENĚK V. DAVID. *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center and Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xxii, 579. \$65.00.

Over the past decade, Zdeněk V. David has published a series of articles discussing the often overlooked fate of the Bohemian Utraquists, between their official recognition at the Council of Basel in 1436 and their formal integration into the reformed Roman Catholic fold in 1621. This book continues those themes. David concentrates particularly on the key period from 1575 to 1609 (from the informal royal recognition conveyed by King Maximilian as part of the attempt to have his son Rudolf elected king of Bohemia to the son's official declaration of toleration). The book is well documented, with almost 150 pages of footnotes, and serves to remind the English-reading audience of the continued existence (and, David argues, success) of this branch of Western Christianity during the period studied. He discusses a number of parallels between Utraquism and early modern Anglicanism and even goes so far as to argue for the relevance of Utraquism to liberal Roman Catholicism today.

Not surprisingly, given the late twentieth-century history of the Czech lands, much of the scholarship with which David interacts dates from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and centers around issues such as the complex interrelationships between the Utraquists and the more famous Unity of Brethren and Lutherans in the historical lands of the Crown of St. Václav, especially in Prague and other cities of the kingdom. David convincingly separates the Utraquists

from the Brethren and the Lutherans through an analysis of leading Utraquists' theology, insisting that the Utraquists are not to be seen as Protestants. Due to their strong and consistent belief in the importance of the sacramental power of ordination and apostolic succession, as well as their skepticism toward important Lutheran tenets such as the central roles of the Bible and faith, in opposition to the more traditional Utraquist position of the role of free will tested by people's "cooperation in the process of salvation" (p. 57), the Utraquists only moved toward alliance with the Brethren and the Lutherans over the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries for political reasons, not because of theological affinities.

So why did the Utraquists not simply ally with the increasingly active and influential supporters of reformed (post-Trent) Roman Catholicism? Various members of the kingdom's ruling dynasty, the Habsburgs, as well as influential nobles in the realm, chose this path, with significant long-term effects for the religious history of Bohemia. David points out clearly some of the essential points of disagreement between the Utraquists he studied and the reformed Catholics (as represented by the newly reinstalled archbishops of Prague, papal nuncios, Jesuits, and other standardbearers pointed to by historians of this Counter Reformation movement). These included not the symbolic and loaded symbol of the lay chalice, as one might expect, but instead the Utraquists' belief in infant communion, their veneration of Jan Hus as a saint, and their defense of jurisdictional autonomy for their ecclesiastical administration (p. 157).

At times, David's analysis drifts close to a rather unsettling ethnic determinism, where "Germans" are portrayed as either Lutherans or Counter Reformers and the Spanish come across as particularly close minded (p. 368). His language in the final, speculative chapter, on the "Protean Legacy of Utraquism" drifts off into a romantic vision of Utraquist Bohemia, a kingdom characterized in his mind by "a remarkable state of relative tolerance, respect for human rights, unfettered learning, and economic prosperity" in an "era of Camelot" (p. 349). It is perhaps best to allow the author's ruminations on body snatching, cell transplants, Frankenstein monsters, awakening nations, and Vatican II to be picked up by a late (post)modernist. The detailed theological and political analyses of the previous eleven chapters are much more persuasive.

JOSEPH F. PATROUCH
Florida International University

CATHLEEN M. GIUSTINO. *Tearing Down Prague's Jewish Town: Ghetto Clearance and the Legacy of Middle-Class Ethnic Politics around 1900*. Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs. 2003. Pp. xiv, 425. \$40.50.

Prague's old Jewish quarter is, architecturally speaking, not old at all. In one of Europe's larger urban renewal projects, Josefov was wholly reworked between 1896 and 1912. Only part of the

Jewish cemetery and fewer than a dozen buildings—including the handful of synagogues that today make up the Jewish Museum—escaped demolition. Until 1859, the area, nestled into an elbow of the Vltava River, had been a ghetto in the old, religious sense of the term. Then it had become a ghetto, about one-third Jewish and two-thirds Christian, in the sense of slum. Now in its place were built broad streets, attractive shops, and fine dwellings for Prague's rising Czech upper-middle class.

Cathleen M. Giustino's book uses ghetto clearance as a window into Prague municipal politics during the final decades of Habsburg rule. Breaking up her topic thematically into three parts, she begins with "State and Party Structures Framing Ghetto Clearance." She explains clearly the significant powers of the municipal government; the shift during the 1880s and 1890s from dominance by Czech National Party notables to corule with their rivals, the Young Czechs; and the restrictive franchise that insulated both parties, at least in Town Hall, from lower middle-class and working-class competition. Part two, "Narrowing Czech Middle-Class Differences and Ghetto Clearance," first traces the emergence in Prague between the 1860s and 1880s of professional communities and municipal bureaucracies centered on public health and urban planning. Giustino then tells the complex tale of how the old Jewish quarter came to be the focus of sanitation and renewal efforts, almost to the exclusion of other, equally run-down parts of Prague. Here antisemitism has some explanatory power. Giustino cites Czech advocates of ghetto clearance in the 1880s who described the Fifth District as "our Orient here at home" (p. 85) and as a "repulsive labyrinth of twisting, narrow streets filled with devilish odors . . . and animated figures and scenes, which looked as if they were carried to Prague straight from . . . somewhere in Baghdad" (p. 124).

Yet Giustino does not push such evidence too far. Jewish leaders in Prague, both Czech and German, endorsed the "Finis Ghetto" plan. And some anti-semites opposed clearance, claiming that it benefited Jews and came at the expense of social welfare programs. Part three, "Widening Czech Middle-Class Differences," shows how the Czech Christian Social Party mounted a challenge in the late 1890s to the two Czech parties that dominated Town Hall, courting votes from the bottom third of the middle-class electorate. The challenge failed and ghetto clearance proceeded. Prague municipal politics was less about religious, racial, or national conflict than about conflict between the Czech upper-middle and lower-middle classes. A product of that principal conflict, though, was a turn by upper-middle-class Czech liberals toward antidemocratic and illiberal solutions. In her conclusion, Giustino promises to explore the consequences of that turn, fateful not only for Prague's Jews, in a second volume.

Giustino, true to her title, focuses on "tearing down" and "clearance." More attention to the other side of the coin, the politics of who *built* what, for whom,

probably would have enabled her to address her central themes better. Readers are also largely left to figure out for themselves the links, less than linear, between Prague municipal politics and Czech, Bohemian, Habsburg, and Central European politics more generally. The book suffers from multiple grammatical glitches and lacks an index. Nonetheless, this study of the most significant political unit in which Czechs held the overwhelming majority before World War I is firmly grounded in a broad spectrum of primary sources. It covers complex topics—Czech liberalism, the growth of municipal government, the emergence of historic preservationism, and even Prague's toilets and sewers—clearly and subtly. The multiple tables, maps, and photographs complement the text well. For that matter, the book itself complements well Gary Cohen's *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914* (1981). His classic study of the decline of Prague's German-speaking elite and Giustino's study of the strikingly similar Czech elite that next claimed power, together, crack open the dynamism and richness of politics in one Central European city before the dawning of a brave new world in 1914.

JEREMY KING
Mount Holyoke College

MARY NEUBURGER. *The Orient Within: Muslim Minorities and the Negotiation of Nationhood in Modern Bulgaria*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 223. \$42.50.

It is a rare pleasure to read a book on a subject so multifaceted and to find the product refreshingly erudite, concise, and a well-written example of meticulous scholarship. Mary Neuburger's text will be a standard for years to come. Her research is thorough and incisive; she has examined recent scholarship and analyzed it for the benefit of her readers. She has also filled her narrative with abundant supportive examples that will leave even the most skeptical reader satisfied she has made her point well.

This is an outstanding work. The author examines the relationship between Bulgarians and Turks from Bulgaria's liberation in the nineteenth century from the Ottoman Empire through the present. The book concentrates mostly on the period between the 1930s and the 1980s. Although Neuburger focuses on the "Bulgaro-Muslim" relationship, she divides the focus into what were originally two separate campaigns. First, she tackles the attempt to bring Pomaks (Islamized Bulgarians) back to the national fold by making them reject their Muslim religion and "culture," and, second, she takes on the more delicate and difficult attempt to convince and reincorporate ethnic Turks into Bulgarian society. Turks who were representatives and remainders of Ottoman domination in the Balkans were cajoled, prodded, and finally coerced into changing the core of their very identities by a series of government-organized campaigns. The most serious and thorough efforts to bring back "lost Bulgarians" to

the national fold were in the 1950s, 1970s, and finally from 1984 to 1989.

There is a whole host of reasons why Bulgarian governments chose to incorporate or perhaps for the first time assimilate Turks into the national fabric. The most fundamental was nationalism. In some respects, this drive was the natural outcome of the nationalism that impelled Bulgarians first to rebel against the Ottomans and, once liberated, to continue to strive to define themselves, and all citizens of their country, as modern, European and Bulgarian people. The key was to continue the process of differentiation of Bulgarians as separate, distant, and distinguishable from their oriental, (and, for many historical-cultural reasons, backward) Turkish neighbors (that is Turks both in Bulgaria and in Turkey). In order to join Europe as equal, modern, non-oriental peoples, Bulgarians strove to distinguish and salvage their identity from that of the Muslim Turks.

Close proximity to Muslim Asiatics and centuries of a common history forced the Bulgarians to improvise and sculpt their national identity from Western cultural matter rather than the Eastern variant. The urgency they felt, especially in the 1970s and from 1984 on, was spurred in part by the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. The danger of Turkish territorial claims based on the presence of a Turkish population was perceived as a real threat to the territorial integrity of Bulgaria. Therefore the Pomaks and Turks were subjected, over the years, to a series of efforts to change, to reshape—in the most intimate way possible via a ban on circumcision—their very bodies. They endured name-changing campaigns, bans on traditional dress for both men and women, and, ultimately a denial of their very essence as anything but Bulgarians. In the end the 1980s campaign forced Turks to make a choice—admit your Bulgarian self and stay in the land of your birth or leave—that was untenable for most.

Neuburger does a commendable job of dealing with the entire question of Bulgarian identity. Nineteenth-century nationalism and its twentieth-century variant exacted a toll on the nation's consciousness. Wanting to be European and yearning to be accepted by a purportedly civilized West, Bulgarians had a difficult time with the attractive and repulsive power of European cultural magnetism. While they fought to deny their "Orientalism," they also contended with the reality that the European West had been, and could potentially be, a domineering and exploitative force. Thus Bulgarians struggled to be at once a part of the acceptable, mainstream West—and therefore stop feeling inferior—and at the same time to establish a separate, superior, unique Bulgarian identity. Neuburger does an admirable job unraveling the main theories of recent scholarship on what she calls the "European Orientalization of the Balkans." That discussion alone, in the introduction and chapter one, is well worth the investment in this book.

I can think of no criticism of this work. I would rather suggest that the author might consider doing

some kind of comparative work on the status and treatment of Turkish minorities in all the formerly Ottoman territories of the Balkans.

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RICHARD PIPES. *The Degaev Affair: Terror and Treason in Tsarist Russia*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 153. \$22.95.

This small volume explores the life of Sergei Degaev, a heretofore relatively obscure Russian revolutionary of the People's Will era (the late 1870s and early 1880s). Degaev's life and career(s) certainly defied all conventions, since he spent much of the latter half of both in the United States as a popular mathematics professor at the University of South Dakota under the name Alexander Pell. Richard Pipes introduces this all-too-brief study with a chapter about Degaev/Pell's American life and then poses a question alleged to be "at the heart of this book" (p. 7). Which was the real Degaev, the Russian revolutionary, provocateur, and murderer or the mundane, empathetic American professor? After providing several possible answers, without endorsing any single one, Pipes moves on briskly to explore Degaev's life as a Russian revolutionary. Sergei was born into a middle-class Moscow family whose members possessed ambition and a certain dramatic flair. While attending a military academy during the 1870s, he found himself, like so many other Russians of his generation, attracted to the antitsarist movement. After the 1881 assassination of Alexander II, Sergei was arrested and then released because of lack of evidence. At the time of his next arrest a year later, police found an underground printing press in his apartment, a turn of events that threatened lengthy incarceration and exile to Siberia. At this point, in the book and in Degaev's life, entered Georgii Sudeikin, a police officer entrusted with protecting the life of Alexander III. Sudeikin was instrumental in developing new modes of struggling with the People's Will, including the use of provocateurs. Sensing Degaev's potential personal weaknesses, this shrewd lieutenant-colonel offered him a deal: freedom if he cooperated, told all he knew about his revolutionary colleagues, and re-entered the movement with the goal of helping Sudeikin suppress the organization. Degaev's data led to a wave of arrests that set in motion the eventual destruction of the People's Will. Upon his release by means of a staged escape, the conscience-stricken double agent confessed his crimes to one of the revolutionary leaders, who insisted that he murder Sudeikin in partial exculpation. Having accomplished this brutal murder in late 1883, Sergei escaped Russia, lingered in England for a couple of years awaiting in vain for new revolutionary assignments, and eventually made his way with his wife and children to the United States. How this Russian pariah obtained a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University and became a professor at

the new University of South Dakota remains something of a mystery.

The story is crisply told, the events dramatic, the personalities fascinating, and the current relevance of its topic—terrorists, terrorist organizations, and counterterrorism—obvious. Even so, this study raises more questions than it answers or, in a sense, overtly addresses. The author notes clearly the shortage of sources about the *dramatis personae*. Indeed, information on Degaev, his life, adventures, and, above all, motivations, is scarce. The text contains as much (in fact somewhat more) information about the life, adventures, and motivations of Sudeikin as about Degaev. Some of the information and discussion, aside from what pertains directly to these two protagonists, seems to serve as filler. Broad, potentially significant questions about motivations and about terrorism are either not posed, lack answers, or receive only anecdotal commentary.

The book is, as they say, a "good read" but Pipes might have titled it *The Degaev-Sudeikin Affair*. With the relationship of these two crucial individuals as the conceptual center of the study, the author could have expanded the discussion of several distinctly significant matters only alluded to here. For example, questions about Sudeikin's innovative approaches to struggling with the revolutionary movement, the role of Sudeikin and Degaev in the decimation of the People's Will, and what role all of this had in later efforts of the tsarist regime against revolutionary terrorism, not to mention revolutionary counter efforts, all appear, provoke curiosity, and then disappear all too quickly. For financial reasons, academic publishing now favors brevity almost as though this were an inherently positive intellectual value. This brief, interesting book demonstrates that it is not.

MICHAEL MELANCON
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VERA SHEVZOV. *Russian Orthodoxy on the Eve of Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 358. \$49.95.

Based on a wide range of print and archival sources, Vera Shevzov's new book offers an investigation of the religious infrastructure and communal dynamics of Russian Orthodoxy that is at once broad in its scope and intimate in its attention to lived experience. Eschewing a narrow definition of "the church" as the ecclesiastical establishment alone, Shevzov takes this concept to include the entire ecclesial community, laity and hierarchy alike. Her principal goal is to account for the maintenance of this community in the last half-century of tsarism, when processes of social and political change generated both broad religious alienation and an intensification of belief among Orthodoxy's more conscious adherents. After an engaging overview of debate within Orthodoxy over church reform and meanings of community, Shevzov analyzes a series of sacred centers—temples, chapels, feasts,

icons, and images of Mary—around which Orthodox believers ordered their religious lives. It was through the practices and beliefs clustered at these centers that a sense of belonging to the Orthodox community was fostered and sustained. This book thus considers the interplay among ecclesiastical institutions, theological visions, and popular forms of devotion.

Shevzov is constantly aware of significant tensions within the Orthodoxy community. To be sure, religious feasts integrated believers, both locally and across Russia, through the collective remembering of events and persons from sacred history. Similarly, icons could link individuals and local ecclesial communities into larger bodies of faithful, as the stories about particular icons were published broadly and particularly popular icons went on tour to distant parishes and towns. But she also reveals persistent tensions between locally focused understandings of Orthodoxy characterized by diverse religious practices and a more uniform, universally oriented understanding of the faith community. Chapels, for example, could reinforce a wider sense of belonging, but could also focus believers' attention on their immediate locale and thereby reinforce particularism. Likewise, Shevzov is attentive to disputes between laity and hierarchy, even as she resists reducing her story to this opposition. These tensions were clearly reflected in the discussions on church reform in the years around 1905, which offered essentially irreconcilable visions privileging either the episcopacy or the local parish community as the "center" of church life. In assessing the balance between centralizing and decentralizing tendencies, Shevzov seems ultimately to favor the former, though more in the body of her book than in the conclusion.

The strength of Shevzov's book lies in her keen attention to belief and theology, something that often is sorely missing in academic studies of religion. With an appropriate degree of sympathy, she renders intimately familiar both the original theological basis for particular practices and the aspirations of common believers who engaged in them. Shevzov effectively criticizes the stark opposition in many previous works between "official" and "popular" religion, as if the two stood perpetually in opposition to one another. Instead we see the laity as essential constituents of the ecclesial body, aspiring towards greater piety together with the hierarchy, even if not always in perfect harmony with them. In my view, Shevzov might have done more to analyze systematically the effects of modernization on religious belief, and the "Russian Orthodoxy" of the book's title merits greater attention, since the larger community in question is not clearly defined. Not all of the Orthodox faithful in the Russian Empire were Russian or even Slavic, and it is unclear how these groups fit into Shevzov's framework. Even who and what was "Russian" in these years was by no means self-evident, and the significance of Orthodoxy for those definitions was contested. Pondering the definition of the "Russian Orthodox" community from this angle—at the expense, perhaps, of some of the

many and detailed examples elsewhere—would have handsomely increased the contribution of Shevzov's book.

In any event, Shevzov provides an excellent foundation for others to pursue this line of inquiry, as well as many others. Hers is a welcome addition to a growing historical literature on "lived" religious experience in the Russian Empire. Imaginative and thoroughly researched, it should serve as a standard reference work for scholars of Russia, Europe, and religion more generally.

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JAMES W. HEINZEN, *Inventing a Soviet Countryside: State Power and the Transformation of Rural Russia, 1917–1929*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2004. Pp. x, 297. \$44.95.

James W. Heinzen's work fills a significant gap in the extensive historiography of the New Economic Policy (NEP) by providing a detailed study of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture (NKZem RSFSR), one of the principal economic commissariats of the era. The book studies the organization and staffing of NKZem RSFSR, offers some memorable portraits of its leading figures, especially its head, Alexander Petrovich Smirnov, and delves into the complexity of policy making in this era and the clash of institutional interests that had a major impact on policy.

NKZem RSFSR took over the old tsarist Ministry of Agriculture in 1917 and from the outset adopted a pro-peasant policy. It harshly criticized the government's policy during War Communism and fought a bitter battle against the food procurement commissariat (NKProd). From an agency largely ignored and held in contempt, NKZem RSFSR grew in influence from 1921 onward. Under Smirnov's leadership, it became a haven for bourgeois specialists, whose conception of the problem of agriculture eschewed the crudity of the Marxist class approach, focused on the technical and education aspects of backwardness, and saw the solution to the problem in developing agriculture within the framework of the commune fostered through taxation and price incentives.

The highpoint of NKZem RSFSR's influence was in 1925–1926 and coincided with the Politburo's strategy of concessions to the peasantry, but the under-funded commissariat's influence was never very great. Heinzen makes a convincing case that Smirnov and the specialists in NKZem RSFSR were one of the major sources of ideas and policies for the "Rightists" within the party leadership. But NKZem RSFSR was under constant pressure from the left within the party, from the control agencies, and from regional party secretaries, who too often were informed by class bigotry and poor comprehension of the nature of peasant society, and

eager to launch a witch hunt against those construed as politically suspect.

The grain crisis of 1927–1928 marked the death knell of NKZem RSFSR. In March 1928, Smirnov and his deputy I. A. Teodorovich were expelled from NKZem RSFSR, and the commissariat was reoriented toward supporting collectivization. In 1929, the commissariat was purged. Its leading officials were slated to be tried with the so-called “Labouring Peasants Party,” but instead they were sentenced to imprisonment by an OGPU tribunal. In December 1929, the new NKZem USSR was established, headed by Ia. A. Iakovlev, which energetically participated in enforcing collectivization and “dekulakisation.” Smirnov never openly sided with the rightists, seeing their resistance as doomed to failure. Most of the leading officials and specialists of the old NKZem RSFSR perished in the terror of 1937–1938.

The book is distinguished by its thoroughness, and by its cool and balanced judgement. Heinzen writes with sympathy for the leadership of NKZem RSFSR—Smirnov and Teodorovich—and for the plight of the bourgeois specialists—N. D. Kondratiev, A. V. Chianov, and others—who helped shape the agency’s policies. He is scathing on the role played by outside control agencies (the “cadre hawks” of Rabkrin) who led the attack on NKZem RSFSR. He is also highly critical of the Agrarian Marxists, headed by L. Kritsman, with their conception of a class-divided peasant society dominated by the “kulaks,” and he takes to task Western historians, including E. H. Carr, whom he charges with being unduly influenced by Kritsman’s ideas.

This study brings out the full complexity of the Bolshevik regime, its dilemmas, and its internal contradictions. Here Heinzen might have gone further. How was it possible for people, such as Smirnov and Kritsman, with such fundamentally divergent conceptions of policy to coexist within the same party? Why did the “Rightists” show such weakness in meeting the challenge of the Stalinists? Why did the bourgeois specialists display such naïveté in cooperating with a regime that ultimately destroyed them? This is not simply to exercise the wisdom of hindsight, but rather to pose the question of the nature of Bolshevism, and to question how far it could be persuaded onto a reformist course, and whether the only realistic strategy for the moderates was that of open resistance.

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PAUL R. GREGORY. *The Political Economy of Stalinism: Evidence from the Soviet Secret Archives*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 308. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$32.00.

Original scholarly works ordinarily fall into one of two categories. New theories or hypotheses are applied to existing data in one type. In the other, new data are

discovered to test established hypotheses. Paul R. Gregory’s opus is an outstanding example of the second type. He has combined his own extraordinarily wide knowledge of the secondary literature on the Soviet planned economy with access to previously closed Soviet-era archives to test a series of competing theories on the nature of Soviet planning.

The question addressed is not simply how the system evolved and functioned, but also and ultimately more importantly, why the Soviet economy failed. Gregory frames this issue in terms of an analogy conceived by the late Joseph Berliner: “Did the administrative-command economy fail because of a bad jockey or a bad horse?” (p. 4). The author’s new material comes primarily from the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE) and the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF). The answer to Berliner’s question proves to be more complicated and nuanced than might have been expected, and, fortunately, Gregory does not conclude that the truth is somewhere in between.

In order to answer the question Gregory tests four competing theories about what motivated Joseph Stalin’s economic policies. What was the dictator’s objective function? Model One is scientific planning to maximize growth as was described in Soviet economic textbooks and implied by Marxist ideology. Model Two is the “stationary bandit,” a concept developed by Mancur Olson based on his reading of Stalin. The aim in this instance is long-run growth and economic development. Model Three is drawn from political science literature on “the selfish dictator,” in which the leader seeks to maximize political power and totalitarian control of society. Finally, Model Four is based on interest group analysis in which the political leader serves as “referee-dictator” and promotes the economy only as a means to this end. As an economist, Gregory is not very comfortable with models that highlight the role of a single or several personalities as determinants of historical developments, and he hedges somewhat in order to avoid a great man hypothesis. Even so, Stalin plays the principal role in the creation of the Soviet system. Was this inevitable given the ideology of the Bolsheviks, the political infighting that followed V. I. Lenin’s death, and the fact of political and economic isolation of the early Soviet regime? Did the horse get the bit in its teeth? The simple answer is “yes,” but the analysis is much more involved and interesting.

The various substantive chapters describe the origins of the system of Soviet planning based on rapid accumulation, collectivization and the centralization of decision making, the formulation of investment and wage policies, the role of long and medium-run formal plans, the inevitable conflict between planners and producers, and ruble control. Gregory shows “that Stalin or the Politburo could make pitifully few decisions” (p. 270) These were, nonetheless, critical control variables: the investment budget, the allocation of foreign exchange, and grain collection. All other deci-

sions were made by subordinates. Gregory accepts the "Hayekian proposition" that an administrative system based on the core values of the Bolshevik Party, that is, based on planning, comprehensive state ownership and primitive accumulation, "inevitably breeds a Stalin-like figure" (p. 268).

How, then did the system work at all for sixty years and work sufficiently well to challenge the military power of the United States? Gregory argues that there was not just one Stalin but many lesser Stalins at all levels of the bureaucracy. All were acquainted with the priorities set at the top for allocation decisions. Allocation decisions were simplified by fact that "virtually all economic instructions were based upon the principle that this year's activity would be last year's plus a minor adjustment" (p. 271). Thus the Soviet economic system was inherently resistant to the exercise of initiative at lower levels of the bureaucracy and could only change through pressure from the top. Mikhail Gorbachev's determination to change the system undermined its foundations and it collapsed. It is obvious that Gregory's analysis of the character of the Soviet planned economy has implications for an analysis of Gorbachev's successors, especially Vladimir Putin, but that is another story.

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YORAM GORLIZKI and OLEG KHELVNIUK. *Cold Peace: Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945–1953*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 248. \$35.00.

This book is the first archive-based study focused exclusively on Joseph Stalin's relationship with his postwar Politburo underlings. Yoram Gorlizki has teamed with Oleg Khlevniuk to produce a highly detailed study of Politburo operations during the final eight years of Stalin's rule. The picture they paint of decision making in the Kremlin (and in Stalin's various dachas) reinforces some old notions of postwar continuity. This study suggests that, in the postwar period, Stalin recreated and strengthened a system and a process of dictatorial rule that he had constructed before the war. The general secretary's associates are shown to have understood their roles in the dictator's government and to have consistently practiced what they hoped would be appropriate subservient behavior. The authors portray the postwar state as a smoothly functioning dictatorial regime absent the factions and internecine rivalries that prior scholars had postulated.

The book is organized in six largely chronological chapters that demonstrate how Stalin kept Politburo members in line. The first two chapters cover the period from 1945 to 1948, when Stalin worked to extinguish the small degree of autonomy his deputies had been able to exercise during the war. First, he orchestrated an episode in which Viacheslav Molotov was made to admit to various errors. Stalin apparently had no intention of demoting or arresting Molotov.

His purpose, according to the authors, was to remind Molotov that he served only at the dictator's pleasure. Stalin then essentially repeated the process with Anastas Mikoian and then with Georgii Malenkov.

The authors do not claim that Stalin tried to personally administer the government. Instead, they show that Stalin supported "a strong technocratic tendency" (p. 12) by delegating powers to committees run largely out of the Council of Ministers. While Stalin expected others to administer political and economic affairs, the authors argue that Stalin reserved for himself the sole right to make policy. To bolster this claim, Gorlizki and Khlevniuk offer evidence to show that the period's notorious anti-intellectual, anti-Western campaign named for Andrei Zhdanov (the *Zhdanovshchina*) had been orchestrated by Stalin. Zhdanov, they argue, did little more than follow Stalin's orders.

In chapters three and four, the authors cover the Leningrad and Gosplan Affairs of 1949. These episodes accounted for the only instance in the postwar period in which a Politburo member was expelled and later executed. The authors believe that the demotions and arrests of hundreds: and the execution of Politburo member, Nikolai Voznesenskii, had no policy implications. These purges, the authors argue, were meant to reinforce "the sense of fear and subjugation among Stalin's subordinates" (p. 94).

In chapter five, the authors survey discussions inside leadership circles about the gulag system and collectivized agriculture. The records indicate that Stalin's associates were aware of a need for reform in both those sectors, but none dared to take any action. The sole enacted reform—a 1952 decision to raise cattle procurement prices—had been made by Stalin personally. In the final chapter the authors find that, despite growing health problems toward the end of his life that compelled him to spend most of his time away from Moscow, Stalin continued to dominate and menace his subordinates. The authors argue that the 1952 Party Congress, the Doctor's Plot, and denunciations of Molotov and Mikoian had been orchestrated by Stalin to stave off thoughts of succession. The book also argues, however, that Stalin's physical absence from Moscow gave the Politburo's ruling group more autonomy to administer government affairs and thereby helped create "an embryonic collective leadership . . . that would put them in good stead once Stalin died" (p. 106).

The book's narrow focus on politics at the highest level creates a somewhat misleading image of the postwar USSR. This portrait of an ossified regime with an all-powerful dictator subjugating a cowed group of subordinates cannot depict any of the significant social changes taking place in the postwar era that recent scholarly studies by Amir Weiner, Elena Zubkova, and others have illuminated. In the final analysis, this book is less about the Soviet Union than it is about dictatorship. It provides insight into the inner workings of modern dictatorships and would be useful reading for

those studying the regimes of Adolf Hitler, Francisco Franco, Fidel Castro, or Saddam Hussein.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

MICHAEL BONNER, MINE ENER, and AMY SINGER, editors. *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*. (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 345. Cloth \$71.50, paper \$23.95.

The 'Abbasid courtier al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā (al-Barmakī, d. 808 A.D.) allegedly divided mankind into four classes—rulers, viziers, the upper classes, and the middle classes—and dismissed the remainder as “filthy refuse, a torrent of scum, base cattle, none of whom thinks of anything but his food and sleep.” Although the earlier generations of Western Orientalists did not necessarily share Faḍl’s world view, it is remarkable how little they were aware of—and thus ignored as subjects of historical research—the roles the rank and file, and particularly the poor, played in past societies and the ways Muslims coped with poverty. A change set in when, with the introduction of new historiographical concepts and attitudes in the second half of the twentieth century, social history came to its own within the field of Islamic Studies and scholars began increasingly to turn their attention to “the masses,” to popular movements, etc. The history of poverty and charity as a subdiscipline with its own set of questions, sources, and methodologies is a fresh and dynamic development. It is not just a coincidence, I think, that in the same year this collection appeared in the United States, another volume, on a very similar theme, by a different group of scholars, was published in France (J.-P. Pascual, ed., *Poverty and Wealth in the Muslim Mediterranean World* [2003]).

The book consists of sixteen highly informative and insightful articles first given as conference papers. They are grouped into five sections: “Entitlement and Obligation,” “Institutions,” “The State as Benefactor,” “Changing Worlds,” and “Welfare as Politics.” The purpose of these studies was to explore, in a Middle Eastern, mainly Islamic, context, ideas about the poor and poverty, the ideals and practices of charity, and state and private initiatives of relief to the poor; to introduce new sources and approach familiar ones with new questions, and to offer methodological insights and historical analyses. Given this scope, the volume impressively demonstrates the complexity of its subject. For instance, definitions of “poverty” in Islamic writing have been varied and changing over time and the poor were not always the main target of charitable endowments or even of alms (*zakāt*). Moreover, charity, particularly through the unique institution of *waqf*, has always been connected in various ways to political, social, and economic factors.

The volume is also helpful—in an implicit way—for gaps and lacunas it reveals as still existing in the field. From articles by Miri Shefer, Miriam Hoexter, Eyal Ginio, Nadir Özbek, and coeditors Amy Singer and Mine Ener, all based on a wide range of sources, it clearly emerges that the research on poverty and charity in the Ottoman period, when the *waqf* institution flourished and its impact on society reached its peak, accomplished more than did parallel projects carried out for other periods in Middle Eastern history. As we go back in time, to the beginning of the Islamic era, the writing of “history from below” becomes more and more difficult due to the nature of the existing sources and the almost total lack of archival ones (e.g. Bonner, pp. 15–18; Timur Kuran, p. 281). As a result, we have essays such as those by Michael Bonner and Ingrid Mattson in this volume, which are at one and the same time inevitably speculative and extremely important for the understanding of the roots and early development of Islamic concepts of poverty and charity. The situation is improved for historians of the medieval and late medieval periods, as shown in the use of the Cairo Geniza documents in Mark Cohen’s essay, exploring the relationships between normative Jewish law and actual charitable practices in the Jewish community of Egypt. A judicious combination of textual sources and archeological testimonies serves Yasser Tabbaa in his discussion of the functional aspects of medieval Islamic hospitals. No wonder then, that when, in the second part of his article, Adam Sabra seeks to show how the theories of price control he outlines in the first part were actually applied, he approaches Mamlūk sources.

The discussion of poverty and charity in the modern and contemporary periods is limited here to ideologies and initiatives of elites and governments while themes such as popular movements, their social and economic background as well as the ways they have developed to cope with poverty are not represented. However, the contributions by Juan Cole, Beth Baron, Kathryn Libal, and particularly Kuran and Singer convincingly demonstrate a continuous tradition of ideas and modes of action—the ideological and material legacies of charity—and the mark they have left on the contemporary Middle East. According to Baron, “poverty (in interwar Egypt) was gendered [and conditioned by age]: The bulk of the poor were women and children.” (For women and children in other periods and areas, see contributions by Ginio, Ener, and Libal.) But not only children; old people have also been vulnerable and often fell victim to illness, an important cause of poverty in itself. Both social sectors therefore deserve more attention in this context. To this slaves (whose manumission, by the way, was regarded as an act of religious benevolence) should be added.

The participation of commentators from the study of poverty and charity in other cultures lends to the collection as a whole a cross-cultural, comparative dimension. In her illuminating conclusion Natalie Zemon Davis synthesizes the contributions and puts them

in a wider context, thus drawing a general picture of poverty and charity from which the similarities with Christian Europe and the uniqueness of the Islamic Middle East clearly emerge.

The volume is well edited with helpful systematic cross references and a glossary (interwoven into the index) making it as a whole convenient to use. A selected bibliography would have added another essential feature to a volume that constitutes a landmark in the history of poverty and charity in Middle Eastern Muslim societies.

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NICOLAS VATIN and GILLES VEINSTEIN. *Le Sérail ébranlé: Essai sur les morts, dépositions et avènements des sultans ottomans (xiv^e – xix^e siècle)*. Paris: Fayard. 2003. Pp. 523. €26.

As the millions of Americans who viewed the televised funeral of Ronald Reagan, debated conspiracies over the JFK assassination, and relished the peccadilloes of William Clinton attest, homegrown leaders continue hold our audiences in thrall. But readers across the Atlantic appear to savor a more exotic fare. From Christopher Marlowe's account of Sultan Beyazid's captivity to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's musical interpretation of the harem, the drama of the Turkish court has long thrilled continental audiences. That a commercial publisher like Fayard might entrust a pair of Ottoman scholars with a tome of 523 pages about sultanic succession speaks less to the marketability of the life and death of outsized political leaders than the cultural gulf that separates middlebrow readerships on the shores of the Atlantic.

Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein gently remind their readers that rites of passage of a Muslim emperor are really not the stuff of Scheherazade. While the sultan is the shadow of God on earth, he is also a leader who is prey to the vicissitudes of a premodern polity. Unlike the well-greased institutional and legislative wheels of modern states, the transition in the leadership of an absolutist state often brought the apparatus of rule to a standstill. Special privileges and compacts abruptly ended; members of ministerial regimes were lucky to escape with their lives and fortunes; and the loyalties of regional commanders wavered. For a Turkic dynasty where Central Asian tradition allowed for multiple claimants of equal legitimacy, a grim ritual involving the elimination of contenders also ensued.

The chapters in this volume attempt to track the key moments in the Ottoman imperial succession. They begin at the end, by examining the two bodies of the sultan: the extraordinary power of the sovereign in life, and yet his utter mortality. They remind us of the heroic deaths of the few who died in the battlefield and depict the bickering between soothsayers and physicians at the bedside of moribund rulers. The minders of Suleyman the Magnificent kept his death a secret

until his successors could be put in place. Yet the many others who were passed over or deposed spent the remainder of their days in the *kafes*, a type of gilded cage. And there were notorious cases of regicide. Truly revolutionary was the demise of Sultan Osman II, an event that set the stage for Gabriel Piterberg's novel interpretation of the Ottoman state (*An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* [2003]).

Despite these adversities, the nearly unrivaled longevity of the House of Osman among the dynasties of Europe and Asia speaks of a remarkable feat of social engineering. To my mind, Vatin and Veinstein make too much of the comparative advantage of primogeniture in the West. In fact, the woes of European monarchies owed to a dearth of eligible male candidates, given monogamy and high rates of child mortality. Inter-marriage with other houses led to civil wars and intervention, particularly when the surviving heir was female. But the authors do emphasize the fact that the Ottomans solved the problem of a princely surfeit by adopting a policy based on agnatic seniority. Mention should have been of another element in this successful strategy: a birth control policy that reduced the number of male offspring per consort (see Leslie P. Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* [1993]).

Overall, the author's decision to rely almost exclusively on sixteenth and seventeenth-century narrative sources produces a happy compromise. On the one hand, their sources yield a richly nuanced text, replete with vivid quotations which will satisfy, as well as entertain, scholarly readers. Not only do courtly writers demonstrate a surprising range of emotional register, they enable Vatin and Veinstein to document subtle changes in ritual that support their contentions that a more universal, Islamic character transcended earlier Turkic patterns of rule. On the other hand, it is the very limitations of this genre that may be the best concession to the demands of a more popular readership. Unlike the archival scribe who furnished the data needed to measure the routinization of authority, from numbers of bureaucrats and soldiers to the size of the treasury deficits and assets, the courtly narrator purposefully cloaked discontinuities and obscured material constraints on an awe-inspiring dynasty whose leaders remained, in life as in death, all too human.

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Canada

KATHRYN BABAYAN. *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs. Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*. (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, number 35.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. lvi, 575. \$19.95.

The religious map of the Middle East today appears to us as Muslim-dominated, almost monochromatic, with Sunni and Shi'i Islam as merely two shades of green. Few realize that underneath this hard-polished exterior lurk the remnants of pagan, dualistic, and apoca-

lyptic creeds that originated and thrived in the Persian cultural realm long before the emergence of the monotheistic religions that set out to erase them, Christianity and Islam. This imaginative and ambitious book by Kathryn Babayan retrieves and celebrates this subterranean world, delving into its millenarian belief in an alternative universe beyond divine and human categories, in the possibility of restoring paradise (a Persian word) in this world rather than having to wait for the eschatological end envisioned by monotheism.

In the first part of her study, Babayan takes the reader on a tour around this lost world of heresy, of belief in reincarnation and the transmigration of souls, in cyclical rather than linear time. She discusses the cosmological rhythm of the utopian creeds preached by Iranian prophets such as Mani and Mazdak, probes the beliefs of the Nuqtavis, a Gnostic sect on the margins of Islam with fifteenth-century origins, and highlights extremist (*ghuluww*) and esoteric forms of Shi'ism with their propensity to see history as the tale of charismatic, divinely anointed men with direct access to the secrets of the cosmos. Throughout, her narrative emphasizes how these creeds evince a Persian consciousness in their nostalgia for Iran's lost grandeur and their tendency to portray Arab-Islamic rule over Iran as oppressive.

The second part examines how, at the turn of the sixteenth century, such beliefs fastened on Isma'il Safavi, the charismatic leader of a mystical Shi'i sect that under him became a state. Revered as an incarnation of God, Isma'il exemplified the whole array of primordial notions articulated in the milieu of the Nuqtavis and the Qizilbash, the Turkmen tribal warriors who brought the Safavids to power. But Isma'il was also a king with an urge to centralize the disparate elements of his realm. He thus betrayed the ideology that had swept him into power and began to suppress its manifestations as subversive. As the Safavid state continued to move away from its nomadic, tribal past, later shahs pursued religious homogenization. Shah Tahmasb, Isma'il's son and successor, was a pivotal figure in this process. Breaking with his father's messianism and the *ghuluww* legacy of the Qizilbash, he renounced his position as exemplar of hidden divine meaning to enforce Islamic orthodoxy. Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1587–1629) represents the next phase. Cultivating a new elite composed of religious leaders and imported slave soldiers, he further centralized the realm and became its absolutist ruler on the basis of a new concept of power. Whereas previously legitimacy had been vested in the ruling clan, with each member a claimant to power on the basis of support by Qizilbash loyalists, now kingship was buttressed by patrilineage sustained through primogeniture.

Babayan illustrates these changes through mystical writings, poetry, and a rare example of royal penmanship, Shah Tahmasb's autobiography. She devotes an entire chapter to popular stories narrated in the Safavid coffeehouses, most notably the romantic tales of Abu Muslim, the leader of an early Islamic revolt,

that came under attack in seventeenth-century Iran. Epics such as that of Abu Muslim, she argues, had to be excised from the collective memory, for they reminded the Safavids of their own heretical past and represented a version of history and a genealogy from which the Safavids wished to escape.

The early chapters especially are brilliantly associative, even if rather allusive, elliptical, and occasionally repetitive rather than chronologically rigorous. This, to be sure, is in part a function of a lack of sequential documentation for the period, which frequently causes the author to jump centuries. The part on the Safavids is far more concrete, but even here the author, in her ideational exuberance, pays scant attention to the material world and how it informed and interacted with, the ideas and expectations she describes with so much verve. By divorcing the narrative from its wider political and socioeconomic contexts, she disregards the fiscal dimension of rebellious movements and overlooks the possibility that the growing Iranization of Shi'ism and the growing Shi'itization of Iran evolved in part as a strategy against the Sunni Ottomans, Uzbeks, and Mughals.

While the author brings great sensibility to her subject, her dreamy infatuation with the *ghuluww* tradition also causes her to indulge in rash generalizations and speculation not supported by the evidence. Babayan is right to say that many of these movements sprang from Iranian soil, but she probably makes too much of that point by suggesting that the truth they pursued was an explicitly Iranian truth and that they expressed a proto-nationalist Persian identity, including a desire for the regeneration of Iranian glory and sovereignty. Although she qualifies this by saying that it is not clear if the various movements consciously articulated a "Persianate" ethos, she comes perilously close to viewing early modern sentiments through the lens of modern Iranian nationalism.

There are also occasional mistakes. 130,000, not 330,000 Georgians were captured during Shah Abbas's Georgian campaign, as narrated by Iskandar Munshi (pp. 360, 391, fn. 22). Mirza Habibullah Karaki was appointed *sadr* in 1041/1632, not 1641 (p. 241, fn. 74). Shah Abbas I, not Shah Safi, sent preachers to coffeehouses (p. 443). The ban on un-Islamic behavior proclaimed in 1694 did not include coffeehouses (p. 485).

In the end, none of it matters. Babayan has written a big, bold, and challenging book that is surely premature as a synthesis but that no one concerned with religion in premodern Iran (as opposed to the unexplained "early modern" in the title) can afford to ignore.

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GUITY NASHAT and LOIS BECK, editors. *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 253. Cloth \$42.95, paper \$18.95.

This volume assembles ten essays on the role of women in the history and culture of the Iranian world in premodern times. The essays may be categorized into three main groups: one dealing with women and gender relations in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period, one on women under the dynasties of the Turko-Mongol period, and one on women in Persian literature and art. The subject matter treated is actually a bit broader than the title would indicate. Chronologically, the essays touch, if briefly, on eras from prehistory down to the twentieth century; geographically, they cover more than just the area of the Iranian plateau or even the former Persian Empire, ranging as far afield at times as the Arabian peninsula, Egypt, or Byzantium. Despite the unifying theme, the essays also vary considerably in approach and, as in most edited volumes, are uneven in quality. On the whole, however, this book is a very welcome and useful addition to the rapidly growing body of literature dealing with the study of women and gender in Islamic societies.

The core, literally and figuratively, of the volume consists of articles by Julie Meisami, Carole Hillenbrand, Beatrice Forbes Manz, and Maria Szuppe dealing, respectively, with the history of women during Ghaznavid, Seljuq, Timurid, and Safavid times (approximately 977 to 1722). Each author is an expert on the period she treats, and these are all strong and persuasive essays, very well documented and close to the sources. They also share a number of conceptual and methodological features. In particular, they avoid what Meisami bluntly describes as the tendency of many modern scholars writing about Muslim women to rely on "a back-projection of contemporary agendas and . . . an essentialist construction of a monolithic and static Islam considered to be inherently and institutionally misogynistic" (p. 80). They make a clear distinction between the view of women as expressed in the theoretical ideals of Islamic law or philosophy and the actual status of women in the historical society of the times. Due consideration is given to the differences arising from class status, ethnicity, and occupation that affected the condition of women. The emphasis is on what can actually be known from the sources, primarily about "royal women" at the courts of these various dynasties. The interpretation that emerges is complex and surprising, both in terms of the number of female personalities discussed and the extent of their involvement in political affairs and the patronizing of culture throughout the whole of this period. What Meisami describes as the "gloomy picture of medieval Muslim women as victims of a male-dominated society, secluded, invisible, debarred from public affairs, and treated negatively by male writers" does not stand up well to scrutiny; no one is likely to come away from reading these essays with the feeling that women, at least among the elite, were either invisible or unimportant.

It is of course open to question how typical this may be either of society as a whole, since the emphasis is on women among the elite, or of other periods, since the

strong Turko-Mongol element means that it was not an exclusively Perso-Islamic environment. Some contributors suggest there may have been a more repressive attitude toward women in earlier times, which reasserted itself later. However, the articles by Mahmoud Omidzadeh on women in Ferdowsi's *Shah-nameh*, by Fatemeh Keshavarz on the figure of Shirin in a famous poem by Nizami, and by Layla Diba on women in Persian painting show clearly that in art and literature, too, women were prominent both in number and significance. As Keshavarz suggests, it seems unlikely that this image of women could be completely divorced from existing social realities, or the literature would simply not be credible. Likewise, the numerous and assertive women in the *Shah-nameh*, a national epic based on legends from ancient Iran, would seem to imply that pre-Islamic Iranian society was not so misogynistic as often claimed.

A rather different impression is given by the three other historical essays, all on pre-Mongol periods, but these for various reasons are the least satisfactory articles in the volume. Coeditor Guity Nashat provides a general survey dealing with the status of women in societies of the "Nile-to-Oxus region" from prehistoric times to approximately the second Islamic century. However, the article is not based on original work in the primary sources; Nashat has to rely on a selective reading of secondary sources and some translations to make her case. The basic thesis is that conditions of life for various social classes of women developed very early and were perpetuated with only minor changes thereafter. In particular, various practices—veiling, seclusion, removal from public life—now regarded as repressive of women "derived not from the Qur'an nor from the practices of the Muslim community during the prophet's time but rather from the Arabians' exposure to the societies they conquered" (p. 38). Pristine Islam actually granted women "valuable protections" and sought "to improve prevailing practices." This, of course, is a standard refrain in modern apologetic Muslim literature and is precisely the kind of uncritical "back-projection of contemporary agendas" Meisami's article warns against. Richard Bulliet examines the role of women in the "urban religious elite" by analyzing entries on women in five biographical dictionaries from the pre-Mongol period and finds that they are numerically "paltry" both in the works themselves (67 out of 15,303 biographies) and as compared to those in one much earlier and one much later dictionary. This difference is attributed more to changes in the nature of the biographical genre than to sociohistorical factors. The conclusions are intriguing, but the essay itself is rather impressionistic and sparsely documented. Some of the dictionaries studied have little or nothing to do with Iran, and they may not be all that representative of the larger body of biographical literature from the period.

The remaining essay, by Jamsheed Choksy on women during the transition from Sasanian to Islamic times, is the most problematic in the volume. He

detects an increasing degree of patriarchy and misogyny in the Sasanian period, so that “women eventually were expected to accept domesticity as daughters, wives, and mothers rather than to seek public recognition” and had “only limited authority” even in household matters and the rearing of children (p. 53). The main effect of the Arab conquest was that Iranians, “particularly women and girls living in urban centers, routinely faced spending years if not the rest of their lives providing involuntary service to triumphant Muslim soldiers” (p. 53). The rampant “sex and intermarriage of Arab men and Iranian women” as “an important gender-related path to Islam” meant that Iranian women, as wives, concubines, and servants, were on the “forefront” of acculturating the Arabs to the customs and mores of pre-Islamic Iran—including, it would seem, the elements of their own oppression (p. 61).

Choksy claims that the nature of the sources makes it necessary to combine “documented instances” with “a degree of extrapolation” (p. 49). What that means in practice is that material, often from dubious sources, is repeatedly taken out of context, over-generalized, and subjected to some highly imaginative interpretations. It is not possible in a short review to deal with all the egregious errors that result. To give but a few examples: Choksy refers to a “pragmatic edict” by the Caliph Umar “that ‘maintaining the original status of Iranians’ was preferable to fanning the natives’ antagonism by further disrupting prevailing socioeconomic conditions” (p. 53). In fact, this well-known decree did not refer to “Iranians” but rather specified that “the peasants (*fallahin*) should be left as they were,” not to avoid offending them but as a source of revenue. He claims the treaty of capitulation offered to Sarakhs “provided security only for Iranian men” while women “found themselves losing their liberty, becoming concubines and servants to the newcomers”; the source cited says nothing about special privileges for men or even anything about women from Sarakhs being treated this way (two women, who were from Abrashahr, not Sarakhs, were presented by the inhabitants to the Arab commander after the conclusion of a peace treaty, not seized by him). As for Iranian women as bearers of culture, Choksy asserts that they affected “even the mode of dining . . . when the use of bowls was gradually introduced” (p. 60). If Choksy had bothered to check the source, he would have found something quite different. A governor of Basra was accused of abuse of office, among his offenses having “sixty sons of nobles” as servants and a slave girl, ‘Aqila, who was given a bowl of food at lunch and dinner. There is nothing to indicate this ‘Aqila was an “Iranian” (her name suggests otherwise); the slave girl is being given the bowl, not teaching its use; and in any case “bowl” is meant to indicate an amount of food, which was more than the soldiers in the tribal army were receiving as a ration. There is nothing here to suggest the introduction of the novelty of the bowl to the Arabs or the special role

of Iranian women as transmitters of culture to their uncouth captors.

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ELLEN L. FLEISCHMANN. *The Nation and Its “New” Women: The Palestinian Women’s Movement, 1920–1948*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 335. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$29.95.

In recent years, a number of important scholarly works have documented the emergence of women’s movements in the Middle East during the interwar period and explored the intersection of nationalism and feminism in anticolonial struggles and state-building processes in the region. Ellen L. Fleischmann’s excellent new book is an important contribution to this growing literature.

Fleischmann’s primary purpose in this book is “to inscribe women into the nationalist narrative” of the Mandate period, a narrative from which they have been “almost completely absent” (p. 3). The principal sources that she draws on are British government documents, the Palestinian press, and oral history in the form of interviews with women who participated in the movement. One of the strengths of the book is her careful use of these sources (which she describes as “characterized by both partialness and partiality” [p. 22]), to see these developments from multiple points of view.

The book is divided into two major sections. In the first, Fleischmann examines the context out of which a women’s movement emerged and developed during the Mandate period. Even before the establishment of the British Mandate after World War I, some changes in women’s roles and gender boundaries had occurred. Economic developments, linked to integration into the world economy, and the modernizing and centralizing reforms of the Ottoman state resulted in new educational opportunities for girls and some women working outside the home. These changes, together with calls for reform by some Muslim men and the influence of new discourses on women in Egypt and elsewhere, produced a “gradual liberalizing tendency” in Palestine (p. 30). With the establishment of the British Mandate, this process of change accelerated. Although officially committed to not interfering with the status quo, the Mandatory authorities’ concern to improve some social conditions focused their attention on women, and they “worked to construct a de facto policy that simultaneously neglected, disciplined, and repressed women” (p. 25). At the same time, the Mandate government expanded education for women and provided greater opportunities for work outside the home. Upper and middle-class women were able to take advantage of these opportunities. The social transformation that resulted was reflected in debates in the Palestinian press about the “woman question.” Women actively participated in these debates about the redefinition of gender roles and about the relation-

ship between liberating the woman and liberating the nation, laying the basis for the emergence of the women's movement.

In the second part of the book, Fleischmann examines the development of the women's movement, including its leadership, organization, tactics, and strategies. As in other parts of the Middle East, the initial motive for the establishment of the movement was reformist and charitable. For the women themselves, however, their involvement was a political statement; it had a political purpose—the uplift of the nation—and was closely linked to the anticolonial struggle. The continual crisis in the decade after 1929 made the anticolonial and political nature of the movement more evident. Women participated in demonstrations, weapons smuggling, and strikes, as well as welfare and fund-raising activities. This decade also saw the transformation of the organizing strategies of the movement.

This book makes a very important contribution to the historiography on the emergence of the modern Middle East by documenting the history of Palestinian women in the nationalist struggle. But Fleischmann goes beyond this. She links the Palestinian case to debates about the relationship between nationalism and feminism and specifically about whether women involved in the nationalist struggle can be “feminist,” since the national struggle has always taken precedence over the struggle for gender equality. Fleischmann does not deny the inherent weaknesses and contradictions in the Palestinian women's movement: male resistance to women's political activity and the “new woman,” British policies, the tension and contradictions between the feminist agenda and the nationalist agenda, the failure to reach out to women of all classes. Nevertheless, she argues that these Palestinian women were able to assert feminist agency and establish autonomy from the male nationalist movement and the British occupiers. She notes their often critical comments about male tactics and the eclectic strategies and tactics that women used, in some cases more militant tactics than those of their male counterparts. She makes clear the significant role that they played in the nationalist struggle. Their ability to overcome the debilitating factional conflict that affected the (male) Palestinian nationalist movement and their ability to make alliances with other Arab women were valuable for the nationalist struggle, even if they could not ultimately guarantee its success.

This book should be widely read not just by scholars of Palestinian history and women in the Middle East but by all interested in the intersection of nationalism and feminism.

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EVE M. TROUTT POWELL. *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan*. (Colonialisms, number 2.) Berkeley and Los Angeles:

University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 260. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Every schoolchild knows that Egypt was subject to British imperial rule from 1882 to 1952. What tends to be forgotten is that Egypt was itself an imperial power during this same era. While other parts of the empire came and went, Egyptian officials did their best to retain control over the Sudan, from the conquest of its northern marches in 1820–1821 until the termination of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement in 1956. Eve M. Troutt Powell's ambitious and stimulating study argues that Cairo's longstanding imperial ties to this territory played a crucial role in the development of Egyptian nationalism: “I examine not a Manichean binary relationship between colonizer and colonized, but a more fluid relationship, in which the colonizer came from more than one continent, and the colonized could aspire to be a colonizer not only by adopting the tools of the British, or the traditions of the Ottomans, but also by making the Sudan a part of what defined Egypt as truly Egyptian” (p. 8).

Powell traces the trajectory of Egyptian imperialism by surveying the writings of prominent writers who wrestled with issues related to the Sudan. Muhammad al-Tunisi traveled to Dar Fur just before the Egyptian conquest and composed an account of his journey that highlights the exotic nature of the Sudanese people, particularly the women, “who are much more lustful and wanton than other women” (p. 37). Selim Qapudan embarked on three excursions into the Sudan at the height of the imperial period (1839–1842); his reports focus on such geographic details as the depth of the Nile River, the locations of previously uncharted tributaries, and the prospects for mineral production (p. 46). Rifa'ah Rafi' al-Tahtawi arrived in Khartoum in 1849, when the empire was crumbling in the face of European pressure. He found the place to be unbearable, yet vital to Egypt's emergence as a modern nation: “Bringing the Sudan closer into the Egyptian sphere created one country, with links to both the glories of the ancient Egyptian past and the future power of Europe” (p. 55).

As Egyptian nationalism accelerated in the years leading up to the 1881–1882 revolt of Ahmad 'Urabi, 'Ali Mubarak articulated a vision of the Sudan that highlighted both its potential for progress and its vulnerability to foreign subjugation. At the same time, Ya'qub Sanu'a popularized the notion of “an intimate empire, in which the Sudanese were the servants, guards and doorkeepers of Egyptian society. Although the Sudan was depicted as a wild and untamed land, Sudanese residents in Egypt were often portrayed as docile, fearful and in need of Egyptian guidance” (p. 72). The anti-imperialist activist Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, by contrast, championed the Mahdist rebellion and the challenge it posed to European rule, not only in the Sudan but also in Egypt. Still, deep-seated prejudices led al-Afghani to worry about the consequences of a Mahdist victory: “I do not know what the

result would be if the Sudan fell wholly into Muhammad Ahmad's possession and he set up government over those vast lands, with no way left to him but to continue on his path and propagate his message among all the Arab tribes, with all of his capabilities" (pp. 97–98). Such fears were echoed by Mustafa Kamil, who asserted that "the Muslims of the Sudan are very rigid and fanatical"; only the Egyptians, whose national character encompassed both an innate moderation and a tendency toward liberalism, could act as "the medium between civilized Europe and fanatical Africa" (p. 160). Even Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, who rejected such biases, argued that the two countries belonged together: "It is a mistake to consider the Sudan an Egyptian colony. The Sudan is rather a part of what makes up Egypt; she completes Egypt. Every Sudanese bears the same responsibilities to the nation of Egypt as every native Egyptian" (p. 166).

Powell thus makes a persuasive case that images of the Sudan constructed by influential literateurs, journalists, political activists, and government officials simultaneously laid the foundation for Egyptian imperialism and contributed to the growth of Egyptian nationalism. She does, however, leave hanging a basic question, despite raising it twice (pp. 46–47, 77): what kind of imperial project was Egypt carrying out in its dealings with the Sudan? Was it one driven by the interests of the Ottoman, "Turco-Circassian" rulers in Cairo? And, if so, how did the principles and practice of the Turkiyyah affect the interaction of this ruling elite with the British administration on one hand and the nascent nationalist movement on the other? Much current debate about Egyptian history hinges on this precise issue.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

LISA A. LINDSAY and STEPHAN F. MIESCHER, editors. *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2003. Pp. vi, 265. Cloth \$65.95, paper \$27.00.

This collection of essays by twelve distinguished African, African-American, Euro-American, and European historians (plus two anthropologists and one scholar of religion) examines the construction of gender roles in twentieth-century sub-Saharan Africa. With two exceptions—an essay about Nigerian men in the 1990s and another about a female king in Nigeria—the essays are about the interaction of African men as workers, herders, teachers, soldiers, policemen, and nationalists with colonial authorities, missionaries, and colonists. The collection includes chapters covering eight countries of East, West, and Southern Africa (four are about Nigeria and two about Ghana). The theme threading through the volume is the ways in which African men responded to colonial policies that

affected, and in some cases profoundly changed, their traditional gender roles.

The first three essays are grouped under the heading, "Challenging Senior Masculinity." Meredith McKittrick describes the impact of European traders, particularly those selling guns, labor recruiters, and missionaries on young men in Namibia; no longer dependent on the traditions of subsistence economies, young men found livelihoods that offered new routes to manhood and fatherhood. Nwando Achebe recounts the extraordinary rise of King Ahebi in northern Igboland, exemplifying female power and gender transformation. Gregory Mann examines conflicts over Islamic religious authority and the lives of military veterans in the French Soudan (Mali), detailing bitter contests in Islamic practice and sources of senior masculine power.

Part two, "(Re)making Men in Colonial Africa," comprises five essays, beginning with Stephan F. Miescher's description of Presbyterian teachers in Ghana. Employing life histories, Miescher argues for the coexistence of several forms of masculinity that evolved in dialogue between Scottish and Ghanaian traditions. Keith Shear studies the politics of black policing in twentieth-century South Africa, concluding that the black police served as key intermediaries in white control. Frederick Cooper compares family wages in Kenya and family allowances in French West Africa, finding that African trade unionists turned the rhetoric of social engineering into a rhetoric of entitlement. Lisa A. Lindsay turns to the colonial Nigerian Railway to discover how wage earning came to be defined as a male preserve; she shows how money was linked to marriage and masculinity. The final chapter in this section is Carolyn Brown's inquiry into the Nigerian coal industry from 1930 to 1945, in which she interrogates the interaction of colonial racism, worker militancy, and Igbo notions of masculinity. Called "boys" in the mines, these African men were leaders in their villages where they used their wages for social development, building primary schools and a maternity hospitals.

Gendered nationalism is the subject of part three. Luise White reads the literature Mau Mau generated as a debate about masculinity: were the changing ideas about gender indicative of an intense crisis in social arrangements between men and women or was Mau Mau the movement of women and men whose definitions of gender were in intense crisis? From a postcolonial vantage point, White sees the repression of Mau Mau as an extraordinary, complicated, deliberate attempt to dismantle a vision of gender, ironically one engineered by colonial officials themselves. Pashington Obeng discusses Ghanaian masculinity in two instances of nationalist struggle: the Yaa Asantewaa war of 1900 against the British, and the 1954 National Liberation Movement. Like Miescher, Obeng finds evidence for competing forms of masculinity.

In part four, "Masculinity and Modernity," Dorothy Hodgson considers the case of the Maasai as a dem-

onstration of the inscription of the modern/traditional dichotomy “as part of the imperial project of imposing a modern order on the perceived chaos of the native” (p. 226). Colonial development projects designed to protect Maasai culture reified the distinction between the Maasai as traditional and other Africans as modernizing, but Tanzanian elites today do no better by marketing the Maasai “as relics of Africa’s primitive past to lure tourists” (p. 226). In the last study in this section, Andrea Cornwall listens to men in southwestern Nigeria talk about the challenges that structural adjustment, political instability, and economic decline pose for men’s sense of themselves as men and their relationships with women. The last chapter is an afterword by White, a response to a request for a final frame and comment on how far the field of African men’s history has come in the last decade. Noting that women and gender do not translate easily to men and masculinity, White says that men’s history had to begin with the question of “how to problematize what had been considered universal” (p. 251). African masculinities were constructed by the institutions in which men lived and worked; the essays in this volume, she says, show men thinking seriously about what it was to be a man, and rethinking it again and again as their lives and ideas changed.

White mentions Robert Morrell’s edited collection, *Changing Men in Southern Africa* (2001). Morrell frames his volume in terms of the increased political visibility of masculinity and the emergence of a new men’s movement as an ally to the feminist movement, designed to identify the nature of men’s power over women and to work toward gender equality. Hodgson acknowledges this project when she writes that her essay contributes “to the growing body of feminist scholarship which has recognized that to analyze the production, reproduction, and transformation of gender inequalities, we must go beyond just recording the experiences and ideas of women . . . we must analyze masculinities as well as femininities, men as well as women, male dominance as well as female subordination” (p. 213). This purpose is missing from the introductory essay by Miescher and Lindsay. The editors write that gender—male and female—is “crucial to understanding the history of modern Africa, its women, and its men” (p. 22). Beyond understanding, there is a need for insights into the ways these superb studies of masculinity contribute to the transformation of gender inequalities.

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WALTER HAWTHORNE. *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400–1900*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2003. Pp. xvi, 258. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

Walter Hawthorne combines a focus on Guinea-Bissau during the era of the slave trade with a history of

Balanta rice farmers to challenge the “predatory state thesis” and argue that small, decentralized societies were not simply victims of the slave trade. The Balanta were able to defend themselves from slave raiding after they relocated to coastal rivers and adopted intensive wet rice cultivation. Hawthorne also argues that the Balanta became active participants in the slave trade as new, fortified, compact villages (*tabancas*) raided one another for captives. This occurred because “the need to obtain iron from which to forge practical defensive or offensive weapons . . . did compel coastal Africans in Guinea-Bissau to produce and market captives” (p. 97). Thus, while he challenges a narrow focus on predatory states, his study affirms the centrality of predatory warfare to the production of slaves.

Hawthorne’s book is divided into two parts. The first, using a wide-angle lens, discusses the Guinea-Bissau region. The first chapter focuses on Balanta migrations to the coast and their adoption of a new way of life, shifting from dispersed settlements based on the cultivation of yams, grain, and cattle husbandry, to the compact rice-farming villages (also with cattle) that have characterized Balanta society since the mid-seventeenth century. The primary innovation was mastering wet rice cultivation, which necessitated the adoption of iron tools for the first time, according to oral traditions he collected. The remainder of part one surveys the export slave trade and describes the small scale wars and raids that “produced” slaves for export. Part two, which focuses on the Balanta, begins with a discussion of how alliances and raiding shaped the history of the compact villages founded in the seventeenth century. The central chapter argues that the adoption of wet rice cultivation led to the “masculinization” of agricultural labor, as the labor of young men was essential to clearing mangrove and creating dikes for rice paddies. Young men, as raiders, were also critical to the survival and prosperity of *tabancas*. Rice cultivation, predatory raiding, and the sale of captives for iron are thus linked together in Hawthorne’s analysis of Balanta success in maintaining their independence during the slave trade.

Despite Hawthorne’s reservations about the predatory state thesis, his work extends the same logic to small decentralized societies. This is evident in his language, where raiding “produces” slaves, and in his formulation of the “iron-slave cycle” (pp. 96–98), as the demand for iron compels coastal Africans to produce slaves for export. The “iron-slave cycle” is the weakest argument in the book. Even if Hawthorne is granted the argument from oral traditions (despite its improbability) that the Balanta did not know or use iron before they began cultivating rice (p. 45), his argument that the Balanta could only purchase iron by selling slaves is clearly wrong. French trading records from Bissau, the nearest Atlantic port, show that iron bars (along with brass basins and cloth) were sold for both rice and cattle in this period. Whatever the period, it is implausible to argue that a people possessing cattle had nothing valuable to sell. His lack of

attention to the market beyond slaves shows the influence of the predatory thesis, as the “iron-slave cycle,” like the “slave-gun cycle” or the “horse-slave cycle,” focuses on weaponry as the means of warfare for producing slaves.

Readers of Hawthorne’s book will come away with some unanswered questions about Balanta society. Hawthorne’s main interests are raiding and rice cultivation, which are discussed with sophistication and an admirable combination of oral and written sources. Beyond these topics, the ethnographic material on the Balanta is thin, with no discussion of religion or cultural practices. Even the material on raiding and rice cultivation would have benefited from a more detailed discussion of kinship and age class structures. For this reason, Hawthorne’s book has shortcomings as a portrayal of a decentralized society during the slave trade era when compared to Robert M. Baum’s *Shrines of the Slave Trade: Diola Religion and Society in Precolonial Senegambia* (1999).

Finally, nonspecialist readers should be advised that Hawthorne’s presentation of the data on the export slave trade is framed to highlight the importance of the region in the early slave trade (before 1650) and obscure its declining significance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Similarly, his arguments about the “masculinization” of agricultural labor are made in opposition to a generic Africa. In Senegambia, Balanta labor patterns were less exceptional. The “masculinization” thesis ascribes a higher hierarchical value to arduous, periodic male labor compared to repetitive, labor-intensive female tasks. In conclusion, this is a fine study that overreaches with some of its arguments.

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PETER ALEXANDER. *Workers, War and the Origins of Apartheid: Labour and Politics in South Africa, 1939–48*. Athens: Ohio University Press and Oxford: James Currey. Cape Town: David Philip. 2000. Pp. 214. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$22.95.

Peter Alexander’s book delves into the rich and deep field of South African labor history and the origins of apartheid. It is written with conviction and packed with information and bold analysis. Although the density of the detail at times obscures Alexander’s argument, taken as a whole, his study is a benchmark.

Throughout the book, Alexander stakes out sweeping claims: his is the only study of political labor history that treats labor as a totality, pays close attention to worker strike actions, and thus reveals how workers shaped South African political history (pp. 3–5). His point-by-point analysis of how others get wrong what he purports to get right provides a useful engagement of the dominant literature—whether or not you agree with his judgments. Alexander develops his analysis through a critical nine-year window that opens with the South African economic recovery from

global depression, spans World War II, and closes with the articulation of apartheid as a brave new political vision. The book moves back and ahead in time as it suits his argument, but the war years are clearly his focus.

Alexander’s sweeping claims are not fully sustained, but the book’s shortcomings are as interesting as its strengths. He is better on the politics of workers and war than he is on the origins of apartheid. His ambition to treat labor as a totality is undermined by the complexity and contradictions embedded in South African labor categories and so-called “South Africa speak”: the art of saying the opposite of what is meant, or including Africans in legislation as a way of excluding them from legislative protections. Alexander walks us through a lot of this. The 1924 Industrial Conciliation Act, which he argues is the cornerstone of South African labor law, for example, excludes key categories of African employment from consideration (farming, domestic service, and “government undertakings.” Furthermore, its 1937 amendment defines “employee” so as to exclude “pass-bearing natives” (p. 11). Alexander’s efforts to keep the layered categories of black migrant, pass-bearing native, native, and employee in play at the same time are admirable. So, too, is his sustained narrative of the vanguard role the Communist Party of South Africa played in labor organization and political challenge.

Alexander’s central claims that these years comprised an era of multiracial cooperation and softened racial prejudice within the organized South African labor force understates, first, the impact of the removal of white male workers as part of the war effort, and second, the space their absence opened for the agency of black men and white women who had previously been excluded or marginalized. The chemistry of co-operation was fundamentally altered by both the varied commitment to the “war effort” and the experience of workers who appreciated the tenuous nature of their presence in the mainstream. Alexander is clearly right that race and gender figured here, but perhaps not in the ways he suggests. In the 1940s, highly skilled and professional white workers had little reason to fear that black South Africans would compete for their jobs, but earlier experience with state monopolies in the electrical, iron, and steel sectors made it clear to unskilled, semiskilled, and unemployed white workers that only politics stood between them and free-market capitalist forces that would favor cheaper black workers.

Finally, the author is generous with his evidence and transparent regarding his loyalties. Two full pages of acronyms, combined with statistical appendixes, bibliography, and footnotes, comprising more than a third of the content, reflect the book’s origins as a doctoral dissertation. Alexander’s acknowledgments, introduction, and biographical notes on interviewees suggest his commitment to socialist principles. He provides

readers a fresh interpretation of the politics of South African labor in this critical period.

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LESLIE WITZ. *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts*. (African Systems of Thought.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 324. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$29.95.

In this excellent study, Leslie Witz explores issues of memory, national identity, and the politics of representation in South Africa. He is concerned with the multiple and often conflicting ways that history is produced. Witz asks how it is that an unprepossessing Dutch East India Company functionary and his wife came to be put forward as the founders of a nation based on European identity and racial supremacy? And why did the apartheid government need them as its centerpiece in a "national" festival in Cape Town in 1952? The answer to these questions, according to Witz, can be found by examining in detail the various players and the media they used through which narratives of national history were constructed and resisted.

Jan van Riebeeck was an employee of the Dutch East India Company who was sent to the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 to set up a replenishing station for ships and subsequently served as commander there for ten years. Little is known of his background and life—and this in large measure is what has made his image so useful for constructing alternative pasts. Witz uses materials from a diary purported to be by van Riebeeck, contemporary school textbooks, and annual commemorative festivals to illustrate the various ways, both complementary and conflicting, that he was imagined in the years before apartheid: as founding father, bringer of Christianity, and/or colonial governor. Witz goes into some detail in his explorations of this three-hundred-year period since, as he points out, "previous histories facilitate and limit the ways in which new pasts may be created" (p. 8).

Until the late 1940s and 1950s, van Riebeeck played a minor role in the public imaginary but in 1952 the national government seized upon the three-hundredth anniversary of his landing for the purposes of selling their version of history. Why did this happen at this particular moment? Here Witz treads the familiar ground of South African historians in outlining the need for the Afrikaner-based National Party to gain wider white support and to control the increasing militancy of urban blacks. But by focusing on a festival he adds a new dimension: that of popular culture and public symbolic forms. For this, he draws upon a body of recent historical and anthropological work on worlds' fairs and other kinds of spectacles that demonstrates how states use historical pageantry as a means of social control.

To legitimize themselves, Witz argues, states need to create a manageable history, one with a clear founding moment (such as the United States with Christopher

Columbus or Australia with Captain Arthur Phillips) and a clear line of development to the present. Such a history can be difficult to construct and display. There were wildly diverging opinions among various cultural and political organizations, professional historians, and even within the National Party itself and between it and the Cape Town City Council. The organizing committee finally settled on a structure that would involve a range of public activities: processions, displays in the festival stadium, exhibits, and, finally, a re-enactment of the landing of van Riebeeck and his wife, marking the beginning of white settlement. Although Witz draws on current studies of worlds' fairs, it is surprising that he does not make the obvious comparison to Nazi festivals, by means of which a similarly authoritarian regime sought to promote its version of racial domination.

Lurking behind the organizer's plan was the specter of political resistance in the streets or, equally as disruptive from their point of view, too much fun and not enough patriotism. The concern with political disruption was not unfounded. A separate day had been set aside for nonwhite participation, but the response was so minimal that a meager few had to be lured with financial rewards. Meanwhile, a boycott was organized by groups such as the Teachers League of South Africa, with support from the African National Congress. Witz points out that the groups in opposition created their own histories using van Riebeeck as a founding moment, but one that symbolized the beginnings of racism, colonialism, and oppression.

Opposition to racism was not the only source of contestation. Witz shows how localities within the country had their own counterhistories. As special festival mail coaches moved through the Eastern Cape spreading the national narrative, they encountered local histories that contested and revised it.

In his last chapter, Witz brings the van Riebeeck story up to date. Although the anniversary of his arrival is barely noticed in Cape Town today, van Riebeeck and his wife are now emerging in school textbooks, musicals, and exhibitions as marking the beginning of the struggle towards the creation of a nonracial ("rainbow") nation.

This meticulously researched and well-written study is particularly relevant at this moment in South African history when the majority black government is facing similar issues of history making. Although the image of van Riebeeck has receded in the public imaginary, the question of how to align the past with the present remains, as do the contestations between those who desire to create a master narrative based on the struggle against apartheid and those who claim local, ethnic, or other histories.

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FRAN LISA BUNTMAN. *Robben Island and Prisoner Resistance to Apartheid*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 340. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$23.00.

In recent decades, prisoners of the South African apartheid regime held from the early 1960s to the early 1990s on the notorious Robben Island, off Cape Town, have published a steady stream of memoirs, letters, and essays. "The Island" housed many leaders of the now ruling African National Congress (ANC), its partner, the South African Communist Party, and the more narrowly black nationalist Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and Black Consciousness Movement (BCM).

Scholar-activists such as Neville Alexander and Zackie Achmat have contributed shorter analyses, and Harriet Deacon has published an anthology of essays on the island's history, but political scientist Fran Lisa Buntman attempts here a more systematic critical study, combining empirical research with a more social-scientific perspective informed by theory (notably Michel Foucault) and the comparative literature on resistance. She examines how political imprisonment shaped South Africa's liberation movements not only under apartheid but in the transition to democracy and afterward. She argues that analysis of the relationship between power and resistance on Robben Island illuminates both the liberation movements and the South African state. Ex-prisoners used their political education behind bars to influence anti- and postapartheid politics. Nelson Mandela stressed the value of what Buntman calls "strategic" rather than conventional "categorical" resistance, as in winning over prison officials to grant small but significant improvements, such as permitting newspapers or study, which could later be used to advance the struggle. Many prisoners, often now imbued with ANC values and organizing skills, were released in time to participate in the 1980s mass uprising. Meanwhile the apartheid state's reform efforts became tied to and shaped by the very political prison system erected to protect the regime. As the regime saw prisoners such as Mandela in a new light, it considered using some to negotiate a way out of the corner into which it had painted itself.

Buntman is careful to include not only the more numerous ANC inmates' stories but also those of the other prisoners, and she shows that, in dealing with the state, they often presented a surprisingly united front. Yet she does not indulge in liberation movement hagiography but addresses contradictions in informants' testimony, intermittent friction between the prisoners, and even occasional intermovement vio-

lence. She does not overlook signs of intolerance and incipient authoritarianism amid South Africa's celebrated new democracy but is too simplistic in equating this split with that between ex-Islanders and exiles such as President Thabo Mbeki, overlooking well-known Islander hardliners such as Harry Gwala. She might also have explored more fully how authoritarian tendencies produced by the need to keep banned organizations alive inside prison, always subordinating personal to political needs, may have fed into a post-1994 culture impatient with too open dissent.

The author has made rich use of her sources, notably dozens of interviews of ex-prisoners, prison warders, and government officials, as well as fascinating records in the University of the Western Cape's Mayibuye Center kept by prisoner organizations relating to sports, recreation, and political education. The latter show extraordinary organizational sophistication, as prisoners sought to create their own world under harsh circumstances. Unfortunately, Buntman uses few other archival materials, arguing that during her research in 1994, she found almost no relevant records in the state archives. Although she correctly notes that officials likely destroyed many documents, she mentions an anonymous source who obtained access to extensive Prisons Service files on him. Greater persistence might therefore have yielded more material; its absence gives great weight to individuals' memories. Problems with access to prison records in state archives should also not have precluded exploring broader collections in private repositories, such as the ANC archives at Fort Hare.

For the most part, the writing is clear (despite annoying jargon such as "resignification" or "carceral system," heavily theoretical discussions are in just a few sections). It is jarring, however, to find typos such as "political rather than military struggle" (p. 280) and "Stanely [sic] Mogoba" (p. 173), an obviously incorrect statistic suggesting whites were fed far less food than other prisoners (p. 44), and frequent omission or misuse of the apostrophe, as in "prisoner's" (pp. 219, 230, 279), "Islander's" (p. 144), or "captor's" (p. 281). The mini-biographies at the end are useful but omit some names in the text such as Oliver Tambo, Hendrik van den Bergh, or John Vorster.

On balance, however, this is a fascinating and thought-provoking exploration of the impact of the prison on its inmates and of them on its guardians, as well as on the overall liberation struggle and South Africa's post-apartheid political culture.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

PETER BAEHR and MELVIN RICHTER, editors. *Dictatorship in History and Theory: Bonapartism, Caesarism, and Totalitarianism*. (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, and New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 308. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$23.00.

ISSER WOLOCH, *From Consulate to Empire: Impetus and Resistance*. T. C. W. BLANNING, *The Bonapartes and Germany*. DAVID E. BARCLAY, *Prussian Conservatives and the Problem of Bonapartism*. MELVIN RICHTER, *Tocqueville and French Nineteenth-Century Conceptualizations of the Two Bonapartes and Their Empires*. TERRELL CARVER, *Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte: Democracy, Dictatorship, and the Politics of Class Struggle*. SUDHIR HAZAREESINGH, *Bonapartism as the Progenitor of Democracy: The Paradoxical Case of the French Second Empire*. PETER BAEHR, *Max Weber and the Avatars of Caesarism*. BENEDETTO FONTANA, *The Concept of Caesarism in Gramsci*. JOHN P. McCORMICK, *From Constitutional Technique to Caesarist Ploy: Carl Schmitt on Dictatorship, Liberalism, and Emergency Powers*. JACK HAYWARD, *Bonapartist and Gaullist Heroic Leadership: Comparing Crisis Appeals to an Impersonated People*. MARGARET CANOVAN, *The Leader and the Masses: Hannah Arendt on Totalitarianism and Dictatorship*. CLAUDE NICOLET, *Dictatorship in Rome*. ARTHUR M. ECKSTEIN, *From the Historical Caesar to the Spectre of Caesarism: The Imperial Administrator as Internal Threat*.

ANNA-MAIJA CASTRÉN, MARKKU LONKILA, and MATTI PELTONEN, editors. *Between Sociology and History: Essays on Microhistory, Collective Action and Nation-Building*. (Studia Historica, number 70.) Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. 2004. Pp. 344.

HENRIK STENIUS, *Working with Risto Alapuro*. SIMONA CERUTTI, *Microhistory: Social Relations versus Cultural Models?* RENATA AGO, *From the Archives to the Library and Back: Culture and Microhistory*. ANNA-MARIA TAPANINEN, *Names, Signs, and Messages: Identifying Foundlings in Late Nineteenth Century Naples*. GIOVANNI LEVI, *Historians, Psychoanalysis and Truth*. MATTI PELTONEN, *After the Linguistic*

Turn? Hayden White's *Tropology and History Theory* in the 1990s. MAURIZIO GRIBAUDI, *Biography, Academic Context and Models of Social Analysis*. RISTO ALAPURO, *The Finnish Civil War, Politics, and Microhistory*. ANTTI HÄKKINEN, *Poverty and the Social Underclass during Finnish Industrialisation*. ANNA-MAIJA CASTRÉN and MARKKU LONKILA, *Friendship in Finland and Russia from a Micro Perspective*. CHARLES TILLY, *Social Movements and Democratisation*. MICHEL OFFERLÉ, *Perspectives on French Contentious Politics*. JULIA BRYGALINA and ANNA TEMKINA, *The Development of Feminist Organisations in St. Petersburg 1985–2003*. ERIK ALLARDT, *Vicissitudes in the Societal Influence of Sociology*. ILKKA LIIKANEN, *Europe as an Arena of Finnish Politics: Images of Europe in the Programmes of Finnish Political Parties*. OUTI LEPOLA, *Does Immigration Challenge the Finnish Nation?* PAULI KETTUNEN, *The Nordic Model and Consensual Competitiveness in Finland*. TERTTU TURUNEN, *Risto Alapuro's Publications 1966–2003*.

SORAYA DE CHADAREVIAN and NICK HOPWOOD, editors. *Models: The Third Dimension of Science*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 464. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

NICK HOPWOOD and SORAYA DE CHADAREVIAN, *Dimensions of Modelling*. MALCOLM BAKER, *Representing Invention, Viewing Models*. RENATO G. MAZZOLINI, *Plastic Anatomies and Artificial Dissections*. SIMON SCHAFER, *Fish and Ships: Models in the Age of Reason*. CHRISTOPHER EVANS, *Modelling Monuments and Excavations*. JAMES A. SECORD, *Monsters at the Crystal Palace*. NICK HOPWOOD, *Plastic Publishing in Embryology*. THOMAS SCHNALKE, *Casting Skin: Meanings for Doctors, Artists, and Patients*. CHRISTOPH MEINEL, *Molecules and Croquet Balls*. HERBERT MEHRTENS, *Mathematical Models*. LYNN K. NYHART, *Science, Art, and Authenticity in Natural History Displays*. SORAYA DE CHADAREVIAN, *Models and the Making of Molecular Biology*. MARY S. MORGAN and MARCEL BOUMANS, *Secrets Hidden by Two-Dimensionality: The Economy as a Hydraulic Machine*. ERIC FRANCOEUR and JÉRÔME SEGAL, *From Model Kits to Interactive Computer Graphics*. JAMES GRIESEMER, *Three-Dimensional Models in Philosophical Perspective*. LUDMILLA JORDANOVA, *Material Models as Visual Culture*.

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MARK CRANE, RICHARD RASIWELL, and MARGARET REEVES, editors. *Shell Games: Studies in Scams, Frauds, and Deceits (1300–1650)*. (Essays and Studies,

number 4.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. 2004. Pp. xi, 334. \$37.00

TARA E. NUMMEDAL, *The Problem of Fraud in Early Modern Alchemy*. SARAH KNIGHT, 'He is indeed a kind of Scholler-Mountebank': Academic Liars in Jacobean Satire. PAUL M. DOVER, Good Information, Bad Information and Misinformation in Fifteenth-Century Italian Diplomacy. MICHAEL CICHON, "Tis policy and stratagem must do": Rape, Deception and Vendetta in *The Most Lamentable Tragedy of Titus Andronicus*. STEVEN BEDNARSKI, Whence Springs the Lie? Motive and Fraud in the Manosquin Criminal Court (1340–1403). RONI WEINSTEIN, Mock and Clandestine Marriages, Deceits, and Games in Jewish Italian Communities in the Early Modern Period. GEORGIA WILDER, *The Weamen of Middlesex*: Faux Female Voices in the English Revolution. NÚRIA SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, Widowhood and Deception: Ambiguities of Queenship in Late Medieval Crown of Aragon. ALLYSON F. CREASMAN, Side-Stepping the Censor: The Clandestine Trade in Prohibited Texts in Early Modern Augsburg. MICHAEL LONG, Rogues, Counterfeiters, and Forgers: Surreptitious Printing in the Popular Literature of Renaissance England. JOHANNES C. WOLFART, Sex, Lies, and Manuscript: On the "Castration" of the Lindau Archives. DANA L. SAMPLE, The Deceived as Deceiver: False Testimony in the Case of Robert of Artois. DAVID A. WILSON, The Myth of Mother Shipton: Prophet-Making and Profit-Taking.

PHILIP D. MORGAN and SEAN HAWKINS, editors. *Black Experience and the British Empire*. (The Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 416. \$45.00.

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RAMAKRISHNA REDDY, Land Distribution, Utilization and Peasant Movement in the Hyderabad State, 1724–1950. S. BHANUMATHI RANGA RAO, Historical Background of Peasant Movement in Telangana. E. SUDHA RANI, Consciousness and Participation of Telangana Women in the People's Movement in Hyderabad State, 1901–1951. S. CHANDRASHEKAR, The Struggle for Liberation from Double Slavery: the Princely Mysore, 1881–1947. M. JAMUNA, Women and Freedom Movement in Princely Mysore. V. K. BAWA, Regional Identities and the National Movement in Hyderabad and Mysore. K. A. MANI KUMAR, Peasant Resistance in the Princely State of Travancore, 1850–1939. K. K. KUSUMAN, The Struggle for a Responsible Government in Travancore, 1938–1947. R. L. HANGLOO, Agrarian Conditions and Peasant Protest in the Princely State of Kashmir, 1846–1931. MOHD. ISHAQ KHAN, The Social Background of People's Movement in the Jammu and Kashmir State, 1846–1931. MAYANK KUMAR, People's Movement in the Princely State of Gwalior. A. C. PRADHAN, People's Movement in the Princely States of Orissa in the Wider context of the Nationalist Movement: A Case Study of the Nilgiri State. K. MADDAIAH, Freedom Struggle in the Banaganapalle State.

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ROBERT D. JOHNSTON, editor. *The Politics of Healing: Histories of Alternative Medicine in Twentieth-Century North America*. New York: Routledge. 2004. Pp. viii, 388. \$29.95.

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REBECCA MOORE, ANTHONY B. PINN, and MARY R. SAWYER, editors. *Peoples Temple and Black Religion in America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 204. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$21.95.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

IZASKUN ÁLVAREZ CUARTERO and JULIO SÁNCHEZ GÓMEZ, editors. *Visiones y revisiones de la independencia americana*. III Coloquio Internacional de Historia de América (Aquilafuente, number 52.) Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca. 2003. Pp. 232.

RAFAEL DOBADO GONZÁLEZ, *Algunas consideraciones sobre el colonialismo español en América: El coste económico de la*

Independencia para México. HORST PIETSCHEMAN, *Nación e individuo en los debates políticos de la época preindependiente en el imperio español (1767–1812)*. FRANÇOIS-XAVIER GUERRA, *La ruptura orginaria: Mutaciones, debates y mitos de la Independencia*. JUAN CARLOS GARAVAGLIA, *Los primeros senderos de la revolución: La Opinión en los balbucesos de la Independencia rioplatense (1806–1813)*. JUAN MARCHENA FERNÁNDEZ, *El día que los negros cantaron la marselesesa: El fracaso del liberalismo español en América. 1790–1823*. JOSÉ A. PIQUERAS ARENAS, *Leales en época de insurrección: La élite criolla cubana entre 1810 y 1814*. CARLOS GUILHERME MOTA, *Reflexões sobre o longo século XIX: Da descolonização à República*. IGNACIO GONZÁLEZ CASASNOVAS, *Iberoamérica: 200 años de convivencia independiente; Una propuesta fundacional para una conmemoración coordinada del bicentenario de las Independencias americanas*.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

ROLF GROßE, editor. *Suger en question: Regards croisés sur Saint-Denis*. (Pariser Historische Studien, number 68.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2004. Pp. 175. €34.80.

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NANCY E. WRIGHT, MARGARET W. FERGUSON, and A. R. BUCK, editors. *Women, Property, and the Letters of the Law in Early Modern England*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. x, 316. \$65.00.

PATRICIA PARKER, Temporal Gestation, Legal Contracts, and the Promissory Economies of *The Winter's Tale*. CHRISTINE CHURCHES, Putting Women in Their Place: Female Litigants at Whitehaven, 1660–1760. DAVID LEMMINGS, Women's Property, Popular Cultures, and the Consistory Court of London in the Eighteenth Century. LAURA J. ROSENTHAL, The Whore's Estate: Sally Salisbury, Prostitution, and Property in Eighteenth-Century London. MARY MURRAY, Primogeniture, Patrilineage, and the Displacement of Women. NATASHA KORDA, Isabella's Rule: Singlewomen and the Properties of Poverty in *Measure for Measure*. MARY CHAN and NANCY E. WRIGHT, Marriage, Identity, and the Pursuit of Property in Seventeenth-Century England: The Cases of Anne Clifford and Elizabeth Wiseman. A. R. BUCK, Cordelia's Estate: Women and the Law of Property from Shakespeare to Nahum Tate. JENNIFER SUMMIT, Writing Home: Hannah Wolley, the Oxinden Letters, and Household Epistolary Practice. LLOYD DAVIS, Women's Wills in Early Modern England. CLAIRE WALKER, Spiritual Property: The English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai and the Dispute over the Baker Manuscripts. ELEANOR F. SHEVLIN, The Titular Claims of Female Surnames in Eighteenth-Century Fiction. PAUL SALZMAN, Early Modern (Aristocratic) Women and Textual Property.

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HANS-JÜRGEN VOGTHERR, "... eine frische parsonne, recht na Juwer gnade geiste ...": Gustav Vasas Werbung um Katharina von Sachsen-Lauenburg 1530/1531 im Spiegel der Briefe seines Lübecker Faktors Hinrick Niebur. WERNER BUCHHOLZ, Magisches Bewußtsein in der spätmittelalterlichen Volksfrömmigkeit: Das Beispiel des Bustums Lübeck. JAN BRUNIUS, Marcus Meus och Hertig Karl. Furstlig utrikeshandel i slutet av 1500-talet. HEIKO DROSTE, Hamburg—ein Zentrum schwedischer Außenbeziehungen im 17. Jahrhundert. SIMONE GIESE, *Peregrinatio academica* oder Kavalierstour—Bildungsreisen des schwedischen Adels zu Beginn der Frühen Neuzeit. ANDREAS ÖNNERFORS, Die Freimaurerei im Schwedisch-Pommern des 18. Jahrhunderts—aufgeklärte Avantgarde und Kontaktzone zwischen Pommern und Schweden. LUDWIG BIEWER, Ein Beitrag zum Bild Gustavs II: Adolf in der Geschichtsschreibung. ARNE LOSMAN, Nicolaus Andreae Granus—svensk professor i Helmstedt. DANIEL HÖFFKER, Axel Oxenstierna und Hermann Wolff. SVEN LUNDKVIST, Oxenstiernaverket: Bakgrund och nuläge. BEATE-CHRISTINE FIEDLER, Esaias v. Pufendorf (1628–1689): Diplomat in Europa und Kanzler in den schwedischen Herzogtümern Bremen und Verden—Eine biographische Skizze. IVO ASMUS, Das Testament des Grafen—Die pommerschen Besitzungen Carl Gustav Wrangels nach Tod, *förmyndarräfst* und Reduktion. NILS JÖRN, Familienbeziehungen am Wismarer Tribunal: Probleme und Chancen. DIRK SCHLEINERT, Die Anfänge der Familie v. Lepel auf Wieck. PATRICK RESLOW, Centralisierung und effektivisierung: Några betraktelser rörande den tidigmoderna statsapparaten och dess organization av den högsta domsmakten. KJELL Å MODÉER, Svenska borgrätter i Östersjöprovinserna: Ett bidrag till en tidigmoderna processrättsutvecklingen. JÜRGEN BOHMBACH, Zuviel Geld für Pommern: Die Herzogtümer Bremen und Pommern als Konkurrenten unter schwedischer Krone. JOACHIM KRÜGER, Der Zoll-, Not- und Lotsenhafen Grönschwade—eine schwedisch-preußische Problemzone am Peenestrom. HAIK THOMAS PORADA, "Wie das eine Membrum bey dem andern erhalten undt also das ganze Corpus im möglichsten Wollstande conservirt bleiben möge"—Zu den Reinberger Konventen der vorpommerschen Vorderstädte. MARCO POHLMAN-LINKE, Landesherrschaft und Verwaltung in Vor- und Hinterpommern nach dem Stockholmer Friedensvertrag von 1720. HENNING LANGENBACH, Festungsbau in Göteborg als ein Motor für Konjunktur und Bevölkerungswachstum? JENS E. OLESEN, Christian IV og dansk Pommernpolitik. HERBERT LANGER, Die Anfänge des Garnisonswesens in Pommern (1627–1650). MAREN LORENZ, Schwedisches Militär und seine Justiz: Einblicke in das Verhältnis von Rechtsnorm und Alltag in der Garnison Stralsund ca. 1650 bis 1700.

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DAVID SCHIMMELPENNICK VAN DER OYE and BRUCE W. MENNING, Introduction. ROBERT F. BAUMANN, Universal Service Reform: Conception to Implementation, 1873–1883. MARK VON HAGEN, The Limits of Reform: The Multiethnic Imperial Army

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- JEFFERSON, THOMAS. *Light and Liberty: Reflections on the Pursuit of Happiness*. Edited by ERIC S. PETERSEN. New York: Modern Library. 2004. Pp. xiii, 154. \$17.95.
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- DE MORAES FARIAS, P. F. *Arabic Medieval Inscriptions from the Republic of Mali: Epigraphy, Chronicles, and Songhay-Tuareg History*. (Sources of African History, number 4.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. ccxvi, 280. \$185.00.

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The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by the writers. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

It was refreshing to read an article in the *AHR* devoted to teaching, and David Pace's essay was an excellent summary with a number of compelling insights. His first sentence, however, offers a key to much of the problem: "Consider two lecturers." As he notes, the evidence on effective teaching is limited, but nearly all studies agree that the lecture method is one of the least effective means of stimulating student learning.

The article discusses several innovative strategies for teaching, but as long as universities pack hundreds of students into large lecture halls to "listen," not much is going to change. A brilliant and creative lecturer is a treasure and may be why many of us chose the profession, but the lecture method, the standard history textbook, and a weekly "discussion section" taught by a graduate student is not the model for learning.

THOMAS J. NOER
Carthage College

David Pace does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of *Apostles and Agitators: Italy's Marxist Revolutionary Tradition* (*AHR*, June 2004), James Mar-

tin criticizes me in two ways for linking left-wing Italian terrorism to Marxism. The first criticism is theoretical. According to Martin, by focusing the analysis on Karl Marx and the Italian intellectuals who interpreted him in a revolutionary way, my argument "implies, unconvincingly, that violence is the outcome of a badly conceived theory." This is an odd criticism from someone who presents himself as a defender of Marx. In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx wrote that, left to themselves, the workers would never overthrow the capitalist system. They needed the assistance of "bourgeois ideologists . . . who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole." In short, without theory and the intellectuals who created it, there could be no revolution. Within the Marxist tradition, Antonio Gramsci and Georg Lukács further elucidated how an understanding of revolutionary politics requires a careful examination of the role that intellectuals play in the history of class struggle.

Martin's second criticism of the way I establish connections between the Marxist revolutionary tradition and Italian terrorism is political. He accuses me of suspicious motives in "passing the buck straight to Marx" instead of looking at the failures of the liberal order. The reaction of Italy's foremost Marxist radicals to the failings of liberalism is the starting point for every chapter in the book. It also must be said that the terrorists themselves passed the buck straight to Marx. In courtroom testimony and autobiographical writings that I examined in *The Aldo Moro Murder Case* (1995) and summarized in *Apostles and Agitators*, these individuals unanimously pointed to revolutionary Marxism as their ideological inspiration for attacking the Christian Democratic status quo in Italy. The Red Brigadists killed for these Marxist revolutionary ideas and for no other.

The question about Marx and Italian terrorism is not whether but how he influenced it. Revolutionary Marxism came to Italy through the partial translation of *Capital* by Carlo Cafiero, who had known Marx and Engels in London. Cafiero also pioneered in Italy the revolutionary interpretation of Marxism, in opposition to the reformist interpretation of Andrea Costa. By the revolutionary interpretation of Marxism, Cafiero meant that certain individuals would have to be put in

their graves prematurely. He included in this last category reformist Marxists, such as Costa, whose life he called upon the proletariat to end at the earliest opportunity. All of the figures who come after Cafiero in my book—Antonio Labriola, Arturo Labriola, Benito Mussolini, Amadeo Bordiga, Antonio Gramsci, and Palmiro Togliatti—embodied the violent interpretation of Marxism. Each acted in a specific historical context, but the Marxist revolutionary tradition exhibits striking uniformities through the generations. The extraparlimentary left, of which Red Brigadism was one element, championed this tradition in the 1970s and 1980s. In explaining their reasons for killing government labor economists Massimo D'Antona (1999) and Marco Biagi (2002), the current Red Brigadists denounced them, in the classic language of revolutionary Marxism, for their reformist ideas.

In claiming that I fail to consider other interpretations of Marxism, Martin overlooks my sustained mention of Filippo Turati, who relentlessly criticized all the major figures in the book. Consequently, he moves in and out of the narrative as the supreme embodiment of the reformist Marxist tradition. Like Eduard Bernstein, Turati wanted to democratize Marxism and to *humanize* it. Giacomo Matteotti and Elio Vittorini, who also appear in the book, carried on this reformist struggle within the Italian left, as did Enrico Berlinguer, the leader of the Communist Party

during the heyday of the Red Brigadists. To draw attention to the Marxist cultural dimension of Italian terrorism is not the exercise in Cold War liberalism that Martin accuses me of performing. It is rather an attempt to understand how ideas, in Perry Miller's phrase, become "coherent and powerful imperatives to human behavior."

RICHARD DRAKE
University of Montana

James Martin does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

ERRATA

The cover illustration for the October 2004 issue was mistakenly credited to the Hagley Museum of Wilmington, Delaware. It was actually reproduced with kind permission of the Newark Museum, and the editors regret the error.

The title of Helen Sjursen's book, reviewed in the October 2004 issue (pp. 1202–1203), was incorrectly rendered. The correct title is *The United States, Western Europe and the Polish Crisis: International Relations in the Second Cold War*. The editors regret the error.

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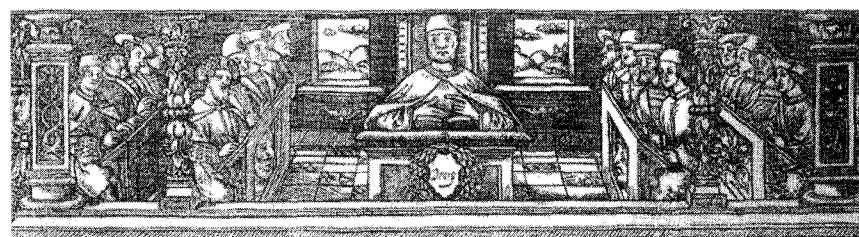
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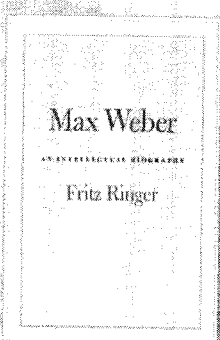
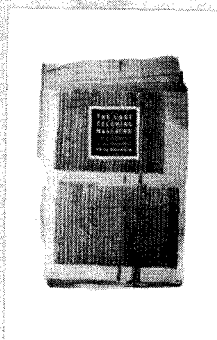
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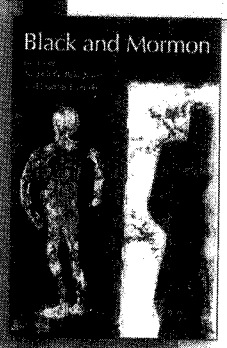
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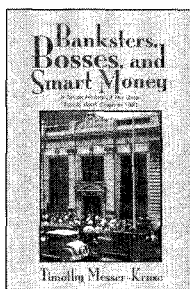
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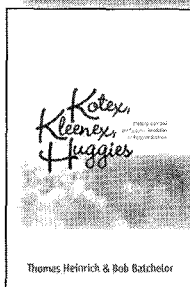
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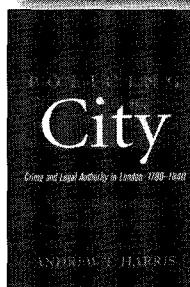
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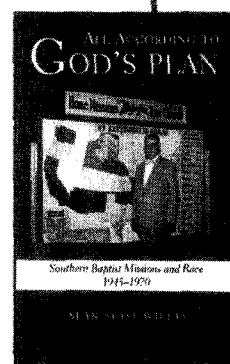
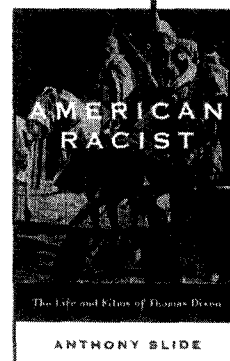
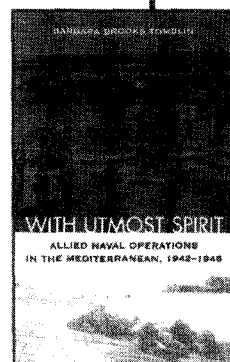
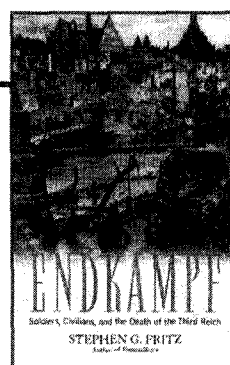
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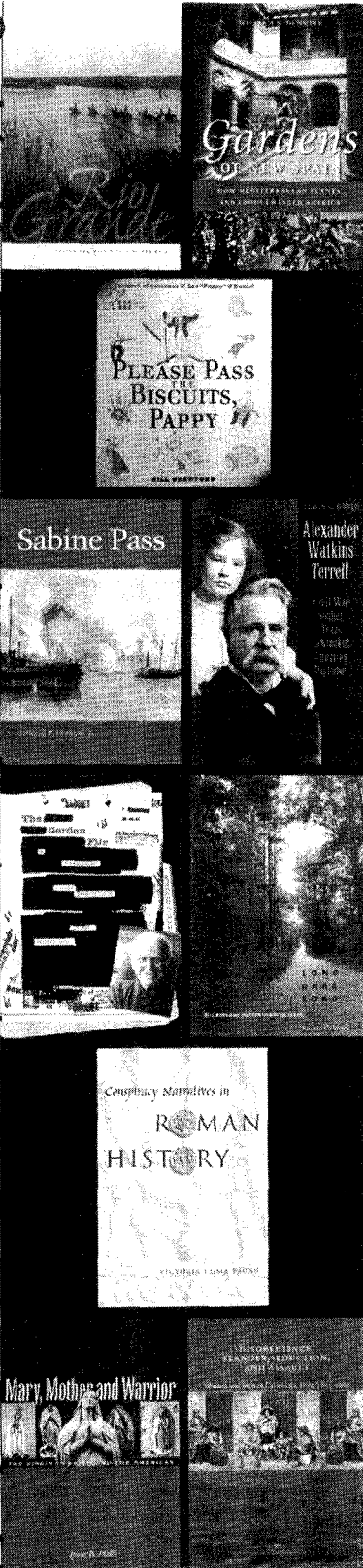
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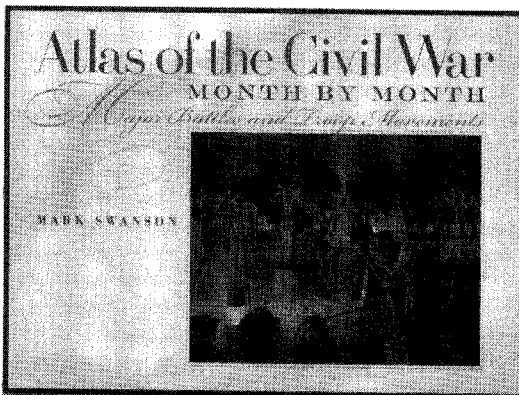
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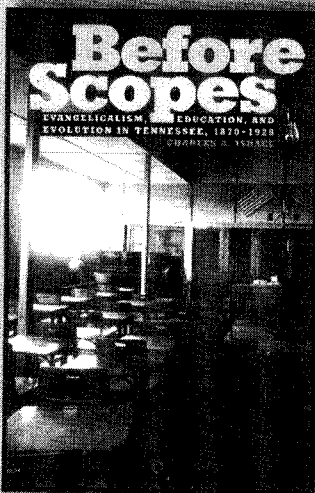
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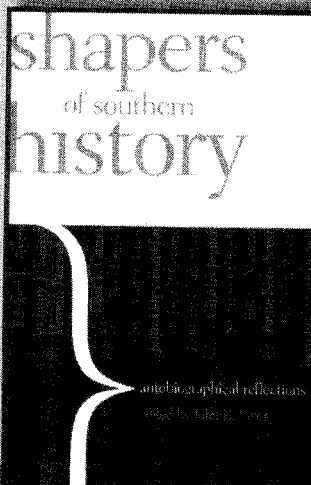
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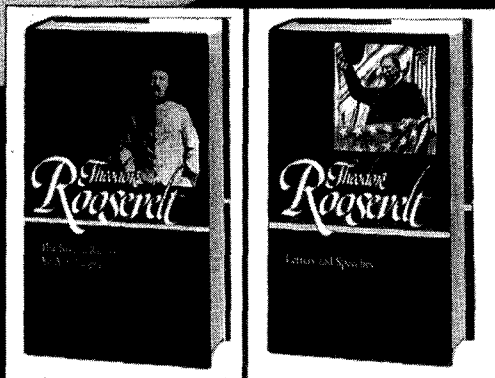
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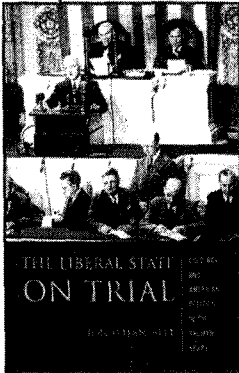
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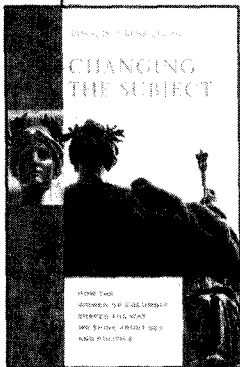
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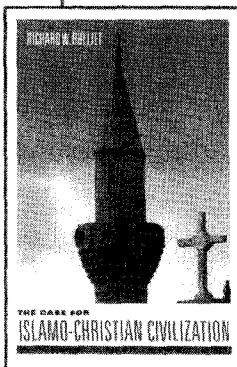
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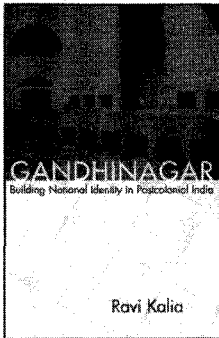
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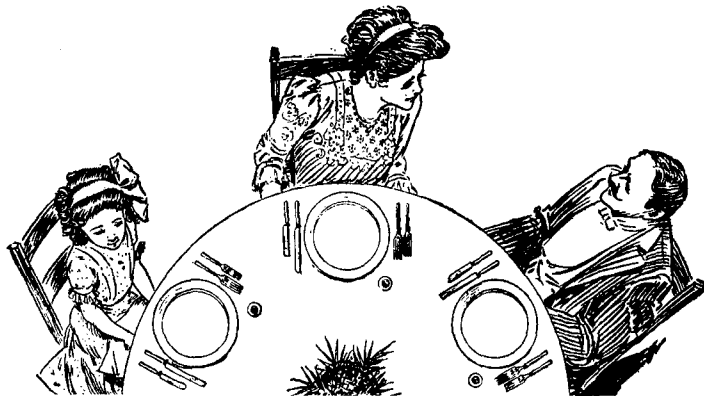
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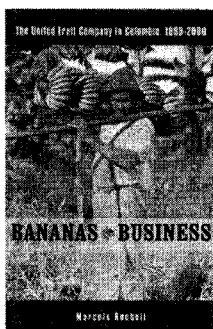
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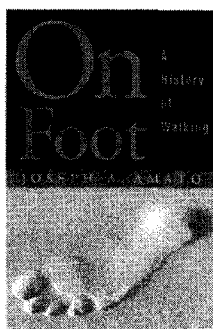
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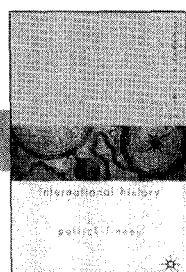
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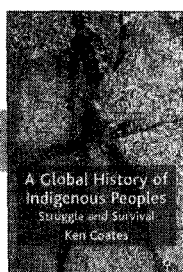
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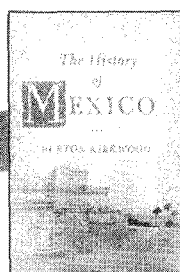
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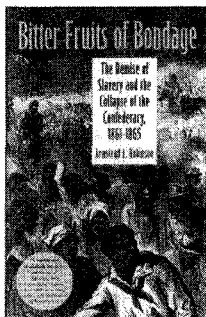
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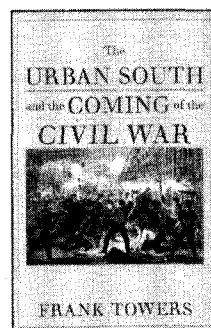
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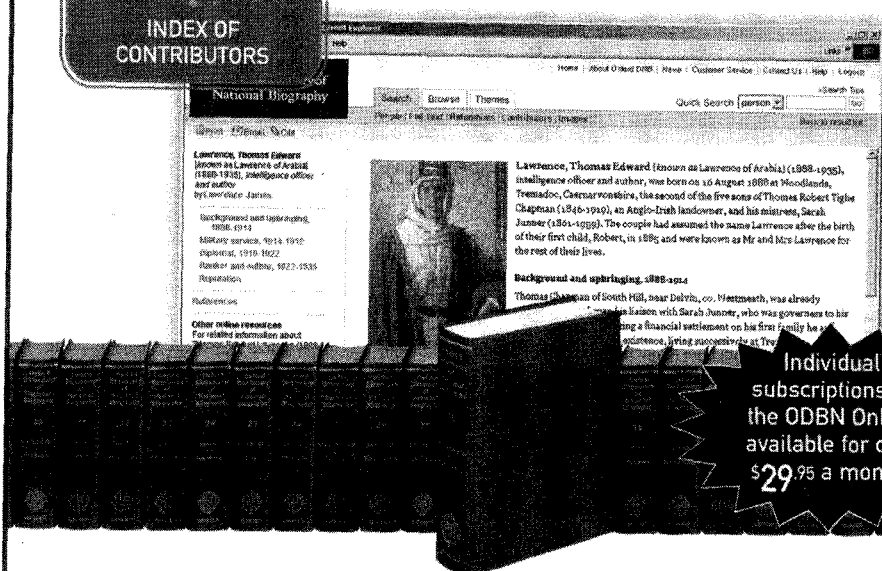
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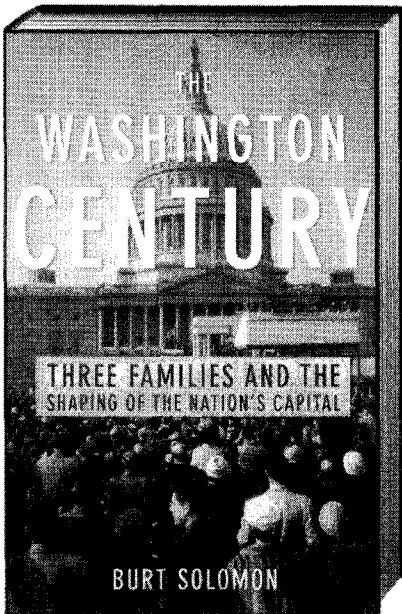
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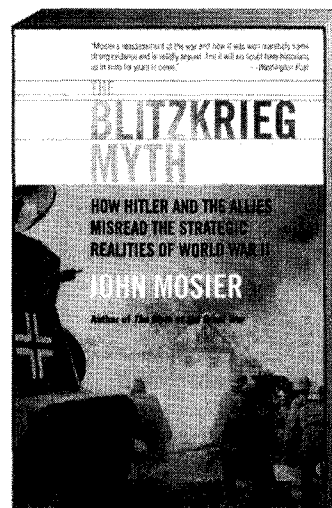
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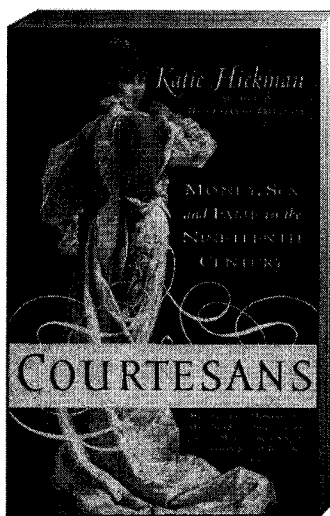


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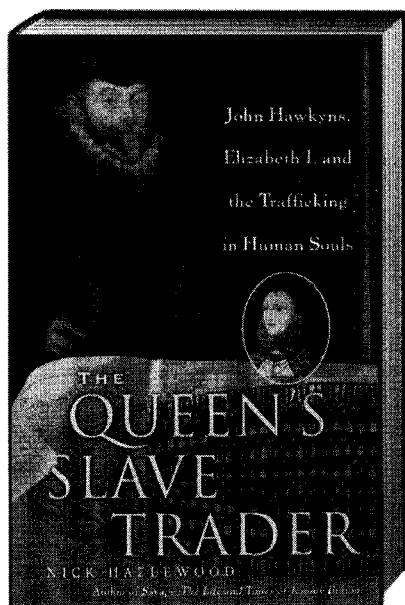
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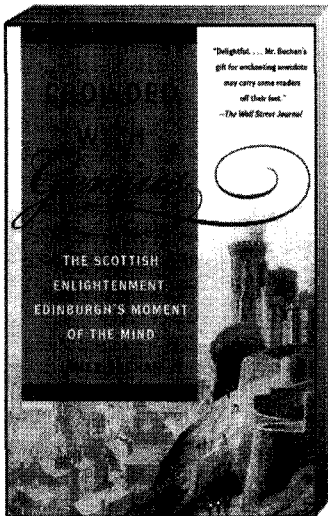


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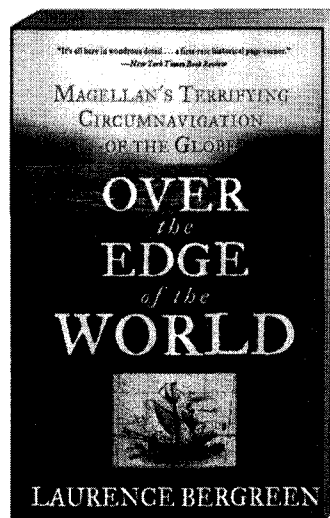
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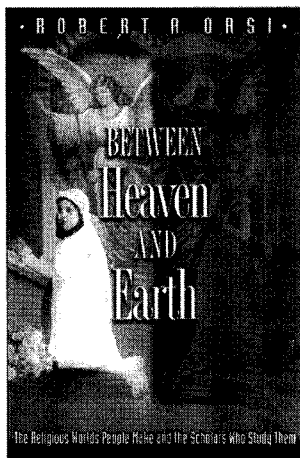
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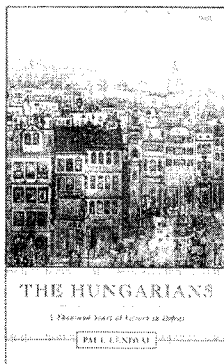
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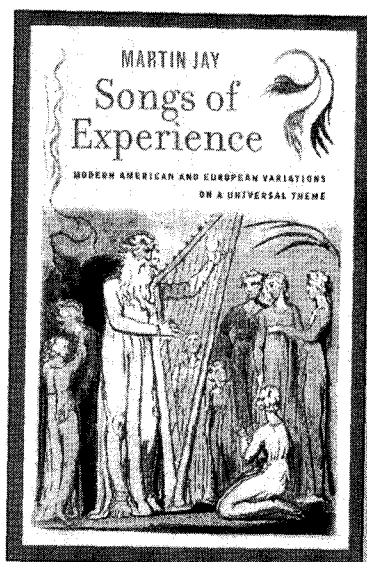
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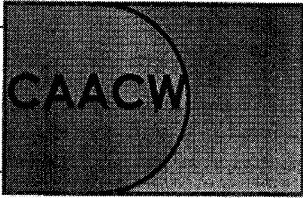
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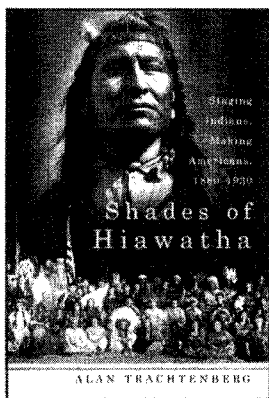
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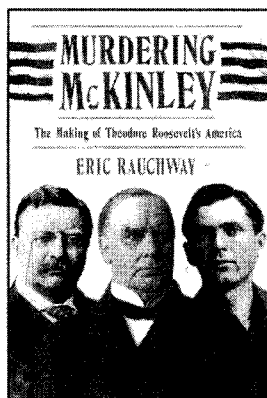
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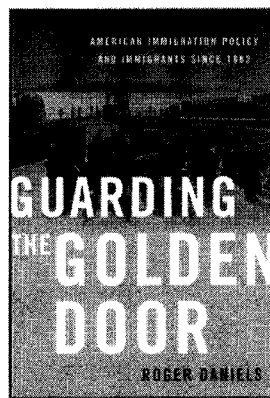
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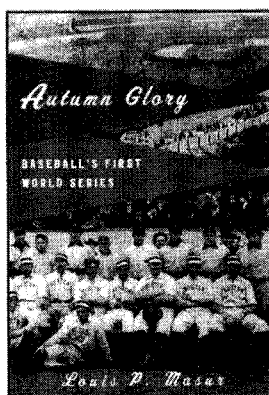
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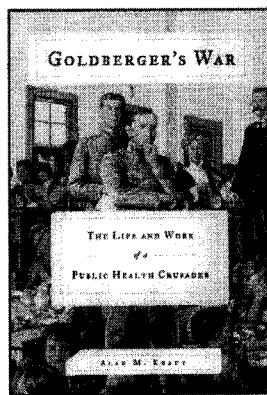
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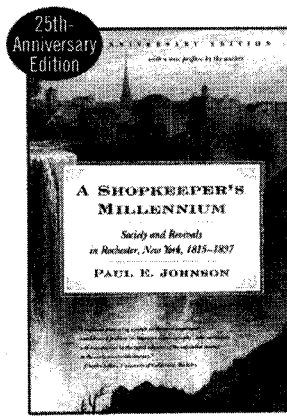


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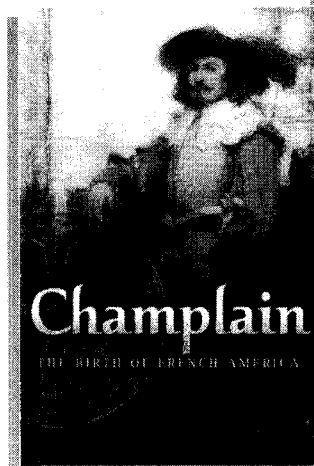
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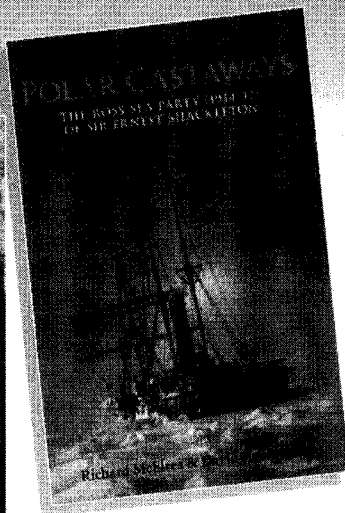


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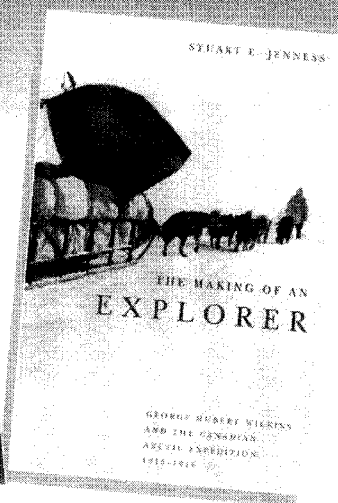


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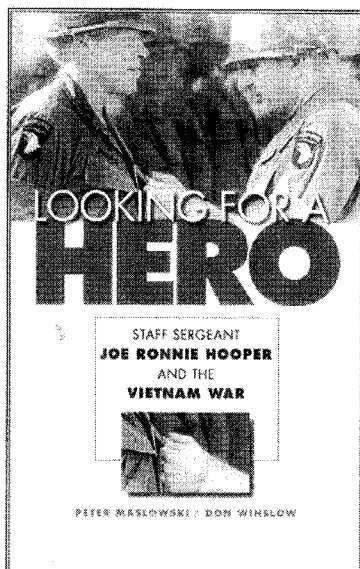
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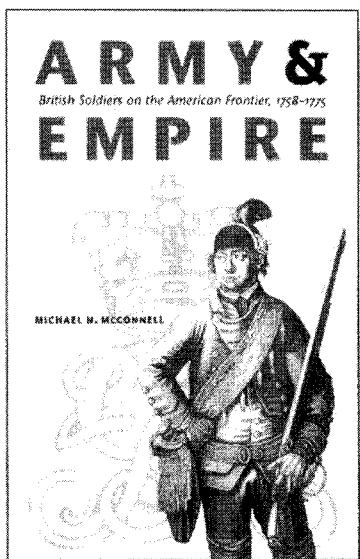
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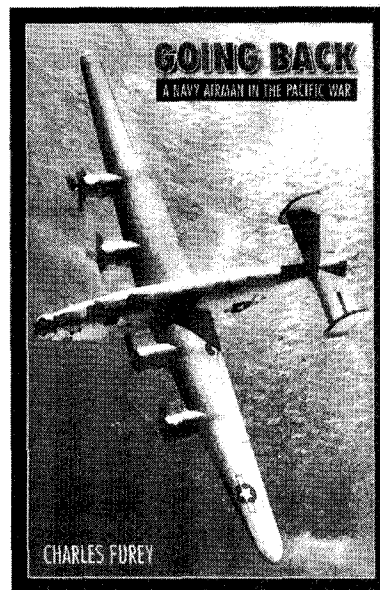
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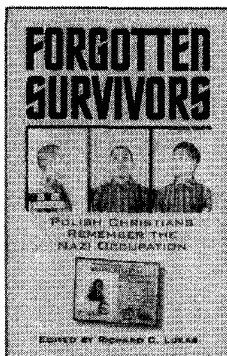
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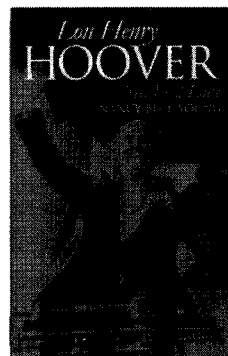
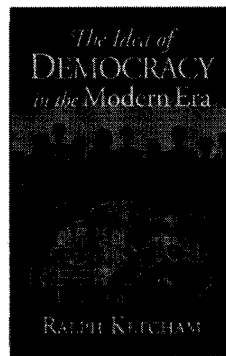
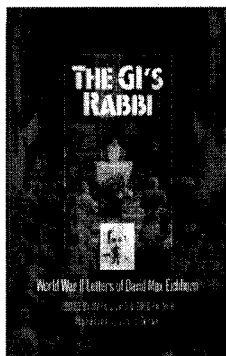
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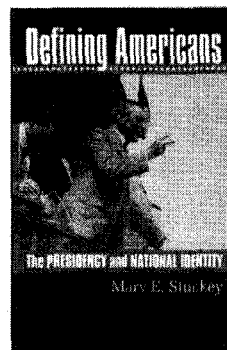
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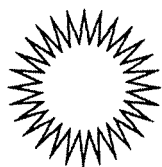
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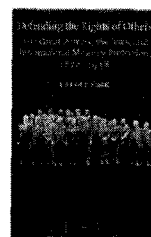
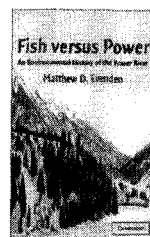
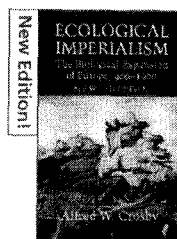
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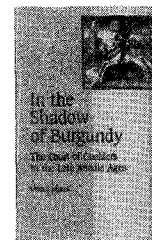
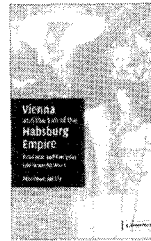
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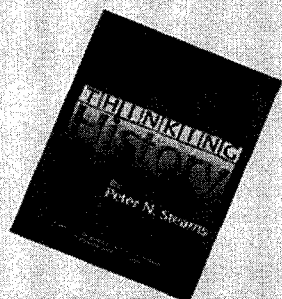
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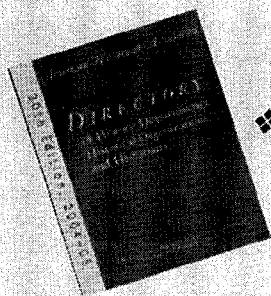
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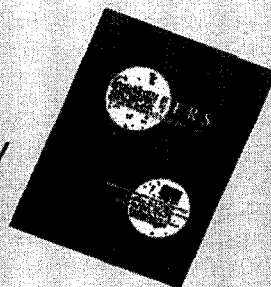
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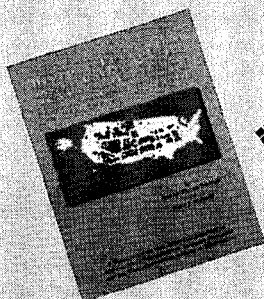
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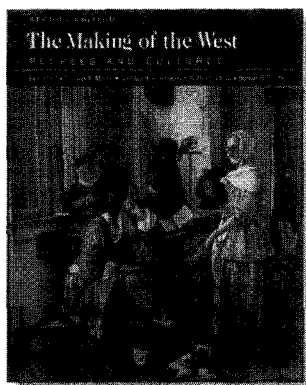
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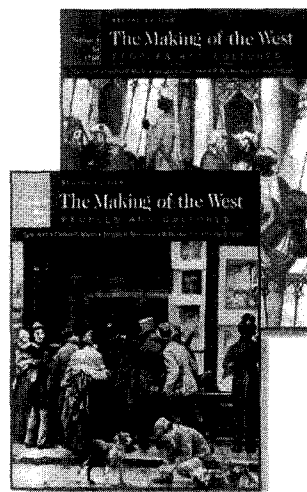
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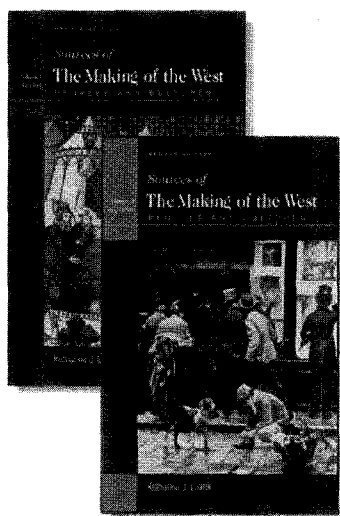
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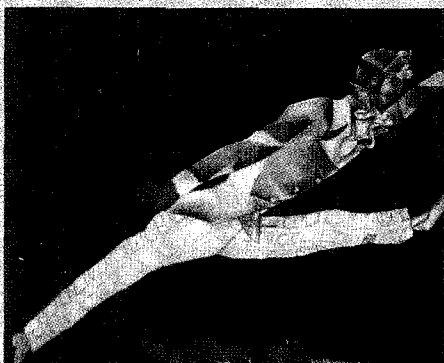
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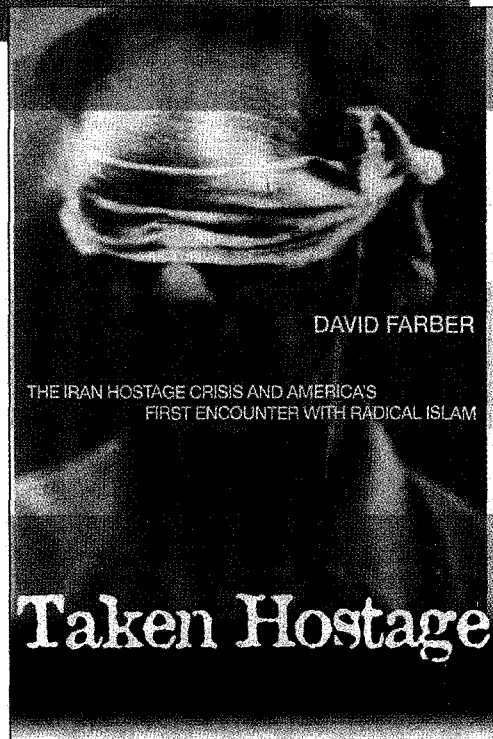
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